

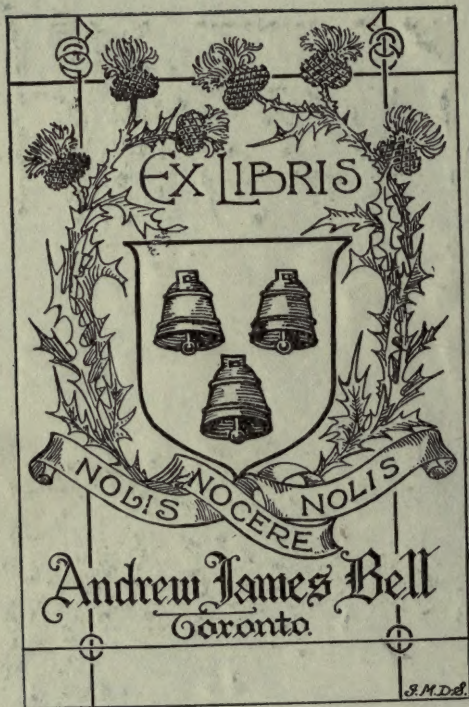
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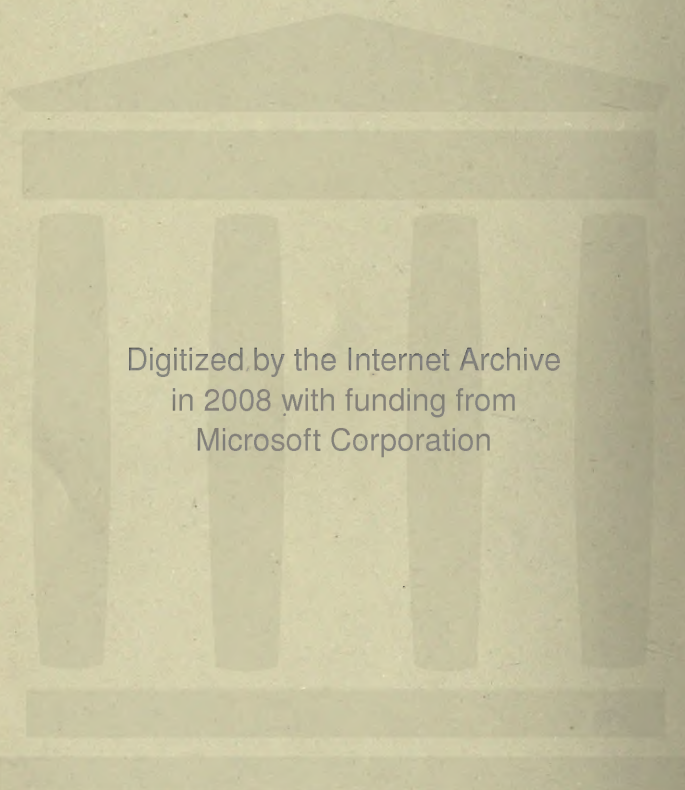
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HISTORY OF SICILY

E. A. FREEMAN

London
HENRY FROWDE



New York
MACMILLAN AND CO.

THE
HISTORY OF SICILY

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

BY

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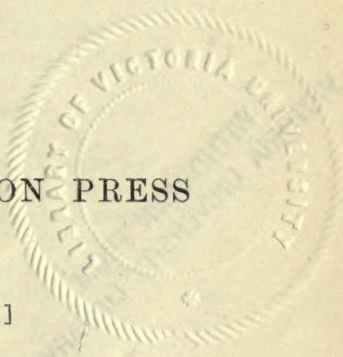
FROM THE BEGINNING OF GREEK SETTLEMENT TO THE BEGINNING
OF ATHENIAN INTERVENTION

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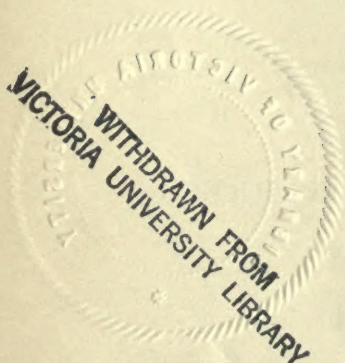


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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.



p. 4, l. 8, for "with" read "in"

p. 7, l. 4, after "and" insert "for us"

p. 14, note 2, for "grown" read "shrank up"

p. 17, side-note, for "southern" read "eastern"

p. 27, l. 2 from bottom, for "Motica" read "Motyca"

p. 35, note. See Additions and Corrections to vol. i.

p. 41, l. 15, for "house" read "church"

p. 43, note 2, for "appear" read "appears"

p. 46, l. 3, for "homeward" read "honoured"

p. 66, l. 5 from bottom. I am not sure that I have, either here or at p. 80, brought out so clearly as I ought that at Akragas there was an akropolis within an akropolis. The original city, the present Girgenti, became the akropolis of the enlarged city. But there is a distinct akropolis within this, namely the height once occupied by the temple of Zeus Atabyrios, and now by the church of Saint Gerlandus. This must have been the akropolis of the original city, and it was doubtless its wall which Phalaris had to build.

p. 73, l. 8 from bottom. I ought to have mentioned the strange story preserved by Athénaios (xiii. 78), according to which Apollôn (as in the case of Croesus in Herodotus, i. 91) procured for Phalaris an extension of life (perhaps for two years) on account of his mercy to Charitôn and Melanippos; διὸ καὶ δ' Ἀπόλλων ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Φαλάριδι ἐχαρίσατο. So Soudas in ἀναβολή (see also both him and Hēsychios in Φάλαρις); Αἰλιανός: Λοξίας δὲ καὶ Ζεὺς πατὴρ ἀναβολὴν θανάτου ἐψηφίσαντο Φαλάριδι ἔτη δύο ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμέρας Χαρίτανι καὶ Μελανίπῳ προσηρέχθη. I do not understand this last, and there seems to be nothing like it in Ælian as we have him, though both he and Athénaios quote the Pythian oracle in praise of the pair.

p. 80, note, for "Citta" read "Città"

p. 101, l. 4 from bottom, for "Milytids" read "Mylétids"

p. 104, side-note, *dele* "B.C. 55"

p. 120, l. 12, for "south-west" read "south-east"

p. 122, l. 6 from bottom. Or did the priesthood anyhow pass to the second son? Of the four sons of Deinomenés the eldest is called from the city, the second from the ancestral rites, Ἰέρων from ἱερά (see p. 233). In the names of the other two brothers there is nothing remarkable.

p. 127, l. 3 from bottom, *dele* "all"

p. 144, l. 11. So I understand the scholiast at the beginning of the second Olympic ode, as it stands in Boeckh, ii. 58; καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Θήρων τὴν Πολυζήλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἰέρωνος ἐγχευε θυγατέρα, καθά φησι Τίμαιος. He mentions that some manuscripts give her a name Πολυζένη, which seems made out of the name of her father. But in the new edition of the Scholia by Abel (Berlin,

1891), i. 106, the reading is quite different; καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Θήρων τὴν Πολυζήλου ἀδελφὴν καὶ Ἰέρανος ἔγγραψε, καθά φησι Τίμαιος. This is another story; but Abel quotes manuscripts as reading ὁ Θήρων τὴν Πολυζήλου ἀδελφὴν καὶ Ἰέρανος ἔγγραψε θυγατέρα, out of which it is hard to make anything. I believe all these diversities are matter of pleasant amusement to editors; but they are serious for those who wish to get at the facts, even on small points.

p. 150, l. 9. His real name was "Mamercus," not "Mamertinus": see p. 507. I should never have thought of looking in Proklos, if Mr. Bury had not sent me to him.

p. 152, l. 18. Refer to Pausanias, iii. 19. 11, and in note 2 for "352" read "552"

p. 156, note 4, for ποντῶ read πόντος.

p. 157, l. 4 from bottom. "Eleia" is hardly a proper Greek form. The true name on the coins is ΤΕΑΗ, most likely for ΦΕΑΗ, as in the Latin forms.

p. 174, l. 10, for "seems" read "seem"

p. 184, l. 2 from bottom, for "father-in-law" read "son-in-law"

p. 203, l. 8, after "*Imperator*" add "and *Pater Patriæ*." Compare the last cases of King Henry of Saxony and his son Otto the Great, not yet crowned Emperor, Widukind, i. 39, iii. 49. Henry is also "*rerum dominus*."

p. 211, l. 6. There is a little difficulty in reconciling this account of the Greek temples at Carthage with what Diodōros says later (xiv. 77) about the introduction of the worship of the goddesses at Carthage in B.C. 396. It is there spoken of as something quite new at that time. The foreign rites may have been disused and forgotten between the two times.

p. 231, note 2. Is it possible that the confusion is not between Gelôn and Thêrôn, but between Gelôn and *Gellias*? See below, p. 393. *Gellias* had a *κολυμβήθρα*; but it was for holding wine.

p. 242, note 3, for "Flack" read "Flach"

p. 246, l. 2 from bottom. This action of Themistoklēs is taken for granted by H. Nissen, *Der Ausbruch des peloponnesischen Krieges* in Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1889, p. 392.

p. 249, l. 5, *dele* comma after "first"

p. 260, side-note, before "story of Skopas" insert "his epinikian odes"

p. 274, note 4, for "where" read "while"

p. 278, side-note, spoken of in p. 420.

p. 283, note 4. I meant a Sikel element really drawn from Sikel traditions, not such a Sikel element in Greek comedy as that spoken of in p. 420.

p. 284, l. 6 from bottom. Some certainly, if I am right in the guess which I ventured in p. 418; but nothing like so much as we get from Aristophanēs.

p. 322, note 2, for *κατοικισθέντας* read *κατοικισθέντες*.

p. 349. On the senate of a thousand, see Appendix IX, XXVIII, pp. 490, 561.

p. 352, l. 8, for "there is no choice" read "the only choice is"

p. 391, note. We get the same saying, with a change of place and person, in Plutarch, de Cupid. Divit.; τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ῥοδίους ὁ Στρατόνικος ἐπέσκωπεν εἰς πολυτέλειαν, οἰκοδομεῖν μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτους λέγων, ὀψωνεῖν δὲ ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνιους.

p. 399, note 1. The fame of the Sicilian swine was of old standing. Athen. xii. 57; Κλύτος ὁ Ἀριστοτελικὸς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Μιλήτου Πολυκράτη φησὶ τὸν

Σαμίαν τύραννον ὑπὸ τρυφῆς τὰ πανταχόθεν συνάγειν, κύνας μὲν ἐξ Ἠπείρου, αἶγας δὲ ἐκ Σκύρου, ἐκ δὲ Μιλήτου πρόβατα, ὧς δ' ἐκ Σικελίας.

p. 410, l. 6. These I saw for the first time this year (1890). There is a short account of them by Professor Salinas in the *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* (*Notizie degli Scavi*), 1888, p. 601. But there is no ground-plan showing their position on the hill; so I am unhappily unable to show them in my own plan of Selinous.

p. 417, l. 15. There is another place in Euripidēs that I ought to have referred to, namely Phœnissæ, 202, where the chorus of Phœnician maidens are made to say;

Τύριον οἶδμα λιπούς' ἔβαν
ἀκροθίνια Λοξία
Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ νάσου

Ἰόνιον κατὰ πόντον ἐλά-
τῃ πλεύσασα περιρρύτων
ὑπὲρ ἀκαρπίστων πεδίων
Σικελίας Ζεφύρου πνοαῖς
ἱππεύσαντος.

I am told, while in the act of correcting these corrections, that the very last thing guessed at is that the chorus came, not from Old Phœnicia but from Sicily, Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ νάσου. I should find it rather hard to believe that Τύριον οἶδμα can mean anything in Sicily, or that anybody would call Sicily a Phœnician island. Least of all would Euripidēs or anybody in his time, when the Phœnician side of Sicily was certainly not that which was prominent in Athenian thoughts. But the mention of Sicily, dragged in in this wonderful way, is one of the many signs how great a place our island just then held in the Athenian mind. Some remarkable things will be found in the scholia and in Paley's commentary on the text. The oddest perhaps is that Σικελία does not mean Sicily. Σικελίαν δὲ εἶναι μικρὰν νῆσον μεταξὺ Χαλκίδος καὶ Αὐλίδος; ταύτην δὲ ἀκαρπον εἰρῆσθαι, παραβαλλομένην τῇ μεγάλῃ νήσῳ καὶ πολυκάρπῳ Σικελίᾳ (cf. the Σικελία λύφος in vol. i. p. 487, and Stephen of Byzantium also says; ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Σικελία κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον). We read also; ἀκάρπιστα δὲ πεδία οἱ μὲν τὰ πολύκαρπα, οἱ δὲ τὰ θαλάσσια πεδία, ὅ ἐστι τὰ ἀκαρπα, ὥς πον καὶ ἀτρύγετος λέγεται. So Paley quotes more modern commentators as taking the ἀκάρπιστα πεδία to mean the sea around Sicily, περιρρύτα (see vol. i. p. 457) being, one must suppose, taken as active. Looking at the artificial way in which the tragedians write and their fondness for bringing in dark allusions to their own times, I should venture to paraphrase περιρρύτα ἀκάρπιστα πεδία something in this way; "The plains of the island of Sicily, now, in the days of Eteoklēs and Polyneikēs, not cultivated, but which, by the time Euripidēs can bring the story on the Athenian stage, will have become very fruitful indeed." It is just the same notion as the passage in the *Kyklōps* quoted in p. 418.

The notable point after all is that Zephyros or any other wind should have blown Sicily into a place in a story where it was not the least wanted. Alkibiadēs could have told the reason.

p. 421, l. 5 from bottom. See Additions and Corrections to vol. i. p. 535.

p. 425, l. 9 from bottom. H. Nissen, in the article already quoted (p. 393),

points out the chronological confusion of Diodôros, who places these preparations in 439, according to his reckoning of archons, and in 446, according to his reckoning of consuls. I took the former date, because the archons are more likely to be right than the consuls, and because all this is not likely to have happened before the death of Ducetius. But when I come to my third volume, I shall have to consider whether Nissen may not be right in suggesting a still later date. Diodôros is careless in these matters; still it is hard to sneer at him as "der Schwachkopf," and to say that he shuffles his dates like a pack of cards. But for the despised "Schwachkopf," Nissen would never have heard of "der Aufstand der Sikeler," of which he speaks in the same page.

p. 428, l. 3 from bottom, for "must, like Thucydides, have" read "had, like Thucydides,"

p. 431, l. 5 from bottom. It does just come into one's head whether Ælian or the writer whom he copied might by ἐγχώριος βασιλεύς have meant a Sikel king. This view of our Pollis would save some trouble; but it would hardly fit in with the other descriptions which seem certainly to imply a Syracusan.

p. 445, l. 24. This reckoning of Plutarch leaves out Epipolai, or so much of it as was not Tycha or Temenitês, as part of the city. And indeed when we come to the story of Marcellus, we shall see that it was hardly looked on as such. Dionysios had fenced it in for military reasons, but it was not thickly inhabited like Ortygia and Lower Achradina.

p. 466, l. 15 from bottom. This article of Soudas, like many others, is copied from Hêsybios of Milêtos. The remarks therefore about the forged letters at the bottom of p. 469 belong to Hêsybios and not to Soudas. Now as nobody seems to place Hêsybios much later than the reign of Justinian, while some, as Soudas himself (in Ἡσύχιος), place him as early as that of Anastasius, this is important for the date of the forgery.

p. 476, l. 2 from bottom, for "Elea" read "Hyelê." See on p. 157.

p. 478, l. 15. I do not think that the value of this distinctly historical statement put into the mouth of Gelôn is at all affected by the estimate which we may form of the story of the embassy generally. It is clearly meant to be a narrative of facts, quite unlike the flourishes about Agamemnôn and Menestheus.

p. 478, l. 13 from bottom, for "argument" read "an argument"

p. 494, l. 19. This combined citizenship of Syracuse and Ætna is the more to be noticed when we see how completely their native Gela had passed away from both Hierôn and Chromios as conceived by their poet.

p. 546, l. 7, for "Maiandros" read "Maiandrios"

p. 549, l. 16 from bottom, after "gives" read "Kratos"

p. 551, l. 15 from bottom, after "war" insert "of"

p. 553, l. 9 from bottom. The words are τὸ δὲ χρυσίον ἐξήκ[οντα τ]αλάντων [ἔ]μεν. Can this mean gold to the amount of sixty talents of silver?

p. 562, l. 15. The story about jumping into the crater and about the shoe is also told by Hêsybios of Milêtos, and is copied from him by Soudas; ἐπεὶ δὲ γηραιὸς ἐγένετο, νύκτωρ ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν εἰς κρατῆρα πυρρός, ὥστε μὴ φανῆναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ οὕτως ἀπώλετο, τοῦ σανδαλίου αὐτοῦ ἐκβρασθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST AGE OF THE SICILIAN GREEKS.

B.C. 735-480¹.

THE early days of the Greek colonies in Sicily were a time of remarkable prosperity. This prosperity they shared with the Greek settlements in other parts, both with their own neighbours in Italy and with the more distant settlements in Asia. We are so apt to concentrate our whole attention on two or three centuries of Greek history to the neglect of those before and after them, and in those chosen centuries the cities of old Greece are so conspicuously the centre of the story, that we find it a little hard to call up the time when it was otherwise. Yet beyond doubt there was a time when Milêtos in Asia and Sybaris in Italy stood in some points before any city of Peloponnêsos or Northern Greece. They could not

Early prosperity of the Greek colonies.
They outstrip the cities of old Greece.

¹ We are still without any continuous narrative, good or bad, contemporary or otherwise. The books of Diodôros which dealt with these times are lost along with the earlier authorities on which they were founded. We have therefore still to patch up everything from fragments and casual notices. But towards the end of our period we begin to get casual notices of much higher value than before. For the expedition of Dôrieus and for the rise of the Deinomenid dynasty at Syracuse we have narratives in the fifth and seventh books of Herodotus, which, if not strictly continuous and not strictly contemporary, come much nearer to those characters than anything that we have had hitherto (see vol. i. p. 455). Herodotus, born during the life-time of Hierôn, might easily have talked to men who remembered the rise of Hippokratês. Earlier too than Herodotus, we have the many references to Sicilian matters in the odes of Pindar, and also the comments of his scholiasts, whatever value we set upon them. See vol. i. p. 458.

CHAP. V. rival Athens or Argos in traditional and religious honour, but they surpassed them in the more tangible results of wide commerce and wide dominion. Nor is there any reason to think that, in the great days of Milêtos and Sybaris, any city of Greek Sicily stood quite on their level. The highest greatness of Syracuse and Akragas belongs to a time when the greatness of Milêtos had passed away and when Sybaris had ceased to be. The Greek cities of Sicily were undoubtedly prosperous in the sixth century before Christ; but they were far more prosperous in the fifth. And with the greatest of Sikeliot cities, the time, not of freedom, not of the truest prosperity, but of the highest position in Hellas and the world, comes later still. It was in the fourth century that Syracuse outshone all other European cities. And that was a time when none of the other Sikeliot and Italiot cities held the same relative position in the world which they had once held. Syracuse rose in truth very largely by the misfortunes of her neighbours.

The Sikeliot cities in the sixth century B. C.

Advantages of the colonial position.

Power of expansion.

Many causes combined to bring about this remarkable early prosperity of the Greek colonial cities, and of the Sikeliot cities among them. One chief cause doubtless was the fact that they were colonial cities. A colony of the Greek fashion is likely to owe its origin to a burst of energy which, if the site and other circumstances of the new settlement are favourable, is likely to carry it, for a while at least, to a greater height of prosperity than its own metropolis or than any other of the elder cities. A city of old Greece was in its own nature straitened by its position. It could not enlarge its borders or extend its dominion, except at the cost of other Greek cities. The colony had a new world opened to it. Planted almost of necessity in its first days as an outpost of Hellenic life, it could expand itself almost at pleasure, whether for purposes of trade or dominion, among either barbarian friends or barbarian

subjects. The gradual planting of other colonies might bring it to the condition of the cities of old Greece by hemming it in with Greek neighbours. But, in the West at least, this process was never thoroughly carried out. Any Greek city of Sicily or Italy kept a wider field for growth than belonged to any of the elder cities. Even along the coast the cities were not so thick together, and the Greek settlement was seldom altogether hemmed in by other Greek settlements. Its inland neighbours were sure to be barbarians. In Sicily at least these barbarian neighbours were neither savages doomed to die out before the face of civilization nor yet powerful neighbours who threatened the existence or the independence of the Greek settlements. The Sikels, with whom the Greek settlers had most to deal, were just in that state which made them useful subjects. The Phœnicians of the island, withdrawing before the Greeks to their own western settlements, in no way threatened the Greeks, and they seem to have had but small dealings with them. The Sikeliot cities, planted in an island continent, combined to a great extent the advantages of land and of sea powers. The coast, with its havens, opened to them a wide trade, largely with newly opened regions. And, unlike those seafaring cities which were planted on some rocky and barren island, they could each occupy a territory greater than commonly fell to the lot of a Greek city, a territory renowned for its fruitfulness and abounding in good things of every kind. Everything combined to raise the Sikeliot cities, like the Greek colonial cities generally, to a high pitch of prosperity at an early stage of their life as commonwealths.

CHAP. V.

Relation to
barbarian
neigh-
bours.Advantages of
the Sikeliot cities.

But if for a while the cities of colonial Hellas outstripped those of the motherland, it was only for a while. Neither their political freedom nor their material prosperity was so lasting. The kindest soil for Greek life was after all

Freedom
and prosperity
more lasting in the
motherland.

CHAP. V. to be found in Greece itself. Down to the latest times, however fallen from its old greatness Greece may have been, it has still remained Greek. No foreign conquest, no foreign settlement, has, in Greece itself, ever rooted out the Greek tongue and Greek national memories. But the colonies of Greece have ceased to be Greek for ages. The change is more instructive in the Western colonies with which we have to deal than with those of the East. In these last Greek life has to a great extent been simply rooted out. So it has been largely in Asia Minor; but where Greek life has not been so rooted out, it remains. Much has become Turkish, but what has not become Turkish remains Greek. In the West, on the other hand, in Sicily most conspicuously, Greek life has never been rooted out by barbarians. It lived through Phœnician and Saracen invasions; it has simply given way to influences of other kinds, but to influences which are European and not barbarian. Sicily finally ceased to be a Greek land through influences from the neighbouring mainland. Its Greek element, after widening and falling back for so many ages, after holding up against so many barbarian enemies, at last gave way step by step to the subtle influence of the Lombard followers of the Norman princes.

Greece remains Greek.

Dying out of Greek life in East and West.

Sicily ceases to be Greek.

Barbarian neighbours; in Sicily; in Asia; elsewhere in Europe.

The Sikeliot colonies for some centuries after their foundation enjoyed one special advantage in being altogether free from dangerous neighbours¹. In this they differed from nearly all the Greek colonies elsewhere. The settlements in Asia were exposed to the attacks of the great Asiatic powers. They were subdued by the Lydian and the Persian, as they were subdued in after days by the Saracen and the Turk. The settlements north of the Euxine had to keep up a constant struggle against barbarian enemies who threatened, as the Lydian and the

¹ See vol. i. p. 17.

Persian did not, the utter destruction of Hellenic life. In Gaul, on the other hand, the Greek colonies were planted among barbarians who, instead of threatening the destruction of Hellenic life, largely looked up to the Greeks as their teachers. Massalia has a life of more unbroken prosperity than any other city of Greek foundation; but it has for ages ceased to be Greek, not by the rooting up of Hellenic life, but by influences of the same kind as those to which Hellenic life gave way in Sicily. But the most instructive comparison in this matter lies between Sicily and Italy. After the Phœnician settlers in Sicily withdrew before the Greeks, the Greeks had practically to deal only with the native races, Sikels and Sikans. Neither of these were dangerous. The Greek settlement came at a time when the developement of Sikel nationality had hardly begun. The people who might otherwise have grown into the fellows of Samnites, Latins, or even Romans, were thus checked in their native growth and stood ready for Greek assimilation. No barbarian neighbour threatened the Sikeliot cities till the Phœnician settlements in the island, hitherto harmless, passed under the dominion of the great and enterprising Carthage. In Italy, on the other hand, the beginnings were much the same as in Sicily. The Italiot cities were planted among people in much the same case as the natives of Sicily, some of them of the same Sikel race. Assimilation on a great scale began earlier in Italy than it did in Sicily. The shape of the country allowed it. More than one Greek city of Italy was able to spread its dominion from sea to sea, which no city of Sicily could do in the same sense. And with the dominion, say of Sybaris, its influence, its speech, its general culture, spread faster over the narrow peninsula which was concerned, than it ever could over the solid mainland of Sicily. It was Greek Italy, not Greek Sicily, which so early won for a season

CHAP. V.

Massalia.

Comparison of Sicily and Italy.

Assimilation in Italy.

Ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλάς.

CHAP. V. the name of the Greater Greece¹. In that name Sicily had no share; neither in Sicily nor elsewhere could Greece in the same way spread herself from the one sea to the other. But this was only for a season; the name of the Greater Greece is everywhere spoken of as a name which has passed away. It passed away because there was in Italy, what there was not in Sicily, a background of nations of the same stock as those which came so easily under Greek dominion and Greek culture, but which were not to be won over in the same way. While Sikels and Messapians were becoming hellenized, Samnites and Lucanians were growing up with a strictly Italian growth. Of these the Lucanians were to become the most deadly enemies of the Greek name in Italy, enemies who cut Hellas short in Italy in a way which in Sicily no native race ever tried to do, and which even Carthage herself never did so thoroughly.

Disuse of
the name.

Advance
of the
Italians.

Prosperity
of Sicily.
B. C. 734-
409.

First Car-
thaginian
invasion.
B. C. 480.

It thus came about that for a short season the Italiot cities were yet more prosperous than the Sikeliot, but that they had more dangerous neighbours before whom their prosperity began to give way earlier. In Sicily the general prosperity of the island reaches to the second Carthaginian invasion at the end of the fifth century before Christ. The invasion at the beginning of that century did not do any serious damage to the well-being of Sicily. It was beaten back, and the land had a respite from Carthaginian attack for full seventy years. Still the first attack marks an epoch; it was the beginning and the earnest of what was to come. It falls in also in point of time with important revolutions in the political state of several of the

¹ See vol. i. pp. 17, 20. The only place I know where the name *Magna Græcia*, or anything equivalent to it, is so used as to take in Sicily is in Strabo, vi. i. 2, where he says of the Greeks of Italy that ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ᾗξηντο ὥστε τὴν μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα ταύτην ἔλεγον καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν. Everywhere else the name seems to be confined to Italy. But there is something odd when Himerios (Or. xi. § 1), in a panegyric on the Ionians, says ἐπλευσαν δὲ Ἴόνιον, τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκίζοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἰταλῶν δόμους Ἑλλάδα κληθῆναι τῇ Πυθαγόρου γλώσῃ κατέδειξαν.

Sikeliot cities. The seventy years between the two invasions is a time which has quite another character from the earlier time. It has another character in itself, and ^{for us} it has another character through our far greater knowledge of it. And again, the first Carthaginian invasion of Sicily, though to Sicily itself of much less importance than the second, holds a higher place in the history of the world. It has its place in a great drama to which belong some of the most famous events that the pen of man has ever recorded, the events which formed the most brilliant period of old Greece and which enabled the motherland to outshine her children. The enterprise of the first Hamilkar has its place in the same tale as the enterprise of Xerxes. Both are alike part of that great barbarian advance, when the enemies from the East and from the West set forth, with a common purpose, to quench the light and the life of Hellas at both ends. Whether true or false as a statement of fact, there was the truest meaning in the far-spread belief that the great salvation of Salamis and the great salvation of Himera were wrought on the same day.

CHAP. V.
Seventy
years'
respice.
B.C. 480-
409.

Import-
ance of
the inva-
sion of
480.

Its rela-
tion to the
Persian in-
vasion of
Greece.

Our first resting-place then will be the first Carthaginian invasion of Sicily, the war of Hamilkar and Gelôn. In purely Syracusan history it might be more natural to halt at the rise of the dynasty which Gelôn in that war raised to the highest pitch of glory. And the rise and fall of that dynasty are undoubtedly among the great landmarks of Sicilian history. But in Sicilian history, looked at in its relation to œcumenical history, looked at as a contribution to the history of that undying strife in which the day of Himera was one of the brightest days, the first great struggle with the Punic enemy is a greater landmark still. To do justice to its greatness we must be content to split asunder the history of the Deinomenid dynasty, in itself a compact story. We must carry on the first stage of our tale to the greatest exploit of Gelôn,

It marks
the end of
our first
period.

CHAP. V. the exploit which makes us almost unwilling to set his name in the roll-call of the tyrants.

§ 1. *The Affairs of Syracuse to the Beginning of the Deinomenid Dynasty.* B.C. 734-495.

Position of
Syracuse.

The position of Syracuse in Sicily was, as we have once or twice noticed, a special one. We must indeed not be led astray by impressions drawn from later times. As we are often tempted to mistake the history of Athens for the history of Greece, so we are sometimes tempted to mistake the history of Syracuse for the history of Sicily. Syracuse was for so long a time the actual head of Sicily, before that time it had been so long incomparably the greatest city of Sicily, that it needs an effort to carry ourselves back to days when Syracuse was only one Sikeliot city among others. Yet from a very early time it stood first in some of the elements of greatness, and, scanty as are our notices of its political history, they are at least fuller than those that we have of other cities. We are led therefore to begin our sketch of this time at Syracuse rather than elsewhere.

Its early
and its
later im-
portance.

Question
of kings
at Syra-
cuse.

Pollis of
Argos.

We are met at the threshold by a question which may seem strange in the case of any Sikeliot commonwealth. Did kings ever reign in Syracuse in days before she as yet had tyrants? Our temptation so to think is the existence of several stray notices of a certain Pollis, who is spoken of as King of Syracuse. Nothing indeed is recorded of his acts; the notice of him is of the most incidental kind. He is spoken of as having given his name to a kind of wine, and the singular circumstance is added that the King of Syracuse was a man of Argos¹. But it may be argued that the very oddness of the description,

¹ See Appendix I.

and the incidental way in which it comes in, look as if the story had some kind of foundation. And after all, the notion of an early Syracusan kingship may not be quite so absurd as it seems at first sight. We must remember how slowly the office and title of king died out in the Greek commonwealths. The kings of Sparta are known to all men, and as late as the Persian war Argos still had a king who could claim to rank alongside of them. Even in democratic Athens, as in republican Rome, the kingly title lived on. At Rome it claved to an officer whose duties were purely religious; at Athens it remained the style of one of the elective archons of the year. This seems to make it certain that the title must have been kept on, in some form or other, by the archons for life and for ten years who came before the year nine. In some of the colonies the primitive kingship undoubtedly went on till a much later time¹. The kings of Ephesos in the days of Strabo were purely nominal; but Kyrênê still had real kings in the fifth century before Christ; there were not a few Greek kings in Cyprus, and Evagoras, champion of Hellas, claimed to treat with the Persian himself as a king with a king. Even in Sicily itself, long after any time to which we can assign Pollis, Herodotus, who does not use words at random, applies the kingly title to a ruler of Zanklê. At Corinth too, though assuredly Archias did not sail for Sicily as a king, and though he did not leave any real king behind him at Corinth, yet the abolition of kingship in his city was then a very recent event, and the name may well have lingered there as anywhere². Nor is it wholly impossible that the circumstances of a new settlement may even have led to the revival or establishment of kingship. The tendency of a colony is to equality among its original members; but in a young and struggling settlement the need may well be felt of a stronger

CHAP. V.
Kingship in the Greek commonwealths;
Athens;
Ephesos and other colonies;
Skythês of Zanklê;
Corinth;
B.C. c. 747.
Possible revival of kingship in the colonies.

¹ See Appendix I.² See Appendix I.

CHAP. V. executive than was needed in a city of old Greece. We have a parallel in the early history of our own people. The English kingship in Britain. Jutish and Saxon leaders landed in Britain as *heretogan* and *ealdormen*; they took the kingly title—a title which always remained unknown on the Saxon mainland—for the first time on British ground. The same causes which before long made Sicily so fruitful in tyrants, which made the crop of them so much thicker in Sicily than it was in old Greece, may have led to the keeping on of the primitive kingship or to its revival while it had still not passed out of mind. The subject is not one on which we can pronounce with much certainty. If King Skythês of Zanklê and his acts rest on the authority of Herodotus, King Pollis of Syracuse is a far more shadowy being. We know him only through his wine; we cannot say what he did or when he lived. But, as it would be dangerous to assert, it might be yet more dangerous to deny, the existence either of the man or of his office.

Pollis
king, not
tyrant.

Democ-
ratic ten-
dencies of
colonies.

Pollis, if he lived and reigned at all, must have been a king of the old type, and not a tyrant. And such a kingship would most likely lessen in authority in each generation, and at last sink, as in so many other cities, into a venerable name. Such a kingship would in no way hinder the course of political affairs which was sure to take place in a city so placed as Syracuse, and which, as distinct evidence shows, did take place at Syracuse. The first tendencies of a colony are democratic. The name *democracy* was as yet unknown in Greece, because the controversies out of which it arose had hardly begun. But a practical democracy is the natural state of things for a new settlement in its first stage. That is to say, each settler claims a voice in the general assembly of the settlement; he claims also a share—not necessarily an equal share—in the division of the land which the settlers take to themselves. This does not shut out a large measure of respect and

preference for those who were of high birth—*eupatridai* or *eorlas*—in the old home; but it would seem to shut out the danger of any exclusive privileges on their part to the wrong of their comrades in the voyage and the settlement. CHAP. V.

But if a colony starts from a democratic beginning, nowhere is what we may call the *aristocracy of elder settlement* so likely to grow up. The first settlers divide among themselves the land of which they take possession, save only so much as may be set aside as *folkland* for common purposes or as a sacred possession for the gods. For a while, as long as the settlement is weak and its members few, they may welcome new-comers, to be endowed by fresh conquests at the cost of barbarian neighbours. As soon as [the new settlement feels itself strong, as soon as its numbers are large enough for the needs of an independent city, the citizens no longer welcome partners in what they are beginning to look on as an exclusive possession. New settlers still come; to a city with a great haven, enriched with the commerce of the seas, they are sure to flock in large numbers. But the descendants of the elder settlers are no longer willing to admit such new-comers to any share in their hereditary rights. The strangers may, if they please, sit down and dwell; they may buy and sell and get gain; but they must not look for a share in the lands of the city or for a vote in its assembly. The general law of Greek citizenship—one might say the general law of true citizenship in all times and places—now comes in. This is the rule that citizenship can pass only either by descent from former citizens or by special grant of the citizen body. Mere residence goes for nothing; the children of the stranger, even if they dwell in the city to the ninth and tenth generation, still remain strangers, unless citizenship is granted to them by a special vote as the reward of

Growth of the aristocracy of older settlement.

New settlers welcome at first;

afterwards not admitted to citizenship.

Nature of citizenship.

CHAP. V.

The older settlers become an exclusive body.

Growth of the *Démos* or *Plebs*.

The old citizens become an oligarchy.

some special service. The descendants of the first settlers, a pure democracy, it may be, among themselves, become an exclusive body as regards the new-comers and their descendants. As an exclusive body, they follow the law of all exclusive bodies; they lessen in numbers. Families of the favoured order die out, while the class that is shut out, enlarged by further batches of new-comers, grows in numbers, wealth, and importance. Settled on the soil, perhaps for several generations, they begin to look on it as their land and the land of their fathers, and to deem themselves no less its true people than those whose settlement was a few generations earlier. Yet, with so many ties to the city, they are still strangers in it, not sharing in its soil and having no voice in its affairs. Whether, in this particular case of Syracuse, they had further to bear any active oppression we cannot say. The analogies of Rome and Athens suggest that it might be so; but we cannot argue in all things from inland cities like Rome and Athens to Syracuse with her haven. But in any case the new-comers and their descendants deemed themselves the People—the *Démos*, the *Plebs*—of the Syracusan city. The descendants of Archias and his followers stood forth in their eyes as an exclusive and oligarchic body. Men of that body alone still held the landed property of the commonwealth; they alone held private estates; they alone enjoyed the use of the public folkland. As old houses died out, we know not how their lands were disposed of; but assuredly in some way which profitted none but the members of the houses which still lived on. The old settlers then, democratic as they may have been at their starting, had, step by step, put on all the features of an aristocratic body, an exclusive class of landowners. Their position was marked by their name, which, whether formally taken or not, whether given at first in honour or in hatred, is expressive indeed. They were

the *Gamoroi*, the men who had meted out the land among them¹. CHAP. V.

The unenfranchised multitude which had thus gathered around the older possessors of the soil were at least personally free. Whether all were of pure Greek blood may be doubted. If any Phœnician element had lingered on from præ-Hellenic days, the revolution would hardly affect them. They would live on, if they were there at all, in the character of strangers, of *Metoikoi*, half favoured, half feared. The gap between them and the Greek was always so wide that we can hardly conceive any men of Phœnician race being present in Syracuse in any other character. We cannot conceive their making their way into either the higher or the lower rank of citizenship in any Greek city. There were other barbarians, European barbarians, who could do so with greater ease, as we find that they largely did in later times. But we may be sure that the excluded class at Syracuse was mainly Greek, and that, at this stage, if any who were not Greeks crept in unawares, they were at least not the Sikels of the Syracusan territory. These last had their place in the economy of the Syracusan commonwealth, but without being its members even in the lowest sense. Under the name of *Kyllyrioi*, a name of uncertain origin, they dwelled in a position much like that of villainage on the lands of the Syracusan landowners. They are likened to the Helots of Laconia and to the Penests of Thessaly². But the Helots were Greeks as much as their masters; the Penests were more truly so; a scrupulous genealogist might have called in question the right of the Thesprotian invaders of Thessaly to the Hellenic name. This relation of villainage was a common one in the Greek colonies. The natives of the soil tilled the lands which

Nature
of the
Dêmos.

Question
of Phœ-
nician
Metoikoi.

Position
of the
Sikels.

The *Kylly-
rioi*.

Villainage.

¹ On the *Γαμόροι* see Appendix II.

² On the *Κυλλήριοι* see Appendix II.

CHAP. V. had once belonged to their own people. They tilled them, perhaps not as the personal slaves of their intruding masters, but at any rate as owing them the service of men *adscripti glebæ*, bound to the soil by a servile tenure. They would most likely serve in war as light-armed troops, and in the later revolutions of Syracuse they might easily find their way within the ranks of citizenship. At present their condition is so low that they could, with perhaps some little exaggeration, be spoken of as the slaves of the *Gamoroi*. But the same evidence shows that they were slaves who were not unwilling to rise against their masters, and whom the poorer freemen were not unwilling to welcome as helpers¹.

Action of
the *Gamo-
roi* as a
court.

Their
assembly.

Story of
Agatho-
klês and
the temple
of Athênê.

Beyond the general relations of these classes to one another, we hear little of the political affairs of Syracuse during this period. In one remarkable story, deeply interesting on another ground, we see the *Gamoroi* in peaceful action. We get a glimpse of their assembly, an assembly like that of the *Curia* at Rome or the Great Council at Venice, in which every member of the privileged order had a place². That is to say, at Syracuse, as at Rome, though not as at Venice, it was the assembly of the body that once was the whole people, but which, now that another people had arisen round it, passed for the assembly of an oligarchy. In our story the *Gamoroi* sit as a court to judge a charge of sacrilege. The temple of Athênê, the temple whose columns still abide imbedded in the walls of the great church of Syracuse, was now in building. One Agathoklês, bearing a name afterwards so famous and terrible, had the care of the work, seemingly as contractor

¹ See Appendix II.

² I believe I am old-fashioned about the Roman *curia*; but I still see in them, at any rate in the only times with which I am now concerned, an assembly of an order which, originally the whole people, has gradually grown into an exclusive body.

for its building¹. This kind of undertaking was looked on in the Greek cities as important and honourable. It was sought after, not always as a mere source of gain, but at least equally as a course of influence. We shall see that in some cases an employment of this kind on great public works could even be turned into a path towards tyranny². We know that a liberal discharge of the duties undertaken towards the gods or towards the commonwealth might raise a whole *gens* in the general estimation of Greece³, and might lead to political results of no small moment. But Agathoklès seems not to have sought either power or honour, but ends of a purely private kind. Of the stones which were hewn for the service of Athênê, he took the choicest to himself for the building of his own house. He paid the value; but the mere money payment did not satisfy the goddess; the stones designed for her service were hallowed, and should not have been turned aside to any private use. The divine wrath showed itself beyond dispute when Agathoklès and the house which he had thus sacrilegiously built were burned up by a thunderbolt. The *Gamoroi* sat in judgement; the heirs of Agathoklès pleaded that, as he had paid the value of the stones, he had not defrauded the goddess, and was not a wrong-doer. But the *Gamoroi* judged otherwise. They decided that the property of Agathoklès should be confiscated to the commonwealth—why did it not go to Athênê?—and that the site of his house should be consecrated by the name of the

CHAP. V.

Position
of public
contrac-
tors.Agathoklès em-
bezcles the
stones.Judgement
of the
Gamoroi.

¹ This story comes from a fragment of the eighth book of Diodōros. Agathokles is described as ἐπιστάτης αἰρεθείς τῆς περὶ τὸν νεὼν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οἰκοδομίας. The constitutional bit is this; οἱ γεωμόροι ἔκριναν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν δημοσίαν εἶναι, καίπερ τῶν κληρονόμων δεικνύοντων μηδὲν εἰληφότων ἱερῶν δημοσίαν χρημάτων. I do not see why Holm (G. S. i. 148) takes κληρονόμοι to be the name of a magistracy; surely it simply means the heirs of Agathoklès.

² As in the case of Phalaris in the next section.

³ See the story of the rebuilding of the Delphian temple by the Alkmaïonidai; Herod. v. 62.

CHAP. V. *Embrontaion*, the Thunder-smitten, as a spot which might not be lawfully trodden by the foot of man.

Syracusan
settle-
ments.

There is perhaps no other case in which we see this body, democratic on one side, oligarchic on the other, playing its ordinary part in ordinary times. Our other notices have to do with stirs and revolutions, or with the founding of settlements and outposts. The settlements founded by Syracuse, settlements not altogether deserving the name of colonies, form an important feature in its earliest history. They mark the peculiar character of the growth and the ambition of the city. The town itself does not grow, but its territory grows largely. We have seen that the geographical nature of Sicily allowed its cities to unite the character of land and sea powers in a way which could seldom be done either by the cities of old Greece or by the colonies in other parts of the Mediterranean. Syracuse, above all, aimed, early in our story, at becoming what, according to the scale of those days, was a great land-power with a large sea-board. Her home might be on an island in the sea, but her ambition was in no way confined to the eastern shore on which she was planted or to the shore of any part of the island. That Syracuse in after days, notwithstanding her unrivalled haven, was greater by land than by sea is clear from the language of her own statesman two hundred and fifty years later, when he contrasts his countrymen as landsmen with the sea-faring folk of Athens¹. Syracuse from the beginning ruled over a land rich in those gifts of Dêmêtêr which in after-days made Sicily the granary of Rome, a land which the laureate of the Olympic victors marked as no less rich in flocks and in the horses of whose swiftness he sang. And she had every call to extend that rich dominion. Planted on the eastern side of Sicily, she

Territorial
ambition
of Syra-
cuse.

¹ Thuc. vii. 21. See vol. i. p. 2.

THE SYRACUSAN ADVANCE.

Sicily, Vol. II, p. 17.



had still been planted near enough to its southern point to dream of a dominion on both seas. She might hope for a territory on the coast that looked towards Libya as well as on the coast that looked towards Hellas. Her march to a dominion of this kind was steady, if not speedy; it was evidently kept ever in view for several generations. In this constant carrying of a single plan through the lives of many successive men, the *Gamoroi* of Syracuse went far to forestall the abiding policy of the Roman Senate, that policy which seems as if it were the work of an undying personal Rome rather than of a shifting assembly of mortal Romans.

CHAP. V.

Her steady territorial advance.

Comparison with Rome.

Of the advance of Syracusan dominion from Ortygia and its immediate neighbourhood along the eastern coast down to the south-eastern corner we have no record.

Advance along the southern coast.

We shall presently come to the record of its advance by a landward path to the coast of the southern sea. But we can hardly believe that the power of Syracuse reached very far inland till after the whole coast from Plêmmyrion to Pachynos had been occupied. If for no other reason, it was expedient to keep Syracuse from being hemmed in to the south by any fresh Greek settlers on the unoccupied coast. The advance of Syracuse in this direction seems

marked by two sites of very different kinds, Helôron on the sea-shore, and Neaiton, Netum, Noto, deep among the hills. Both have ceased to be inhabited; but the old

Outposts at Helôron and Neaiton.

Noto lived on till the end of the seventeenth century, when it perished in the great earthquake which overthrew so many towns in this region, and which has often left

A.D. 1693.

only their sites occupied by modern buildings. Noto was rebuilt on another site several miles lower down the course of the Assinaros, the memorable stream which rises

Old and New Neaiton or Noto.

among the hills of the old Noto and flows far below the gleaming houses and churches of the new. The ancient Neaiton, we may be sure, was an old Sikel site, and it

CHAP. V. has been thought that it went on as a Sikel town under Syracusan supremacy till we reach its first mention in history in the third century before Christ¹. But surely Syracusan policy would hardly allow so much separate being as this to so strong a site in such a position. Of

Helôron. Helôron on the coast there is as little to say as of Neaiton among the hills²; but its importance is marked by the The Helorine road. frequent mention of the road near the coast that led to it.

The river Helôros. Its ruins are still to be traced on a hill above the sea on the left bank of the river from which it takes its name. That river, the modern Tellaro, has received various epithets from the Latin poets. Its rush of waters is commemorated by one³. A seemingly opposite adjective applied to it by another⁴ may describe its state when the whole of its wide bed, the rich valley which a third poet does not scruple to speak of as the *Tempê* of Helôros⁵, is overspread by its then necessarily shallow waters. Near the spot where the Helorine *Tempê* are spanned by the bridge and viaduct of the present road from Noto to Pachino, there remains one special monument of the days when Helôron was an inhabited town. In a bridge of stone which has now fallen in we can clearly see the construction, not of the real, but of the apparent arch.

The coast south of Syracuse secured by these two settlements, The object of these two settlements seems clear enough. Helôron, whether it was, like Ortygia, a site from which Sikels had to be driven, or whether its Syracusan occupants were its first inhabitants, must have been a Syracusan settlement in the strictest sense. It was planted there to

¹ Schubring, *Historisch-geographische Studien* (Gela), p. 111.

² Skylax (13); μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα [*Συρακούσας*] πόλις "Ἐλωρον καὶ Πάχυνος ἀκρωτήριον.

³ Silius, xiv. 269; "Undæ clamosus Helorus." Cf. vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

⁴ Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 696 (after Arethousa);

"Inde

Exsupero præpingue solum stagnantis Helori."

⁵ Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 477. See vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

CHAP. V.

occupy and to secure the coast. Neaiton, much more surely a spot wrested from the Sikel, was a landward outpost to defend Helôron and its district against the attacks of inland enemies. In these settlements, whose date is unknown but whose traces are there to speak for them, we see a policy which led to the later extension of Syracusan dominion in other directions. Syracuse, shut in to the north by the foundation of Megara and other Greek cities, had secured to herself all that part of her own coast which remained unoccupied. Her next ambition was to spread her possessions over the whole south-eastern corner of Sicily. She would be a power at once by land and by sea. But the work was to be done gradually; a settlement on the African sea was not to be attempted till the inland districts which came within such a scheme were fully secured.

Gradual
advance
towards
the south
coast.

This was done by the planting of a series of outposts spread over a period of sixty-five years. Seventy years after the foundation of Syracuse came the settlement of Akrai; twenty years later came that of Kasmenai; forty-five years later again that of the more famous Kamarina¹. Akrai, the eldest of the three settlements, was at once the nearest to Syracuse and the furthest inland. Its object clearly was to defend Syracuse and her home territory against attacks from the inland Sikels, while the commonwealth was engaged in more distant advances. The settlement was not strictly a colony²; it was not a distinct city; it was rather an outlying part of Syracuse itself, growing up on this separate spot. The inhabitants, of whatever class, doubtless kept the *status* of their own class

Series of
outposts.

B. C. 663.

B. C. 643.

B. C. 598.

its ob-
ject and
position.

¹ The dates come from Thucydides, vi. 5. Cf. the Scholiast on Pindar, Ol. vi. 16. 19.

² Thucydides mentions the foundation of all three in the list of settlements; but, while he gives the dates, he puts them after the cities, both dated and dateless. See vol. i. p. 586. Herodotus (vii. 155) says ἐκ Κασμῆνης πόλις; but just at that moment Kasmenai was a separate community.

CHAP. V. in the Syracusan commonwealth. It is only when Sicily was a province that we find separate coins of Akrai¹. In better days the coinage of the place was that of Syracuse, and the few times that the place is mentioned in history it appears as a mere outpost of Syracuse. The post chosen for the settlement stands nearly due west from Syracuse, at a distance of about twenty-four English miles. It stands high, as its name speaks for it, and well among the hills. In its early days it must have looked forth on homes of the free Sikel on every inland side. But the eastward view is straight towards Syracuse, her harbour and her island; the settler on Akrai was not wholly severed from his native city. In clear weather the eye can reach between the hills on either side, to the flat coast of the sea of Libya, to whose possession by Syracusan holders the winning of Akrai was the first step. The present approach from Syracuse is instructive in many ways. It leads through two widely different regions, and it helps us to put some of the main objects of Syracusan scenery into new groupings. As the ground rises, we better feel the wide extent of the southward plain which formed a chief part of the possessions of Syracuse. Its richness and its stoniness both come out. The gnarled olive-trees, with their fresh branches and seemingly dead trunks, dispute with the wheat-crops the possession of every inch of ground where the rugged limestone does not come to the surface. Presently we pass among the hills, mostly all but bare, pierced here and there by deep gorges where all the vegetable wealth of Sicily flourishes under their shelter. Nature and art between them have cut up the hillsides into terraces or lynchets, and nowhere do we see more striking examples of the rugged roads of old times. The solid rock has been worn away by the passage

Position of
Akrai.

Approach
from Syra-
cuse.

¹ Head, *Historia Numorum*, 103; *Coins of Sicily*, p. 2. I have seen them on the spot.

of hoofs and wheels, seemingly from the first days of Akrai. CHAP. V.
 The hill itself, which became the special Syracusan out- The hill.
 post, is less of a peak than might have been looked for
 from the name. Spreading and massive, with a steep face
 to the south, it is parted from the opposite hill by a narrow
 dale. To the north it rises with a gradual slope, some
 way up which stands the representative of Akrai, the
 modern Palazzuolo ¹.

The ancient town stood on the top of the hill. The whole Buildings
of Akrai.
 space is too wide to have been ever covered by the buildings
 of Akrai; unluckily no traces of the walls are left to enable
 us to trace out its exact extent. Its chief buildings at
 least, the greater and the lesser theatre, the slight signs
 of the akropolis above them, stood on the side looking
 towards the mother city. But the other sides, looking out
 on the lofty homes of the folk whom Akrai was built to
 curb, must also have been carefully guarded. From Akrai
 itself the Sikel was driven, but not till he had left his
 mark for ever on the hill itself and on every rock around.
 Every available spot has been burrowed into for the graves Sikel
tombs.
 of the dead, the dead of the folk who gave Sicily its
 name. Later settlers have made spoil of their primæval
 resting-places. Here they are enriched by the sculpture of
 the pagan Greek; there they have been enlarged into
 the Christian catacomb. It is the works of the earlier
 race which give Akrai its special character. Yet the
 early days of Greek settlement have left their memorials
 in the shape of objects which, from some point of view,
 are of higher interest still,—the mysterious reliefs on the
 face of the hill of Akrai. Low down towards the south I Santoni.
 still sit the figures carved out of the rock, cruelly mutilated,

¹ Cluver (354) puts it elsewhere, but Palazzuolo is now generally accepted. I saw Akrai in 1887. I have since found an account of a visit to the place in 1826, in an article in the Museum of Classical Antiquities, ii. 240 (London, 1852-53), signed "John Hogg." There are some speculations on the *Santoni*.

CHAP. V. a series of female shapes, grave, solemn, and queenly, with satellites and accompaniments of various kinds. There is the horse and his rider, but the rider still by his horse's side; there is the hound, the armed warrior, and other forms hard to be discerned after ages of wanton havoc. But the bushel, the *modius*, borne by the enthroned goddess points to Sicily's own patron Lady, to Dêmêter whose golden gifts grow so richly in the fields below. These mysterious figures—*I Santoni* is the local name—though archaic, are not rude; there is nothing about them like the grotesqueness of the Selinuntine metopes. They are among the most precious remains of Sikeliot art, all the more precious because, graven in the rock for ever, they have been of necessity left on the spot where they were graven.

Comparison with settlement in America.

This earliest plantation of a Greek settlement far away from the coast, this first fixing of a home in the Wild West of the inland *Sikelia*, is a memorable point in the history of such settlements. Let our thoughts fly onwards over twenty-three centuries, and Akrai will be found to occupy much the same position as any outlying post of a New England settlement, open to Indian attack, and whose chief duty was to ward off Indian attack from settlements nearer the coast. It was an outpost of Greece in a barbarian land, exactly as the later settlement was an outpost of England and of Europe. But in this last word lies the difference which presently showed itself between two states of things which were for the moment closely alike. We might indeed say that the New England settlement was an outpost of Old England as well as of New, while Akrai, outpost of Syracuse, was no outpost of Corinth. But there is a deeper difference than this. The New England settlement was an outpost, not only of England but of Europe. This last Akrai was not. The Sikel was not as the Red Indian. The English settler in America had to deal with savages of another race, another colour, whom no process

The Sikel and the Indian.

of war or peace could turn into Englishmen. Their fate was simply to die out before the advance of the more civilized people. The Greek settler in Sicily came across men far beneath him in all political and social advancement, but who were still Europeans like himself, kinsfolk who had simply lagged behind ¹. The Sikel needed not to die out before the Greek; he could himself in course of time become a Greek, and could contribute new elements to the Greek life of Sicily. When Akrai was founded, the Sikel had no alternatives but either to keep a wild independence further inland or to submit to the yoke of Syracusan serfdom. Things had changed indeed, they had changed for some ages, when Diodôros of Sikeli Agrium wrote his Hellenic history without a thought of his own non-Hellenic origin. CHAP. V.

It has been supposed with much likelihood ² that the occupation of Akrai was suggested by the plantation of Gela on the coast at which Syracuse was now aiming. The next post that was occupied was far nearer to the southern sea, but still not immediately on it. Its occupation seems to imply the Syracusan occupation of the whole land stretching from Syracuse and Akrai to the south-eastern point of Sicily. This was Kasmenai, a place of which we shall hear once or twice in Syracusan history. The creation of both these posts, while their main object was to enlarge and strengthen the Syracusan territory, further implies that the Syracusan city contained an overflow of citizens or at least of inhabitants, men for whom it was possible, perhaps desirable, to find dwellings at a distance from the city. It has been remarked that the occupation of Kasmenai follows not long after the over-

Akrai suggested by
Gela.

 Foundation of
Kasmenai.
643 B. C.

¹ See vol. i. p. 20.

² Holm, G. S. i. 48. See p. 396. In Steph. Byz. it is *Ἀκρα κτίσμα Συρακουσίων*.

CHAP. V. throw of the Bacchiad oligarchy at Corinth and the rise of the tyranny of Kypselos¹. Certainly no class of newcomers was more likely to be well received at Syracuse than exiles from the mother-city. The sympathies of the *Gamoroi*, even if the forefathers of some of them had left Corinth to avoid the Bacchiads, would be by this time on the side of the house lately ruling and now fallen. And the fact is worth noting, though it might be rash to build much on it, that at a later time Kasmenai appears as a place of shelter for banished *Gamoroi*.

Possible connexion with the overthrow of the Bacchiads. B.C. 658-655.

Banishment of the Mylétids. 648 B.C.

We may further notice, with a somewhat greater measure of confidence, that the settlement of Kasmenai comes shortly after one of the few recorded events of this time in the domestic history of Syracuse itself. That is one of which we have already heard and which distinctly points to dissension among the *Gamoroi* themselves. The foundation of Kasmenai followed within four years after the foundation of Himera, and we have seen that among the settlers at Himera was a body of Syracusans banished in civil strife². Their name, the Mylétids, is clearly the name of a *gens*, an exiled *gens*, a *gens* which, in some dispute within the city, had been driven out by its adversaries. We think at once of Corinthian Bacchiads, Athenian Alkmaionids, Roman Tarquins. The banishment of a whole *gens* is far more likely to have been the work of a hostile party among the oligarchs themselves than of any movement on the part of the excluded people. We may conceive that the Mylétids had set up, or had striven to set up, an exclusive dominion in their own body such as the Bacchiads enjoyed at Corinth. Such a dominion was sure to be withstood by the other *gentes* among the *Gamoroi*. If the Mylétids had been overthrown by a popular movement, their fall would most likely have led, like that of the Bacchiads, to the

¹ Holm, G. S. i. 48.

² Thuc. v. 5. See vol. i. p. 411.

rise of a tyranny, and the days of tyranny in Syracuse had not yet come. CHAP. V.

The exact site of Kasmenai has been a matter of some dispute. It has been placed at Scicli¹; it has been placed at Rossolini on the road between the modern Noto and Spaccaforno². But some may be inclined to think that the far more striking site of Spaccaforno itself has a better claim. Within and about that otherwise thoroughly modern town many signs of ancient occupation are clearly seen. The site is one of no small strength and grandeur, and it is thoroughly suited for the purposes which Syracuse had in view in the settlement of Kasmenai. It marks a stage which naturally came between the foundation of Akrai and the foundation of Kamarina. The plantation of Akrai secured Syracuse against the Sikels on her north-western border; she had already extended her dominion along the eastern coast to the south-eastern corner of Sicily. She was now pressing towards the African sea. But before she actually planted a settlement on its coast, she thought it prudent to secure a point somewhat inland, which should play the same part on her south-western border which Akrai played on the north-western. No site could be better chosen for such a purpose than that of the present Spaccaforno. That town, so called from a river of the same name, stands at the junction of several roads, and looks down on the sea from a stony height with a plain of about five miles wide between the foot of its hill and the coast. Signs of an ancient road are plainly seen on this side; but the features which distinctly point out

Site of
Kasmenai.

Spacca-
forno.

Position
of Spacca-
forno.

¹ Cluver, 359. I do not know what the ruins spoken of in the article "Casmenæ" in the Dictionary of Geography can be, unless Sir R. C. Hoare made some confusion with the ruins of Kamarina.

² Schubring, Historisch-geographische Studien, p. 111. He adds; "est ist möglich, dass Kasmenæ bald untergegangen ist, dass dagegen Neetum, eine sikelische Stadt [see above, p. 18], aber gewiss unter syracusanischer Botmässigkeit, dessen Rolle übernommen hat." But why?

CHAP. V. Spaccaforno as a site which the earlier races would be sure to occupy, and from which the Greeks would find it needful to dislodge them, come out yet more strongly to the landward. The hill on which the town stands, far lower than the hill of Henna, has some points in common with it. Like Henna, it is parted into two by a deep ravine running into the heart of the town, on which houses look down on both sides. Spaccaforno, like Castrogiovanni, keeps on the hill; the gorge in both cases is too steep and narrow to allow of houses running down to the bottom as they do at Modica. Another longer ravine goes far to compass the inland side of the town. Thus that part of the hill which we may conceive to have acted as the akropolis forms a peninsula all but surrounded with deep limestone gorges; it is set upon tall cliffs and looks out on other tall cliffs.

Tombs.

Ispica.

And all are thickly honeycombed with the graves of the men of unrecorded times. Both these gorges are in fact branches of the famous valley of Ispica, the narrow and winding glen so specially chosen alike for the dwellings and for the tombs of those earlier races. Its south-western entrance begins at this point, and the hill which has just been suggested as the akropolis of Kasmenai is the key to a pass which must have been a chief outlet of the Sikel territory, and which can hardly fail, both on practical and on sentimental grounds, to have been vigorously defended. Such a spot, we may be sure, was not found empty by the Syracusan settlers. It is a site marked out for early occupation, and signs of early and long-continued occupation are not lacking. The lines of ancient streets are to be seen, the roads worn deep in the rock, some of them leading up from the rocky combe between the two parts of the hill. Here then, rather than at any other point, we may place the central fortress among the three chief Syracusan outposts, when the advancing settlers had come within sight of the sea of Africa but had not yet fixed their dwellings on its shore.

The only other point suggested with any degree of likelihood as the site of Kasmenai, that of Scicli, is somewhat further to the west. It is not always clear whether by Scicli we are to understand the present town or an older site on the hills some way off. The modern Scicli lies, somewhat after the manner of Modica, in a plain formed by the meeting of several deep and stony ravines. Between two of them is a site where the signs of ancient occupation are clear. The bare rocks, with the horizontal lines of their strata almost like human buildings, and the jagged peaks which rise above the modern town, have the air of a natural castle. Here too the sides of the rocks are pierced with tombs of every shape and size, showing that the place was occupied by Sikels or by some people earlier than Sikels. The height may well have been crowned by a fort in the days of Syracusan or any other dominion; but it seems hardly possible that it can have been the site of a Greek town capable of playing the part which we shall presently find Kasmenai playing in Syracusan history. It is not a place on which we could fancy the whole body of the Syracusan oligarchs finding shelter, as we know that they found it at Kasmenai¹. But more than this, the military position of Scicli, though likely to be useful at a somewhat later stage, does not seem, for the particular work of pressing gradually on from Akrai to the southern sea, at all equal to that of Spaccaforno. This last point, the key to the vale of Ispica, is really the key on the Syracusan side to the whole system of gorges of which those both at Scicli and at Spaccaforno form a part. It formed a stronghold specially suited for holding fast what Syracuse had won, and for acting as the starting-point to win more. It may well have had a special reference to the strong Sikel post of Motica, with its own group of ravines at no great distance from the vale of Ispica

CHAP. V.
Scicli.

Not the
site of
Kasmenai.

¹ Herod. vii. 155.

CHAP. V. itself. On the sea-side also Spaccaforno seems better to answer the requirements of a site claiming to be Kasmenai. Scicli is actually nearer to the sea than Spaccaforno, and the waters come into view from its heights; but it has not the sea lying at its feet as Spaccaforno has.

Founda-
tion of
Kamarina.
598 B.C.

Kasmenai has no coins. Unless in the one moment of the withdrawal of the *Gamoroi*, it seems never to have risen above the rank of a Syracusan outpost. Far more famous than Akrai or Kasmenai, the only one of these settlements which has a history of its own was Kamarina¹. The position of this town, actually on the southern coast, marks the carrying out of the Syracusan policy in this direction, and its foundation must have been somewhat of a challenge to the other Greek cities on that side of Sicily.

Completion
of the
Syracusan
plan.

Territory
of Syra-
cuse.

When Kamarina was founded, Syracuse must have already spread her power over the whole south-eastern corner of the island. Her territory at this stage, marked on the landward side by Akrai and Kasmenai, and stretching along the southern sea as far as Kamarina, was already much larger than was commonly held by a Greek city. It had some analogy with the territory of Athens in the number of separate towns and districts which it contained, towns and districts of widely different characters, inland and on the coast. The relation itself in which they stood to the capital was most likely that of an Attic town to Athens. That is to say, whatever was their local constitution, they were not political communities, dependent or independent. They were outlying parts of Syracuse, just as Marathôn and Eleusis were, for all political purposes, outlying parts of Athens. That the relation came about in opposite ways in the two cases, that Marathôn and Eleusis were not Athenian foundations, while Akrai

Compari-
son with
Attica.

¹ On Kamarina Schubring has a monograph in *Philologus*, vol. xxxiii. p. 490 (Göttingen, 1872).

and Helorôn were Syracusan foundations, does not affect CHAP. V. the likeness of the relation itself. The free inhabitants of these towns and their districts were doubtless Syracusan citizens, with their place in the Syracusan assembly. These towns in short have no history of their own; their names are recorded only now and then as the scenes of some event in the history of Syracuse.

To all this the story of Kamarina forms a memorable Special history of Kamarina; exception; but before we tell its story, it may be well to look at its site. What that site may have been in its the site. days of splendour it is hardly fair to judge from such signs as the fallen city has left behind it. The modern visitor is tempted to set down Kamarina as the least interesting among the Greek sites of Sicily, and perhaps to wonder where the attraction lay which caused the city to rise again after every overthrow but the last. Yet even now there is something striking in the position of its akropolis rising sheer above the sea with its wide view along the coast on both sides. And we know that the forces of nature have changed things not a little, and that on the landward side the akropolis must have looked down on a scene different in many ways from that which now lies beneath it. Poets have sung of the sounding stream of Hipparis flowing beneath the walls of Kamarina¹. They have sung too of the lake through which his The lake of Kamarina. stream passes, the lake from which the town was, like Syracuse, held to have taken its name², and whose nymph

¹ Schubring, 515.

² *Καμάρινα, πόλις Σικελίας καὶ λίμνη*, says Stephen of Byzantium. In Claudian, *Rap. Pros. ii.* 59, we read, among the other contingents to the array of nymphs, those

“ . . Quas pigra vado Camerina palustri,
 Nutrit.”

The “pigra” perhaps refers to the oracle to which we shall come directly. There is little that is local in Pindar’s ode to the Kamarinaian Psaumis (*Ol. iv.*); but the features of the place come out in the doubtful one

CHAP. V. appears on its coins mounted on the swan which sported on her waters¹. As things are now, the nymph is as likely to be found as the swan; it is indeed an act of faith to believe that either nymph or swan could ever have found a fitting home beneath the hill of Kamarina. Even in its best days we may believe that poetic fancy somewhat improved on the actual prospect. A legend commemorated in a well-known verse lets out the fact that, at some seasons at least, the famous lake became a pestilential

The oracle. swamp. The men of Kamarina sought to drain the lake; but, as in other cases where men sought to improve on the workmanship of the gods², the prophetess of Pythô bade them to leave Kamarina untouched—Kamarina the lake and not the city; she was better as she was³. What man strove to do when Kamarina was an abode of men has been done in a certain fashion by the hand of nature, now that the dwellers on the hill of Kamarina are few indeed. Hipparis himself, who has a real and abiding stream, and who has some high banks in the upper part of his course, still makes his way into the sea by a mouth of no great dignity immediately below the akropolis. But the lake is so choked, partly by sand, partly by rushes, as to be a lake no longer. The sand too has spread so thickly over the hill of Kamarina, specially on its landward side, as to

Present
state of
the lake
and hill.

which follows, where Kamarina is addressed as *᾽Ωκεανῶ θύγατερ*, and we read of

*ἄλσος ἄγρῶν
τὸ τεὸν ποταμὸν τε ᾽Ἰανον, ἐγ-
χωρίαν τε λίμναν,
καὶ σεμνὸν ὄχετος, ᾽Ἰπ-
παρις οἷσιν ἄρδει στρατόν.*

¹ Coins of Sicily, pp. 36, 37; Head, *Hist. Num.* 112. But all these belong to a later time, though one has the legend from right to left. Holm (*G. S. i.* 397) fittingly refers to the Scholiast on Apollônios (ii. 500), where there is no mention of Kamarina or Sicily, but where Kyrênê is taken by Apollôn to Libya *ἐπὶ κύκνων ὄχηθείσα*.

² See the oracle to the Knidians in Herodotus, i. 174.

³ See Appendix III.

make the ascent of its lowly height a more toilsome work CHAP. V.
 than to climb the steeps of Eryx and Henna. It may well be that this change has been in some sort a protection, and that the heaps of sand shelter beneath them many precious remnants of the ancient city. And truly in Kamarina, as things now stand, any protection in any shape may be welcomed.

Not much is to be seen of the fallen city, but two small fragments remain in the places where they were Remains of the akropolis
 set, perhaps by the hands of the first settlers from Syracuse. On the akropolis itself a shattered fragment of a mediæval tower, rising immediately above the sea and the river, is supported by the one surviving piece of the wall of Kamarina. The rest of its extent has to be guessed at; at this one point it stands to speak for itself, perhaps to proclaim its early date by masonry which certainly does not recall the fineness of the mighty rampart of Dionysios. On another of the low heights within the circuit of the city, once rose the holy house of the special patroness of and the temple of Athênê.
 Kamarina, Athênê herself, whose form appears on some types of her coinage in the early days of her third life¹. The massive columns of her island temple in the metropolis had but a lowly representative in the temple *in antis* which formed the Parthenôn of Kamarina. But the simple form pointed to an early date, and the historic interest of the building was heightened by the likeness of its destiny to that of its fellows of greater renown. As at Athens, as at Syracuse, the House of the Virgin remained the House of the Virgin, and the Parthenôn of Kamarina survived in the church of our Lady of Camerana. But at Kamarina, as at Athens, there are minds to which such a history as this speaks with no meaning.

¹ Coins of Sicily, 33; Head, 112. These belong to the "Period of Archaic Art." The swan appears but without the nymph. A little later comes the dwarf palm.

CHAP. V. The remains of the temple of at least two religions¹ have been all, save a few courses of stone, swept away in very recent times for the convenience of flocks and herds, the wealth of the only representative of the ancient dwellers in Kamarina. Enough however is still left, here as in the wall of the akropolis, to suggest by its few stones that we look on fragments which have outlived the many times that the site of Kamarina has been swept with the besom of destruction.

Extent of
the walls.

Otherwise on the hill of Kamarina all is desolate. Here and there we can follow ancient tracks; here and there a stone or two peeps above the sand which suggests that careful digging might reveal somewhat more. But save such traces as this, all is gone. The city is not represented on its own site even by the meanest village. We look from the akropolis for the ancient haven by the mouth of the Hipparis, and we see only the sand by the sea-shore. The line of the walls seems to have skirted the cliffs for no great distance, and then to have turned inland, with the stream of Hipparis to the north, and another very small stream, now known as the Rifriscolaro, to the south. This takes in another low hill besides that of Athênê, on which, by a likely conjecture, a temple of Hêraklês has been placed². No striking object comes within the inland view; the eye ranges over bare high ground which neither shows nor suggests anything special.

The wood.

Treeless as it now seems, it was once the wood of Kamarina, famous in the latest days of the city³. The sea

¹ One would like to believe that, at Kamarina, as at Syracuse and at Athens, the building had been a house of worship of yet a third creed; but the Arabic name of the hill of the akropolis, *Râs-al-Hamâm*, seems to show that the Saracen masters of the place used the building as a bath.

² Schubring, 521. Of course it is "Herakles-Melkarth."

³ Schubring, 530. The gallant exploit of Cædicius, Calpurnius, or whatever his name was, is recorded by a host of Latin writers, but the place is

and the sandy coast form the best outlook from the site of the city, the best reminder of the object for which it was first called into being as a dwelling-place of men. The final cause of the first Kamarina was to mark and to secure the advance of Syracuse from the eastern to the southern sea.

The extent of territory which the plantation of Kamarina added to the Syracusan dominion, and which in after days became the territory of Kamarina as an independent city, seems to have been the land between the river Dirillo to the north and the Hyrminos which flows by Hybla or Ragusa to the south. The two rise near together in the heights now known as Monte Lauro, and, if the boundary followed the line of the two streams, the Kamarinaian territory would form a nearly exact triangle, taking in the *Saltus Camarinæus*. In the extent of coast thus assigned to Kamarina one or two small streams run into the sea between the mouths of Hipparis and Hyrminos. One of these, sung of by a contemporary of Pindar, bears a name, Oanis, which some have thought has been left there by Phœnician occupants¹. Its source, the fountain of Diana or of Paradise, lies close below the small modern town of Santa Croce, and is still put to the mean uses from which the fountain of Arethousa has been set free. Its waters, according to legend, had a mysterious power of discerning chastity in women². Not far above it lies an

Territory
of Kama-
rina.

Stream of
Oanis.

marked only by Aurelius Victor, De Vir. Ill. 39, "ad Camarinam," and by Florus, ii. 2, "circa Camarinensium saltum."

¹ See above, p. 30, note.

² Solinus (v. 16) describes this among the wonders of Sicily; "Dianam qui ad Camarinam fluit si habitus impudice hauserit, non coibunt in corpus unum latex vineus et latex aquæ." Priscian (Perieg. 489) tells the same story in verse;

"Dianas fons est, Kamarina gignitur unda,
Quem si quis manibus non castis hauserit unquam,
Lætifico tristis non miscet pocula Baccho."

See Schubring, 520. "Dianas" and "Oanis" must be the same name;

CHAP. V. ancient burying ground, pointing to occupation many ages older than the foundation of the present town. Hard by Remains near Santa Croce. is a ruined building, with arches, vaults, and cupola—perhaps a tomb, perhaps a bath, perhaps a place for the test of the power of the sacred water¹. In any case, as its construction shows, it dates from times when the independence of Kamarina, and Kamarina itself, had passed away².

Relations between Syracuse and Kamarina. The sites and the histories of Kamarina and of Netum or Noto form a strange contrast. The inland town, so illustrious in later warfare, is unheard of during the first five hundred years of the history of Syracuse. But Kamarina, placed on the sea itself, on a site which might well have been chosen by any company of settlers from old Hellas, was not satisfied to remain, like Akrai and Kasmenai, a mere Syracusan outpost. It supplies the lesson, so rare in Greek history, but the more instructive because so rare, of a settlement at variance with its metropolis. Kamarina was in some sort to Syracuse what Korkyra, less dutiful sister of Syracuse, was to Corinth. In both cases the metropolis claimed over the colony a degree of authority which was quite inconsistent with the ordinary relations of Greek metropolis and Greek colony. Kamarina must have had from the beginning—a town on such a site could not fail to have—something more of separate being than at any time fell to the lot of Akrai or Kasmenai. No founders of those towns are mentioned. Kamarina had recorded founders, Daskôn and Menekôlos by name, no less than Syracuse herself³. The exact

but is it clear that Priscian, as Schubring thinks, thought that the fountain was by the lake?

¹ This is suggested by Schubring, p. 529.

² Schubring, 527. I have not seen the second example of which he speaks.

³ Thuc. vi. 5.

relation between Syracuse and Kamarina is not defined; CHAP. V. but some degree of separate being, and at the same time some degree of dependence on the mother-city, is implied in the fact that, about forty-six years after her first Revolt of Kamarina. 553 B. C. plantation, Kamarina ventured on a War of Independence. This points to a state of things unusual among Greek cities. Revolt was so unlikely as to be almost impossible in the case of a mere outpost, a mere *klérouchia*, whose settlers kept the citizenship of the mother-city. It was impossible in the very nature of things in the case of a colony of the usual kind, free and independent from its birth. If any unhappy chance led to war between metropolis and colony, it would be a war between two independent cities, which could not be spoken of as revolt. But between Syracuse and Kamarina, as between Corinth Kamarina a dependency. and Korkyra, there clearly was a third relation, the relation so rare in Greece though so familiar in modern times, in which the colony was a separate city with the usual attributes of a separate city, while the metropolis still claimed some authority inconsistent with the perfect independence of the colony. We have seen that this relation was not unusual on the part of the colonies of Corinth¹; Syracuse evidently followed the example of the metropolis in asserting some kind of supremacy—we cannot undertake to measure its exact degree—over her own plantation of Kamarina.

The result of this departure from common Hellenic practice supplies, both in the case of Corinth and in the case of Syracuse, one of the most instructive lessons in all political history. We have already noticed that, while the relations between Corinth and her independent colony of Syracuse form a touching and beautiful tale of abiding friendship between two independent commonwealths, the Comparison with Korkyra.

¹ See vol. i. p. 340. See on Potidaia, Thuc. i. 56, and the whole argument of the Corinthians in c. 38. See also on Anaktorion, iv. 49.

CHAP. V. relations between Corinth and her dependent colony of Korkyra are the by-word of Greek colonial history. The dependent colony won its independence; but at the cost of bitter and abiding hatred between colony and metropolis. What Korkyra did Kamarina strove to do. She threw off the yoke of Syracuse and declared her independence. But Kamarina was nearer to Syracuse than Korkyra was to Corinth. The circumstances which had called her into being made her accessible both by land and sea. A war between the metropolis and the revolted dependency followed¹. Neither side lacked allies, Greek or barbarian. Syracuse found help where one would hardly have looked for it, at the hands of her neighbours of Megara. Henna too was on her side; the holy city of the goddesses, already perhaps half-hellenized, was deemed worthy to take a share in a Hellenic struggle². And as France and Spain backed the revolt of the colonies of England, so Greek cities were found to back the revolt of Kamarina. We are not told their names; we hear only that Gela, when asked for help, refused to fight against Syracuse. That the Sikels, as a body, took the side of Kamarina, is only what we should have looked for. Syracuse was their special enemy, always advancing at their cost. Inde-

War between Syracuse and Kamarina.

Allies on each side.

Action of the Sikels.

¹ I assume, with Holm, G. S. i. 201, 412, that this is the war between Syracuse and Kamarina recorded in the precious fragment of Philistos which has been accidentally preserved because Dionysios of Halikarnassos (Ep. de Præc. Hist. 5) wanted to pick holes in his style. I see no other war to which the account can belong. The words are; Συρακούσιοι δὲ παραλαβόντες Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Ἐνναίους, Καμαριναῖοι δὲ Σικελούς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους, πλὴν Γελῶν ἀθροίσαντες, Γελῶν δὲ Συρακουσίοις οὐκ ἔφασαν πολεμήσειν. Συρακούσιοι δὲ πυνθανόμενοι Καμαριναίους τὸν Ἴτρινον διαβάντας. Here it unluckily breaks off. The ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι must surely mean Greek allies.

² This is the only notice anywhere that seems to give the slightest support to the statement of Stephen of Byzantium (see vol. i. p. 174) that Henna was a colony of Syracuse. On the other hand, it is quite possible that that statement is a false inference from the action of Henna now. Stephen does not quote Philistos or anybody else.

pendent Kamarina was indeed likely to do the same; but dependent Kamarina had hardly done it as yet. The forces of the revolted town crossed the Hyrminos, the modern Ragusa, which was therefore the boundary stream between the metropolis and the dependency. A battle must have followed in which Syracuse had the upper hand; for the rebellious settlement was conquered, and it underwent the sternest results of conquest. So bitter was the wrath of the mother-city that Kamarina was swept from the earth¹. Its value as an outpost and defence of Syracuse was felt to be less than the danger of its setting itself up as a rival to Syracuse. And if Syracuse and Gela were on such good terms as the story implies, Syracuse may have been pleased that her territory should march directly on that of her independent neighbour, rather than to have a dependency of doubtful faith placed between them.

CHAP. V.

Defeat and
destruction
of Kama-
rina.Relations
between
Syracuse
and Gela.

We have yet another story of civil strife in Syracuse which seems to bring us nearly to the end of our period. For the new dispute is said to have led to a change in the constitution². By that we can understand nothing short of the driving out of the *Gamoroi* about the beginning of the fifth century. The particular event which incidentally led to this revolution was one eminently characteristic of Greek manners³. Two young men of the ruling order,

Civil dis-
putes in
Syracuse.
B. C. c. 500.

¹ Thuc. vi. 5; ἀναστάτων δὲ Καμαριναίων γενομένων πολέμφ ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων δι' ἀπόστασιν. Cf. Scholia ad Pind. Ol. v. 16. So Herodotus, vii. 154; Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον; Skymnos (294) gives both fact and date;

Συρακοῖσι δὲ τὴν Καμάριναν λεγομένην
αὐτοὶ δὲ ταύτην ἦραν ἐκ βαθρῶν πάλιν,
πρὸς ἑξ ἔτη καὶ τετταράκοντ' ᾤκημένην.

² The relation of these inland strifes to the war with Hippokratēs (Herod. vii. 154) will come further on.

³ On the references to this story in Aristotle (Pol. v. 3. 5, v. 4. 1) and Plutarch (Præc. Reip. Ger. 32) see Appendix II. Plutarch enlarges more

CHAP. V. each, it would seem, in the possession of some office, fell out on a private quarrel of a kind which might tempt one to say that the curse of the founder still hung over the city. One of the two, going away on a journey, left his beloved in the care of his friend. The guardian employed the opportunity to win the youth for himself. The wronged lover on his return avenged himself by seducing the offender's wife¹. This personal quarrel next, in some way not explained, put on a political character. A wise elder forestalled the principle of the ostracism of Athens and of the petalism of Syracuse itself. He counselled the Senate—a smaller Council, doubtless inside the general body of the *Gamoroi*—to banish both the disputants, before their quarrels led the city into yet greater dangers. His advice was not followed; quarrels grew more bitter, and the overthrow of the constitution followed². It is hard to understand this account in any way except by supposing that a democratic party had already arisen in Syracuse, and was threatening the exclusive privileges of the old citizens. In such a case each political party might easily take up the side of one disputant in the personal quarrel, as has often happened in the political controversies of later times³. Details are unluckily wanting.

Action
of the
Senate.

Existence
of a demo-
cratic
party.

Position of
the *Dēmos*.

If this be the right understanding of the tale which comes to us in this isolated shape, this unseemly personal

on the friendship between the two men, Aristotle on their both being in office; *ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων*.

¹ This is told by both Aristotle and Plutarch. Plutarch adds the detail of the trust put in the offender; *ὁ μὲν τὸν ἐρώμενον τοῦ ἐταίρου λαβὼν φυλάσσειν διέφθειρεν*.

² The wise counsellor comes in Plutarch only; *τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τις εἰς βουλὴν παρελθὼν*. Here we get the *Senate*, as distinguished from the general assembly of the *Gamoroi* (*comitia curiata*) which heard the case of Agathoklēs.

³ Aristotle, u. s.; *ὅθεν προσλαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι διεστασίασαν πάντες*.

quarrel was the immediate occasion of the revolution which put an end to the ascendancy of the old citizens of Syracuse. The gradually growing body of later settlers, claiming now to be the true people—the *Dêmos*—of Syracuse, rose, in concert with the Sikel villains of the *Gamoroi*, who were in a harder case than themselves, and overthrew the common enemy. The descendants of the settlers under Archias had by this time fully put on the character of an aristocratic and exclusive body. As such, they had to give way to the growing strength of the new political power. Once, we may believe, in fact if not in name, a democratic body, still keeping, we may be sure, much of the equality of a democracy among themselves, they had shrank up into an oligarchy, while a new and wider democracy arose around them to whose members they refused admission to the full privileges of the commonwealth. No man had lost his rights; but the class to whom rights were denied had grown so large that they felt themselves to be the people, and looked on those who had once been the whole people as men who wrongfully shut them out from what they had a right to claim. It is the common story of oligarchies, whatever their origin; it is perhaps most instructive in the case of those oligarchies whose origin is the same as that of the Syracusan *Gamoroi*.

CHAP. V.

Revolt of
the *Dêmos*
in alliance
with the
*Kylli-
rioi*.

Position
of the
oligarchy.

The banished party fled to the Syracusan outpost of Kasmenai, and there maintained themselves against those who now bore rule in the city¹. Of the form of democracy

The
Gamoroi
at Kas-
menai.

¹ We now can turn to Herodotus (vii. 155), where this revolution is brought in casually in telling the tale of Gelôn; τοὺς γαμόρους καλεζόμενους τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων καλεομένων δὲ κυλλυρίων. Gelôn brings the *Gamoroi* back to Syracuse ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος, in which last word we may possibly (see above, p. 19) discern a reference to the separate being of Kasmenai at that moment. It is impossible to fix an exact date to this revolution. How long had the *Gamoroi* been at Kasmenai in B.C. 485 or in B.C. 491?

CHAP. V. established by this first of the many democratic revolutions of Syracuse we are unluckily told nothing. Above all, we should be well pleased to know what was the reward of the *Kyllyrion* for their services in the struggle.

The first
Syracusan
democracy.

We cannot doubt that they must have received at least full personal freedom; before long the admission of Sikels to political rights in Sikeliot cities will cease to be wonderful. This may well have been the earliest example. But whatever may have been the exact shape of the new constitution, its life was short. The destinies of the *Gamoroi* who had found shelter at Kasmenai, and the destinies of those who had taken their place in Syracuse, alike form part of the story of the way in which the famous dynasty of the Deinomenids marched to power both in Syracuse and in other Sikeliot cities.

The tem-
ples in
Ortygia.

During all this time the Island, Ortygia, was the city. It was the strong place, the seat of rule, the oldest quarter and the holiest. It was the home of the Syracusan people. Other posts might be fortified, other spots might be dwelled in; but Ortygia was the centre of the commonwealth, the hearth of the special deities of the commonwealth. Of some of the temples of Syracuse we have heard already. We have heard the story of the foundation of the temple of Athênê. Artemis was the special goddess of Ortygia; yet her warrior-sister seems in some sort to

History of
the temple
of Athênê.

have eclipsed her on her own ground. The house of Athênê stood on the highest ground in the Island. The statue of the goddess with her shield stood high above every other object in the Island; when that shield could no longer be seen, the man of Syracuse was no longer in his own home. He who set forth from the Great Harbour to cross the seas watched till his eyes could behold the shield no longer. He then made his offerings to the powers that were to guard him on strange waters and in strange

lands¹. That temple still abides, though in a strange guise indeed. There are few spots in Christendom that suggest deeper thoughts. There is the

"Shrine of all saints and temple of all gods;"

in one sense far more truly so than the later house of which those words were spoken. The Parthenôn of the island has been not less varied in its fates than the Parthenôn of the hill². The house on the akropolis of Athens, the house of the Panagia, taken and retaken over again by Turk from Christian and by Christian from Turk, has been the very centre of the Eternal Strife, the most hardly fought-for prize of its warfare. But never, since it once passed away to become a mosque of the False Prophet, has the church where the Bulgarian-slayer made his offerings again become a temple of Christian worship. But the house of our Lady on the Island of Syracuse, won back for the faith by the sword of Maniakês and by the sword of Roger, still keeps embedded in its walls the mighty columns which not only Hermokratês and Timoleôn, but Æschylus and Pindar had gazed upon. And older still, of yet more primæval Doric guise, stands the home of the other virgin patroness of the Island. The first Lady of Ortygia, if overshadowed by her sister, is not displaced. If the house of Artemis has not lived on to become a holy place of other creeds³, yet her shattered columns, with their massive capitals all but joining each other in a single stone,

The temple of Artemis.

¹ See Appendix IV.

² See Appendix IV. But let us quote the good Fazello's rather light-of-nature description (i. 171); "*Altera ibidem ædes Minervæ fuit, et ea ornatisima . . . Porro templum hoc illud esse Syracusani prædicant quod maximum Syracusis est hodie et præsulis sedes. Est namque ex utroque latere tredecim lapideis columnis canaliculis undique circumcavatis, abacisque, et epistyllis ornatis suffultum. Cujusmodi plura Agrigenti, Selinunte, et Segestæ olim a Græcis condita visuntur.*"

³ Yet Artemis has, in the latest changes, risen again in some sort to displace other creeds. There is something odd when we read "*Via Diana gia San Paolo.*"

CHAP. V. carry us back, if not to the days of Archias, at least to days when the plantation of Archias reckoned among the youngest cities of the earth¹. Between the dashing waves of the outer sea and the smoother waters of the Great Harbour, between the fortress of Dionysios and Charles which guards the approach to the mainland and the fortress of Maniakês and Frederick which guards the outlet to the main sea, the pillars of Artemis and Athênê, with the life of a city of men never ceasing around them, have seen the hill above them begin and cease to be, and again begin to be, a place of human dwelling. The work of Archias has outlived the work of Gelôn and of Dionysios.

Outposts
command-
ing the
chief roads.

At the same time there seems some reason to think that, though the city was still confined to the Island, its immediate neighbourhood contained more than one outlying post, fortified, inhabited, and, in some cases at least, containing ancient and venerated temples. Of one of these, Polichna, with the temple of Olympian Zeus, we have had already to speak when treating of the beginnings of Syracuse². And it would seem that there were at least two other detached outposts, each of them commanding one of the three great roads by which Syracuse could be approached. Polichna commands the Helorine road, the road to the direct south, answering to the modern road and railway to Noto. The great northern road to Megara and Katanê passed right over the hill. Between them the inland road, leading to the inland outpost of Akrai, passed under the southern side of Epipolai. Each of these roads, no less than that leading to Helôrôn, had a post to defend it as it drew near to the Island. The inland road passed below the great temple of Apollôn on the southern side of the hill, the *temenos* of which in after days gave a name to one of the later divisions of the city.

The
temenos of
Apollôn.

¹ See Appendix IV.

² See vol. i. pp. 359-362.

It was a point of special importance, as it commands the ground below the theatre, where the lower terrace of the hill fades away, and the marshy ground comes up to the foot of the upper terrace¹. Whatever share Apollôn may have had in his sister's house within the Island², the patron god of all Greek settlers in Sicily³ is likely to have had his own temple from very early times. And it seems quite reasonable to think that his special quarter, the *Temenitês*, held on this road a position at once as sanctuary and as place of defence, answering to that of Polichna and the Olympieion on the Helorine road⁴. CHAP. V.

But far more important than all was the post on the north road, on the hill itself, which must from quite early times have been much more than an outpost. The region known as Achradina⁵, a name which, at least in later usage, took in both the eastern part of the hill and the low ground between the hill and the Island, was at first no part of the city. But it does not follow that it was either uninhabited or unfortified. Merely as a military post, the upper part of Achradina could not have been long left altogether defenceless. It had in truth a good natural defence, and there can be little doubt that that natural defence was made available for military purposes in a remarkable way. The *Latomiaï* or stone-quarries are, as every one knows, one of the most marked features of Syracusan topography, and a mournful interest attaches to them at a later stage of our story. A long line of them runs along the hill-side at its middle height. They have been cut and enlarged at various times; but there are signs that their beginning was very early. Their object seems to have been twofold. Besides the obvious Upper Achradina an outpost.

The Latomiaï.

¹ See vol. i. p. 349.

² That he had some rights there appear from the inscription spoken of in Appendix IV.

³ See vol. i. p. 326.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 579.

⁵ See Appendix V.

CHAP. V. purpose of supplying building-stone, there can be little doubt that they had also a military use. They formed a strong line of defence for the upper part of Achradina. This points to this part of the hill as being occupied, inhabited, and defended, within two or three generations after the foundation of Syracuse.

Their military use.

The west wall of Achradina.

Cutting of the wall.

This date of the stone-quarries may make us more inclined to accept the opinion which assigns to this period, the period between Archias and Gelôn, the building, or rather the cutting out, of the western wall of Achradina¹. This wall may still be traced, and considerable parts are still remaining. It stretches from the upper terrace of Achradina nearly due north to the cliffs of the northern coast. It fills up the space between two points strongly marked by nature. It starts from a small valley which at that point divides Achradina from the later parts of the city to the west. It reaches to that deep inlet of the sea which, under the name of the *Panagia*², keeps a memory of another age, and which opens into a picturesque limestone combe running some way inland. Here, along the cliffs on the eastern side of the ravine, the wall and its towers, or the preparations for them by cutting away the rock, may be clearly traced. They form one whole with a vast mass of cuttings for other works, some of them evidently for large buildings, in the extreme north of Achradina. But the effect of the wall itself may be better studied at some central points further to the south. The lower part of the wall, which is all that remains, is made by simply cutting away the rock, the usual way of making things in Achradina. At Rome, at Alatrium, at Selinous³, in some later works in Syracuse itself, the hill-side was scarped, but the scarped surface had to be protected by a wall of masonry. Here the scarped surface

¹ See Topografia, 177; Lupus, p. 95.

² See vol. i. p. 349.

³ See vol. i. p. 424.

and the wall are the same thing. Towers were placed in advance; unluckily no gateway is preserved. The earlier date given to this work, and thereby to the occupation and fencing-in of Achradina, is far more likely than that which assigns it to the time of Gelôn. We have to suppose an occupied space apart from the Island, less apart perhaps than it seems now, with the low ground at the foot of the hill lying unfortified between it and the Island.

If we conceive upper Achradina to have once been in this way distinct, we shall better understand some of the present appearances of this part of Syracuse. The Latomiai and the other cuttings in the rocks give a singularly wild air to a quarter which was once part of a thickly peopled city. We see the like to this day in more than one Sicilian town¹. That is to say, the cuttings were made when Achradina was a distinct post; they are in truth part of its defences. Their existence in the seventh century before our æra seems well ascertained². The most exposed side, open to the western side of the hill, was guarded by the scarp wall. The southern face, with its natural wall at two levels, was further protected by the *Latomiai*. To the east there were the cliffs and the sea beneath them; at a later time a wall, partly cut, partly built, was carried along the edge of the cliffs³. The ground thus taken in is far larger than Polichna, far larger than the Island itself. It was not a mere outpost; it was something that could easily grow into a second city. But it had not, like Polichna and Temenitês, any specially religious character, nor did it ever put on such a character at any time. Temples have been placed by conjecture within the bounds of Achradina, and so large a

Position
and appear-
ance of
Achradina.

No special
temples in
Achradina.

¹ See vol. i. pp. 151, 173 in the accounts of Modica and Castrogiovanni.

² See Appendix V.

³ See Appendix V.

CHAP. V. space is not likely to have been without temples of some kind. But it is certain that Achradina never boasted of any of the greatest and oldest and most homeward sanctuaries of the commonwealth. Zeus and Apollôn, Athenê and Artemis, Dêmêtêr and the Korê, always dwelled elsewhere.

Present
state of
Achradina.

The height of Achradina is now utterly desolate, save a few scattered houses which have arisen in later times. Few things are more striking than to wander over the forsaken site; it needs some effort of faith to carry about us the conviction that it was once a thickly inhabited city

Signs of
buildings.

of men. Yet we cannot go many steps without lighting on signs of man's former presence. In some parts the cutting of the stone for the foundation of buildings shows that the buildings lay close together. Here and there we can trace an ancient street with the wheel-marks of distant ages still left in the solid stone. Here are the foundations of houses; here are the wider spaces cut away for the foundations of public buildings; here we light on monuments of days before the Greek had made the height his own. A mass of

Sikel tomb.

rock, cut away and hollowed from inside, with steps without and seats within, covered by the living stone hewn into the shape of a flattened barrel-vault, can hardly fail to be a resting-place of the dead ¹. In such a place, within the inhabited city, it can hardly be the tomb of a Greek; is it too wild a flight of fancy to believe that we have stood within the burial-chamber of a Sikel king? From many

View from
Achradina.

points of the forsaken height, we look down on the lower terrace beneath, or the open sea and the Great Harbour, on Plêmyrion and Ortygia, the Island a marked contrast to all the rest, thick with houses, crowned with churches, fenced in by the vanishing walls of later times which might claim some respect as the representatives of older

¹ See the building, or rather cutting, marked 37 in the plan in the *Topografia*.

defences¹. And there is the great and wide sea to the east, the inland mountains to the west. When Achradina was first occupied, the history of Syracuse had hardly begun; but in that history the occupation of Achradina was no small stage. CHAP. V.

Before we turn away from the early days of Syracuse, Polichna. we must take one more glance at Polichna. That outpost and its famous sanctuary are the subject of more distinct evidence than either of its fellows. We shall presently come across a historical notice which shows that the temple of Olympian Zeus was in being in the very beginning of the fifth century. Nor is there any need to think that it was new then. It has not wholly perished. Those who have had the luck to write or to read Syracusan history with the Great Harbour beneath their eyes know well the two columns, white in the morning sun, which greet their eyes at every dawn. Clearly they stand out in the western view from Ortygia, the view whence all Syracusan history seems laid out as in a chart before us. Those two shattered columns are all that is left of the great Olympieion, The Olympieion. famous in the tale of Thucydides and in all Syracusan history. On the spot we can trace out part of the basement, and we see that of the two columns one was the second in the front to the east, while the other was one of the range on the north side. The entablature is gone; the capitals are gone; but we can see that the columns are of the true old Doric type; we could tell without book that they not only looked down on the camps of Himilkôn and of Nikias, but that they beheld the march of Gelôn, when he came to make Syracuse the head of Sikeliot cities. They have one feature The two columns.

¹ At my visit to Syracuse in 1889, the spirit of havoc, which seems to be the very life of Sicilian municipalities, was glutting itself with the destruction of the walls of the Emperor Charles. Now, in 1890, the havoc has spread itself to the gates, and we have lost the lively impression of the work of the tyrant which was given us by the work of the Emperor on the same site.

CHAP. V. which marks them off from most other columns of their class. Far smaller than the giant pillars of Selinous, far smaller than those of the temples in the Syracusan island, they are not, like them, built out of pieces, drum piled on drum. Each is hewn out of a single stone, like the vast monoliths in which Roman taste delighted in later days.

View from
Polichna.

There is no better point to take in the greatness of the Syracuse that once was, to trace the advance from the Ortygia of Archias to the fivefold city of the second Hierôn, than either the Olympieion itself or some other points of the hill of Polichna. The castle of Maniakês looks across the mouth of the Great Harbour to the head-land where once stood the forts of Nikias. The lofty front of the great church of Syracuse shows, if it hides, the temple of Athênê which became in turn the sanctuary of Christ and Mahomet. The fortifications of Charles the Emperor mark the spot where once stood the castle of Dionysios, the law-courts of Timoleôn, the royal house of Hierôn. The eye ranges over the long ridge of Achradina and Epipolai, with the stern bluff of Thymbris rising behind. It dimly lights on the buildings crouching under the shadow of the hill, buildings hardly seen in their distinctness, but among which the rising seats of the theatre of the Greek, till they were shut out by the *scena* of the Roman, the arcades on arcades of the Roman's own amphitheatre, must once have stood forth as prominent objects against the hill-side which rose above them. We see the toilsome path by which Dêmosthenês marched to his night attack on the height of Epipolai. We see where Himilkôn pitched his camp in the very home of pestilence. And in that view we would fain believe that we see the worthiest spot of all, the home where Timoleôn dwelled as the father and counsellor of the city that he had saved¹. One great

¹ I know of no reason to place the estate of Timoleôn at Tremilia rather than anywhere else ; but let the popular belief stand for the moment.

scene only in the long tale is perhaps well hidden from us. CHAP. V.
 We can call up the vision of Syracuse, greatest city of Hellas, greatest city of Europe; we cannot see where the soldiers of Marcellus climbed up to change the home of commonwealths, of tyrants, and of kings, into the head of a subject province where Verres was sent to rule in the house of Hierôn.

§ 2. *The First Age of the Tyrants.*

B. C. 608-505.

It is but a meagre tale that we have been able to put together of the political history of Syracuse during two hundred and seventy years. Yet it is far fuller than any that we can put together of any of the other Sikeliot cities. Of Naxos for instance we have not a word to say. And though in some cities we have fuller accounts of particular events, yet, far as we have been from coming to a consecutive history of Syracuse, we have come nearer to it than we can come in the case of any other city of Sicily. And one thing stands out before all others in our Syracusan notices. A king, as we have seen, is just possible; but we may safely say that in this first age of Hellenic Sicily Syracuse never saw a tyrant. We have seen the strife of the patricians and the commons leading to the momentary victory of the excluded class; we have not seen a single man take advantage of the disputes of the two political parties to make himself absolute master over both. It ought not to be needful again to define the Greek tyranny; yet, when that and so many other technical terms of Greek politics are so commonly turned away from their proper meaning by vague popular use, it may be well to put in a warning for the hundredth time as to the meaning which attached to the word *tyrant* when both name and thing were new.

No tyrants
as yet at
Syracuse.

Abuse of
the name.

CHAP. V. The experience of our own times happily helps us.

Modern
experience.

Our age has seen the growth, the dominion, and the fall, of one power in which the Greek tyranny was reproduced to the letter. But when all that is meant is to brand a modern ruler as an oppressor, it is better to call him an oppressor than to misuse the Greek technical term. According to Greek notions, all oppressors

Meaning
of the word
tyrant.

are not tyrants and all tyrants are not oppressors. The tyrant, in Greek republican days, was the man who raised himself to kingly or more than kingly power in a state where kingship was not the lawful constitution. So, by a most accurate analogy, in Roman Imperial times the tyrant was the man who raised himself to Empire by revolt against an Emperor lawfully acknowledged¹. These two uses of the name answer as nearly to each other as the different political conditions to which they severally belong allow. It is a kind of secondary use of the word when the name tyrant is applied to a lawful king who takes to himself powers beyond those which the laws of his state have entrusted to its kings². But in all three uses of the name the leading idea is the same; tyranny is everywhere usurpation. Its essence is the unlawful gaining of power; as to the use of the power when gained, the

Change in
the mean-
ing of the
word.

name is, strictly speaking, colourless. The fact that so many of the Greek tyrants were harsh and even bloody rulers helped, even in old Greek times, to give the word a shade of meaning which did not originally belong to it. Still in Greek use, though the oppressive tyrant was the rule, yet to speak of a just and benevolent tyrant

¹ It should be remembered that the Roman use of the word lingered very long into the middle ages. The definite notion of usurpation, of supplanting a lawful power of some kind, whether kingly or republican, was slow in giving way to the vague use of the word now common.

² Arist. Pol. v. 10. 6; *ὅσον Φεῖδων μὲν περὶ Ἀργὸς καὶ ἕτεροι τύραννοι κατέστησαν βασιλείας ὑπαρχούσης*. So Nabis at Sparta long after. See Livy, xxxiv. 31.

was not a contradiction in terms¹. In its Roman use CHAP. V. the word is absolutely colourless as to the nature of the government. Some of the class of so-called tyrants were among the best rulers that the Empire ever saw. For in their day it was simply a question of final success Difference between Greek and Roman tyranny. whether a man should be handed down in history as tyrant or as Emperor. It was just as in later days, when it was a question of final success whether a man should be handed down as Pope or as Antipope. Such could not fail to be the case when the question lay between two men; it was different where the question lay between two forms of government. In old Greek ideas the lawful king might be degraded into the tyrant; but no amount of success on the part of the tyrant, no amount of military glory, no real merit in his civil government, could ever change him, as long as the true Greek spirit lasted, into a lawful king.

Yet kingship and tyranny always stand in a certain Relation between kingship and tyranny. relation to one another. In Greek ideas tyranny was the corruption, perhaps rather the base imitation, of kingship. So oligarchy, the rule of the few, was the base imitation of aristocracy, the rule of the best; so the rule of the mere multitude, call it *ochlocracy* or what we will, was the base imitation of democracy, the rule of the whole people. It is hard to say what the formal position of a tyrant was; or it might be truer to say that, tyranny being in its own nature unlawful, the tyrant had no formal position. He got power how he could; he kept it how he could; he exercised it as best suited his purpose. The outward The body-guard. badge of the tyrant, as distinguished from the republican magistrate, is the body-guard, the spearmen. The tyrant's first step to dominion is to get such a guard by any manner of means, not uncommonly by the vote of a de-

¹ Strabo, xiii. 4. 17, of the tyrants of Kibyra.

CHAP. V. luded people¹. For the tyrant is described as most commonly rising to power by the help of personal influence of some kind. He is a magistrate who abuses his official powers to his own ends; he is a popular leader, who abuses his sway over the minds of the people. Not uncommonly he is the character whose fascination is the strongest of all, the man of noble birth who takes up the cause of the commons against his own order. When, in any of these ways, he has once got armed men at his bidding, his next step is to seize the akropolis or other strong place of the city. That he makes the stronghold of his power. There he surrounds himself with mercenary soldiers, the main stay of a dominion which, having no root in law, has to rest wholly upon force.

Exercise of the tyrant's power. As for the way in which the power thus gained is exercised, that differs according to the circumstances of each case, and specially according to the amount of opposition which the tyrant's government met with. In some cases there may have been from the beginning, or there may have grown up through the unrestrained use of power, a real delight in oppression, a positive pleasure in the infliction of suffering. But there is no reason to think that this was the usual character of a Greek tyranny. The tyrant, as a rule, stuck at no crime which either passion or policy dictated; but there is no reason to think that the tyrant, as a rule, committed crimes for the mere pleasure of committing them. In many cases the tyrant had very little temptation to any monstrous crimes. A tyrant who rose to power as a popular leader against an exclusive class might do acts of wrong towards members of the body which he had overthrown; he might still keep his popularity with those who rejoiced in his success and with

¹ See for instance the well-known story of Peisistratos, i. 59, and Grote's comment (iii. 207) that the *κορυνφόροι* presently became *δορυφόροι*.

whom he had every motive to deal gently. It does not appear that the tyrant, as a rule, swept away the laws and constitution of the city in which he reigned. The forms of law might go on; it was enough if magistrates and assemblies practically did their master's bidding. Whenever either silent influence or express command failed to secure obedience, the spearmen were ready to step in.

CHAP. V.
The forms
of law go
on.

Here then was a man with the power, or more than the power, of a king, but with no formal kingly position. Our evidence leads us to believe that the early tyrants never took the title, or assumed the state, of kings. But they had a craving after the position which they did not venture to take to themselves. They were well pleased when any one would bestow on them the titles of lawful kingship. On the other hand, among writers in old Greece, to whom the rule of one in any shape was unfamiliar, it is not uncommon to find the name of tyrant applied to lawful kings, either of the past or of the present¹. And in later times, when the presence and the dominion of the Macedonian princes had made the Greek mind more familiar with the notion of kingship, the distinction between king and tyrant grew fainter. On the one hand, a class of tyrants arose quite distinct from the tyrants of the elder day. The tyrant of the Macedonian times had in many cases not risen to power by any means within the city itself. He often represented no party within the city; he was a mere external oppressor, very often a leader of mercenaries whom the Macedonian king found it to his interest to maintain in power. And in those times also tyrants who had more in common with the elder class, men who had risen to power by some means or other within the city, tried to put themselves as far as they could on a level with the Macedonian princes. They were not only well pleased when any one would speak of them as kings;

Applica-
tion of the
kingly title
to tyrants.

Later form
of tyranny.

Later
tyrants
assume the
kingly
title.

¹ See Appendix I.

CHAP. V. they took the kingly title to themselves. The style which was taken by the generals of Alexander was surely not too lofty for Greek rulers of equal power. Whether Syracuse ever saw King Pollis or not, she certainly saw a good deal of King Agathoklês.

Tyranny
grows
worse.

Pictures of
tyranny.

Short-lived
dynasties
of tyrants.

The worst thing about the Greek tyranny was that the rule of the tyrant was almost sure to grow harsher as it grew older. The tyrant always had enemies; even if he was popular with one party, he was hated by another. Hatred led to plots and attempts on his life; such attempts further soured the tyrant's temper; whatever he was before, he became suspicious and cruel. The frightful pictures which are set before us of the tyrant, as a solitary being, trusting none, never sure of the faithfulness of friend or kinsman, of wife or child¹, are most likely exaggerations or paintings from the very worst cases. But there is an element of truth in them. It is not easy to speak the truth even to a lawful king; it must have been yet harder to speak it to a tyrant. The tyrant's career was often cut short by private killing or by public insurrection; it became a proverb that an old tyrant was a rare sight². And, when he succeeded in gratifying the common instinct of mankind, when he contrived to hand on his power to his son, his son commonly proved worse than himself. Brought up in somewhat of the position of a prince, he was not under the restraints of a prince; nor had he the wisdom which a varied experience had often given to his father. The second of a line of tyrants is sometimes less cruel than his father; he is commonly more debauched, more given to wound the family honour of his subjects. The most long-lived tyrannies seldom lasted beyond the third generation. David, Solomon, Rehoboam; the man who founds, the man who enjoys, and the man

¹ This comes out most strongly in the Hierôn of Xenophôn.

² Plut. Sept. Sap. Conv. c. 2.

who loses, are typical characters among Greek tyrants as well as among Eastern kings. CHAP. V.

Of usurped powers of this kind the colonies, and above all the Sikeliot colonies, seem, at a first glance at Grecian history, to be the special home. They certainly are the abiding home. In old Greece there are two periods in which tyranny is common, but there is a long time between them in which tyrants are seldom heard of. A wide gap parts the tyrants who were put down by the Spartans in the sixth century before Christ and the tyrants who were put down by Aratos of Sikyôn in the third. In Sicily there is no gap of any such length. The tyrants begin very soon after the foundation of the cities; they go on at intervals till Sicily passes under the dominion of Rome. Phalaris and Phintias had contemporary tyrants in old Greece; but in the age of Dionysios the tyrant was in old Greece all but unknown. This is one of the many marks of difference between Greece and her colonies. Brilliant as are some periods of the life of Hellas transplanted to other shores, more brilliant at some times than the life of Hellas on its own ancient soil, the freedom of the colonial cities, like their greatness, had not the same firm and abiding root as the freedom of the cities of old Greece. The constant appearance of tyrannies in Sicily is part of that general uncertainty of things, those constant changes of governments and of populations, which were marked in the fifth century before Christ as distinguishing Sicily from old Greece¹. It is not wonderful that the tyrants of Sicily became proverbial². Sicily was the chosen land of tyrants of the Greek type, even as in after ages Britain was the chosen land of tyrants of the Roman type³. In our

Tyrants most common in the colonies.

Two periods of tyranny in old Greece.

Tyranny more abiding in Sicily.

All kinds of tyrants in Sicily.

¹ Thuc. vi. 17.

² It is hardly needful to refer to the mention of "Siculi tyranni" in Horace (Ep. i. 2. 58). They set the standard.

³ "Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum," says Jerome. See M. H. B. xcix.

CHAP. V. Sicilian story we shall come across every class of tyrant ; we shall see every kind of means by which men rose to tyranny. Syracuse will, in days to come, supply us with the more part, and the more famous part, of our examples. But as yet Syracuse knows not the rule of the tyrant ; it is with other cities and, with one exception, with less famous tyrants, that we have to begin.

Panaitios
of Leontinoi first
recorded
tyrant.
B.C. 608.

The first name on the roll of the tyrants of Sicily is certainly not a famous one. Panaitios of Leontinoi, whose date is fixed to the last years of the seventh century, is said to have been the earliest of the class¹. He is placed on high authority among those tyrants who rose to power through abuse of their influence as demagogues in opposition to an oligarchy². This implies that there were already at this time serious disputes at Leontinoi between an exclusive and an excluded class. In these classes we may most likely see another case of inhabitants of older and newer settlement. A later account, which gives some details which are at least not impossible, sees in the dispute only a strife between the rich and the poor. And undoubtedly the strife between older and newer citizens, between patricians and plebeians, had a constantly growing tendency to put on that shape. Only we must bear in mind that that was neither its essential nor its earliest shape.

Civil dis-
sensations of
Leontinoi.

First re-
corded war
between
Greeks in
Sicily.

The story of Panaitios, as we have it, opens a new period in two ways. He is not only the first recorded tyrant in Sicily ; he is the first recorded commander in a

¹ Eusebius, Ol. 41. 4. p. 314, Roncalli ; "Panætius primus in Sicilia arripuit tyrannidem."

² Aristotle twice mentions him in this character, v. 10. 6, and more distinctly v. 12, 13 ; *εἰς τυραννίδα μεταβάλλει ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐν Σικελίᾳ σχεδὸν αἱ πλείεσται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐν Λεοντίνοις εἰς τὴν Παναιτίου τυραννίδα καὶ ἐν Γέλῳ εἰς τὴν Κλεάνδρου καὶ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ εἰς τὴν Ἀναξιλίου καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὡσαύτως.*

war between two Greek cities in Sicily. He leads the forces of Chalkidian Leontinoi in a war with the neighbouring Dorians of Megara. The war is not likely to have been the first of its class, but it is the first which we find recorded in our meagre sources. If we see at Naxos the Ebbsfleet of Sicily, the war of Leontinoi and Megara will answer to the fight of West-Saxon and Kentishman at Wibbandún, where Æthelberht gave way to the arms of Ceawlin¹. The *polemarch* of Leontinoi wins over the poor, as they appear in this version, by pointing out to them how far their exploits in the war have outdone those of the rich. By the rich, in military language, we may doubtless understand the knights or horsemen². He then orders a review of arms and horses outside the gates. It is not said, but it seems implied, that the review concerned the horsemen only; it sounds like a kind of penal examination after real or alleged failures of duty. The arms are to be examined; the men, seemingly slaves, who have the care of the horses, are bidden meanwhile to take them to pasture in a woody place³. Panaitios has also at his command six hundred peltasts. We are a little surprised at seeing the Thracian mercenaries of the fifth century before Christ already in Sicily in the seventh. As they seem to be spoken of as men ready for revolution, it may be that the six hundred were light-armed men of the poorer class in Leontinoi itself⁴. The officer in command of

CHAP. V.
Megara
and Leon-
tinoi.

Panaitios
polemarch.

Trick by
which he
seizes the
tyranny.

¹ See the English Chronicles under A.D. 568, the first recorded war between Englishman and Englishman.

² This story come from Polyainos, v. 47; Παναίτιος Λεοντίνων Μεγαρεῦσι πολεμοῦντων περὶ γῆς ὅρων πολεμαρχῶν πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς πένητας καὶ πεζοὺς τοῖς εὐπόροις καὶ ἵππεῦσι συνέκρουσεν ὥς ἐκείνων πλεονεκτούντων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, αὐτῶν δὲ πολλὰ ἐλαττουμένων.

³ Ib.; πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐξόπλισιν ποιήσας τὰ μὲν ὄπλα ἀριθμεῖν καὶ δοκιμάζειν ἐπειράτω, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους τοῖς ἡνιόχοις παραδοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἄγειν ἐς νομήν. This mention of the horses looks as if the review was confined to the horsemen.

⁴ Ib.; ἐξακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων εὐτρεπεῖς πρὸς τὴν ἐπανάστασιν.

CHAP. V. them is left to look after the examination of arms, while Panaitios goes into the shade, and persuades the keepers of the horses to set upon their masters¹. They mount the horses and charge their masters, while the peltasts join in the slaughter. The city is occupied and Panaitios is proclaimed tyrant².

Character
of anec-
dotes.

One has grave doubts as to the proclamation of Panaitios or any other man by the formal style of tyrant; it is still less likely if tyranny was then so new a thing in Sicily as we are told that it was. But this is just the kind of point on which we must not look for minute accuracy in writers of the class from which this story comes. The retailers of anecdotes often borrowed the substance of their stories from perfectly trustworthy writers now lost. But they did not always copy them literally. As they sometimes confounded one tyrant with another and one city with another, still less were they likely to notice differences of technical language between an earlier and a later time. In this present story there is doubtless enough of truth to justify us in setting down Panaitios as one who made himself tyrant by the help of the commons against the ruling order, and who did not scruple to abuse his powers as a military commander to cause a massacre of one part of his army. The beginnings of Panaitios were certainly bad; of the nature of his government and of its end we hear nothing.

The city which came into being at the same time as Leontinoi, its Chalkidian sister Katanê, had another experience, and a happier. Our one record of Katanê during the time with which we are now concerned gives us a

¹ There is something picturesque, but not altogether intelligible, in the description of Panaitios at this moment (Polyainos, v. 47); αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα σκιᾷ δεόμενος ἀνεχώρησε καὶ τοὺς ἡνιόχους ἐπεισεν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς δεσπόταις.

² Ib.; κατελάβοντο τὴν πόλιν καὶ Παναίτιον τύραννον ἀνηγόρευσαν.

glimpse, not indeed of a tyrant, but still of a man clothed with special powers beyond those of an ordinary magistrate. The tyrant rose to power through political disputes among his fellow-citizens. In some happier cases the citizens by common consent chose some man to whom all agreed to look up, and clothed him with powers to heal their differences. The *Aisymnêtês*, a word which it is hard to translate, was a personal ruler who was neither king nor tyrant, but who was, under special circumstances, chosen to wield special powers, whether for life or for a fixed time¹. It is worth noticing that the Imperial power at Rome arose out of a commission of this kind. The early Emperors, as far as their formal position went, cannot be rightly classed either with kings or with tyrants. They were citizens to whom, in theory at least, the commonwealth had granted certain extraordinary, but still defined, powers. But in all these cases alike, whether we are dealing with the earliest or the latest days of a commonwealth, we are dealing with a state of things in which it was easy and natural for a single man to be set, whether by lawful or unlawful means, above the level of his fellows. And this again suggests the thought that, where the tyrant and the *Aisymnêtês* were both familiar, a return to acknowledged kingship might not be wholly impossible².

The
Aisym-
nêtês.

Origin of
the Impe-
rial power
at Rome.

Akin to the *Aisymnêtês*, often the same in person and office, was the primitive lawgiver, entrusted by common consent with powers to compose the dissensions of the citizens and to provide against future evils by a formal code of laws. We hear of many such; of the Spartan Lykourgos, the most famous of them all, of the Athenian Drakôn and

The an-
cient law
givers.

¹ On the *Aisymnêtês*, see Plass, *Die Tyrannis*, i. 115. The most noted case is that of Pittakos of Mitylênê, who however is also spoken of both as *τύραννος* and as *βασιλεύς* (*ἄλει μύλα ἄλει καὶ γὰρ Πιττακὸς ἄλει, μεγάλας Μιτυλάνας βασιλεύων*. Bergk, iii. 673). I do not know that the word *αἰσυμνήτης* is ever directly applied to any Sicilian ruler.

² See above, p. 8.

CHAP. V. Solôn, and, coming nearer to the land with which we are concerned, of Zaleukos of the Epizephyrian Lokroi. All of these, even Solon, the latest and the most historical, have a certain mythical atmosphere cleaving to them. For in truth the position of a lawgiver of this kind is one which offers special temptations for the growth of legend. A king or magistrate, famous in the history of his people, a Servius or an Ælfred, who is known to have been the author of some laws, is, by a natural process, credited with the authorship of a crowd of enactments and customs, many of them earlier, many of them later, than his real day. But the primitive Greek lawgiver holds a special position in the history of legislation. He is most unlike the Teutonic king, whose legislation commonly comes to little more than causing the existing customs of his people to be set down in a written shape. The Greek lawgiver deemed it his business, while he was legislating, to legislate about everything. His calling was not merely to settle a political constitution, but to regulate the lives of the citizens in all matters, and that by no means according to the tradition of the elders, but according to his own personal notions of what was expedient and becoming. The laws of the primitive lawgiver, in order to be the better remembered, were often clothed in verse. They embody the dry, practical, Hesiodic, wisdom of an early age. We may even see a touch of spiteful humour in such an enactment as a law of divorce which allowed the man freely to put away his wife and the woman freely to put away her husband, but which added that in such a case neither must marry a second wife or husband younger than the partner who had been put away¹. This last is quoted as one of the laws of the wise Charôndas, the lawgiver who stands out as the one

Greek and
Teutonic
laws.

Wide
range of
early Greek
legislation.
Its char-
acter.

¹ Diod. xii. 18. As if to catch Cicero beforehand, the rule is extended to both sexes, but the woman's share comes first.

man known at Katanê during our present period, as the tyrant Panaitios stands out as the one man known at Leontinoi. CHAP. V.

Of the laws of Charôndas, genuine or alleged, considerable fragments remain; but of the man himself it is hard to say anything with certainty¹. There is nothing to fix his exact date, whether in the seventh or the sixth century. His legislation may very well have been older than the tyranny of Panaitios. At all events he belongs to Sicily in the days with which we are now dealing. One thing only is certain; no one can accept the version which carries him and his laws into so very modern a time and place as the Thourioi of the fifth century². That Charôndas legislated for Katanê there seems no reasonable doubt; he is said to have legislated for other cities as well, among which Rhêgion is specially mentioned. That Katanê was his birth-place was the general belief; but there is some force in the suggestion of a modern scholar that the Doric form of his name shows that he was not a native of the Ionian city. He may well have been, like some others among these primitive law-givers, or like the *podestà* or the *senator* of mediæval Italy, sent for from some other city to allay the dissensions of that with which his name has become specially connected³. If we could conceive him to have been a native of Sybaris adopted at Katanê, we should have some clew to the wild confusion which carried him to Thourioi. His laws seem to have been in verse, and to have been widely spread. Of their genuine matter we can say but little; they are noticed by a string of writers from Plato onwards, and it is plain that in later times the name of Charôndas was

Charôndas
of Katanê.

He legis-
lates for
other cities.

Nature
and frag-
ments of
his laws.

¹ On Charôndas and his laws see Appendix VI.

² See Holm, G. S. i. 401.

³ According to the strange confusion of Diodôros, xii. 11, which I have examined in Appendix VI.

CHAP. V. one which was freely used, like some other names, as a peg on which to hang edifying precepts which were no part of his legislation. Still there is reason to believe that some parts of the substance, though not the form, of his genuine laws have come down to us.

His alleged
banish-
ment.

Story of
his death.

Use of arms
in the as-
sembly.

Of the life of Charôndas we really know nothing. The statement that he legislated for Rhêgion because he was banished from Katanê is most likely a mere hasty inference¹. The more famous tale of his death is common to him with more than one lawgiver in Sicily and elsewhere, of times both earlier and later than his own. His laws had forbidden any man to appear armed in the public assembly². This ordinance distinctly points to that change in Greek manners by which the ancient practice of going armed was laid aside, and even came to be looked on as one of the badges which marked off the barbarian from the Greek³. We might conceive that, as in many Teutonic lands, both in earlier and in later times, the sword or spear was borne in the assembly, as a badge of freedom and citizenship, long after it had been laid aside in the common intercourse of daily life. Charôndas, so the story goes, had gone into the country to act against robbers; on such an errand he was of course girded with his sword. While he was away, some sudden need called for the gathering of an assembly. The meeting so summoned was fiercely divided between two parties. Cha-

¹ Ælian, V. H. iii. 17; Χαρόνδας δὲ τὰ ἐν Κατάνῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ [ἐπινώρθωσεν] ὅτε ἐκ Κατάνης ἔφευγε.

² The story is told, of course out of place, by Diodôros, xii. 19. He tells exactly the same story of the much later Syracusan lawgiver Dioklês in xiii. 33. He himself remarks that it is told of both. It certainly seems more in character with the earlier than with the later date.

³ See Thucydides i. 6. The text of Charôndas' law is abridged in the words of Diodôros; *νενομοθετηκὼς δ' ἦν μηδένα μεθ' ὅπλου ἐκκλησιάζειν*. The story which he tells of Gelôn in xi. 26 implies that at Syracuse the armed assembly went on in his day, which we should hardly have looked for.

rôndas, coming back at the moment and forgetting that CHAP. V. he still wore the forbidden weapon, hastened to the place of meeting and tried to calm the angry disputants. His enemies—the tale implies that he had enemies, perhaps only those whom his speech told against—cried out against his breach of his own law. “By Zeus,” he answered, “I will not set aside my law; I will confirm it.” He drew his sword and slew himself¹. This story, doubtful as to time, place, and person, goes along with the legend of the Pious Brethren to make up the whole of the history of Katanê for two hundred and fifty years.

Next in order in our survey of Sicily during these ages, we might be led, both by the antiquity of the city and by the probable date of the events themselves, to put the beginning of the recorded revolutions of Gela. But the dates are so uncertain that chronological order matters little, and the affairs of Gela lead up more directly than those of any other Sikeliot city to the great movements of which we shall have to speak presently. Selinous too had tyrants; so had Zanklê, unless indeed she had lawful kings. Other tyrannies. But the tyrannies at Selinous and Zanklê connect themselves, like those of Gela, with other events. It will be better, before we come to them, to speak of a tyranny which does not in the same way connect itself with later history, but which, as a tyranny, stands out before all others. There Syracuse and Akragas. is a marked contrast indeed between the story of Syracuse, all but the eldest of Sikeliot cities, and the story of Akragas, as far as our present times go, the youngest. While we have to patch up our record of Syracuse from a few scattered notices spread over more than two centuries, Akragas, starting in the world a hundred and fifty years later than Syracuse, becomes the centre of a rich

¹ Diod. xii. 19; *Ὦν ἐνὸς εἰπόντος, Καταλέλυκας τὸν ἴδιον νόμον, Μὰ Δί', εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ κύριον ποιήσω· καὶ σπασάμενος τὸ ξιφίδιον, ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν.

CHAP. V. store of what we hardly know whether to speak of as history or as mythology. History it hardly is in any case, for we have no consecutive narrative; but the wealth of anecdotes and references for Akragantine story in the sixth century before Christ is overwhelming. And, if we are not, as at Leontinoi and Katanê, confined to the name of a single man, yet all gathers round a single man. Akragas could at least boast, such as the boast is, that in all early Greek history no name was more widely spread than that of her tyrant Phalaris. No man has given rise to more controversies, and to controversies of singularly varied kinds, both in older and in later times. Was Phalaris among the earliest masters of Greek prose composition? Did he put men to a death of torture by means of a brazen bull? All questions about the letters of Phalaris might be looked on as set at rest for ever, were it not that a kindred imposture of far later times still finds believers. Those who still strive to set up the false Ingulf as a genuine authority for the eleventh century after Christ may haply strive again to set up the false Phalaris as a genuine authority for the sixth century before Christ¹. The bull supplied matter for controversy long before the letters were written, and it still remains a matter of controversy by no means so easy to settle as the letters. And, letters and bull apart, Phalaris still remains a puzzle. We are drawn towards him as the single figure that stands boldly out in this stage of Sicilian history; but, as we draw near, it is far from easy to fix his birth-place or his exact date, or to make out any one of his acts for certain. Our knowledge of him really comes to hardly more than the bare facts that he was tyrant of Akragas, and that he became tyrant within a remarkably short time after the foundation of the city. We should specially like to know the

Fame of
Phalaris.

Questions
about him.

The
letters.

The brazen
bull.

Little
really
known of
Phalaris.

¹ On the pretended Letters of Phalaris see Appendix VII.

causes which made Akragas fall under the power of a tyrant during the days of its growth, or even childhood, while at Syracuse tyrants did not arise for nearly two hundred and fifty years, and then did not come from within but from without. This question presents itself equally at whatever date we fix the accession of Phalaris. And in any case it is not wonderful that he should be spoken of as no native of Akragas, perhaps as no native of Sicily. Many who have written about Phalaris seem to have forgotten that, ten years after the foundation of Akragas, all its active citizens must have been born in other places, that, even thirty years after its foundation, such must have been the case with the more part of them. Akragas was a colony of Gela, and it brought its founders from Rhodes. There is therefore nothing wonderful if it should happen that a man from the neighbouring Dorian island of Astypalaia was admitted as one of the first settlers. A statement, resting on the worst possible authority, but not unlikely in itself and not contradicted by any better authority, brings Phalaris from that island¹. And it is hard to see with what motive such a story, if false, could have been invented.

CHAP. V.
Date of his
tyranny.
B.C. 570-
554.

Phalaris
not born
at Akra-
gas;

perhaps at
Astypa-
laia.

Mention of
Phalaris by
Aristotle.

The question how Phalaris rose to despotic power in the new city is more important than the question as to the place of his birth. In one passage of his serious political writings, Aristotle remarks that most of the Sikeliot tyrants belonged to that class who were demagogues before they were tyrants². In another place he speaks of Phalaris by name as one of those who rose to power through the possession of some magistracy³. In these two statements

¹ He is made in the Letters, 35 (p. 144, ed. Schäfer), to describe himself as Φάλαρις, Λεωδάμαντος υἱός, Ἀστυπалаιεὺς τὸ γένος, πατρίδος ἀπεστερημένος, τύραννος Ἀκραγαντίνων.

² See above, p. 56.

³ Politics, v. 8, where he places Phalaris among the tyrants who rose to power ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν.

CHAP. V. there is nothing contradictory, nothing improbable; but in another part of his writings, where he was less bound to take heed to the facts of history, Aristotle has told us a story which answers itself on the face of it. He brings in the poet Stêsichoros as inventing or repeating the well-known fable of the horse, the stag, and the man, in order to hinder the men, not of Akragas but of Himera, from giving Phalaris the means of seizing absolute dominion. He is already general with full powers, and he has reached that stage of "the despot's progress"¹ in which the budding tyrant asks for a guard². The story would equally suit a great number of cities and a great number of tyrants. The mention of Stêsichoros goes some way to suggest that it may be in its place at Himera; only, if so, the name of Phalaris must have displaced the name of some local tyrant. For Phalaris another version has Gelôn; in fact, for the purposes of the story, one tyrant was as good as another.

Story of
Phalaris
and Stêsi-
choros.

Story of
the rise of
Phalaris.
B. C. 570.

It is quite different with the mention of Phalaris as one who rose to the tyranny through the possession of some office. This goes far to show that there is some ground for a story which in some points recalls one which we have already come across at Syracuse³. The young city of Akragas, in the tenth year of its foundation, is still imperfect. The high hill of its akropolis still needs both divine and human defences. It is still without a wall, at least without such a wall of stone as full safety needed. It is also without a house for the protecting god, Zeus of the City⁴. The men of Akragas, in their faith, begin the holy

¹ I borrow this phrase from Grote, iii. 307.

² See above, p. 51. On the story about Stêsichoros and Phalaris in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, ii. 20, and the other version which brings in Gelôn, see Appendix VII. The course of things is at least well marked; *ἐλομένων στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν Ἱμεραίων Φάλαριν καὶ μελλόντων φυλακὴν διδόναι τοῦ σώματος*.

³ See above, p. 14.

⁴ The story comes from Polyainos, v. 1. His Ζεὺς Πολιεύς is clearly the

work first of all. Phalaris, like Agathoklês at Syracuse, was entrusted with the building of the temple on the height, the temple which has given way to the present cathedral church, though we cannot, as at Syracuse, say that it actually survives in the later building. The work was a great one; for the height was stony and rugged. Yet it was not for the honour of the sovereign god to build his house on any site lower than the highest of all¹. Phalaris, accustomed to such works², engages to employ the best workmen and to find the best materials. Entrusted to that end with a large sum of public money, he not only lays in a store of wood, stones, and iron for the work, but he both buys slaves and hires mercenaries for his own purposes. The work was begun, but only begun; the foundations were still in digging, when Phalaris sent a herald to offer a reward for the discovery of those who had stolen the wood and iron that had been made ready for the building. This increased the trust which the people placed in Phalaris. They agreed to his proposal that—seemingly to guard against such thefts—he should be further entrusted with the charge of surrounding the akropolis with a wall. The wall is built; the akropolis is ready to be used as a fortress. Phalaris now frees his slaves and arms both them and the hirelings with axes. He takes advantage of the feast of the Thesmophoria, the feast of Dêmêtêr and her Child, the goddesses of Henna, no doubt already the goddesses of all Sicily, which, we are to suppose, as the

CHAP. V.
He is employed to build the temple of Zeus.

His abuse of his trust.

He seizes the tyranny.

same as Zeus 'Αταβύριος. There is no difficulty in the two names. The first settlers called the god 'Αταβύριος after the Rhodian mount, when there was only one temple of Zeus in Akragas. When the Olympieion arose down below, the Zeus of the elder city might well be distinguished as Πολιεύς. See vol. i. p. 437.

¹ In the story in Polyainos, Phalaris is τελώνης τῶν πολιτῶν. The temple is to be built at a cost of two hundred talents; ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρας ὡς πετρώδους καὶ στερεωτάτης καὶ ἄλλως ὁσίων ἂν ἔχον ἐν ὑψηλοτάτῳ τὸν θεὸν ἰδρύσασθαι.

² Ib.; ἐπίστευσεν ὁ δῆμος, ὡς διὰ τὸν τελωνικὸν βίον ἐμπειρίαν τῶν τοιοῦτων ἔχοντι.

CHAP. V. later topography of the city suggests, was held far beyond the circuit of the new wall¹. Phalaris and his followers set upon the worshippers; the more part of the men are killed; the women and children come under the power of Phalaris, who becomes undisputed tyrant of Akragas².

Local character of the story.

In a tale like this there is beyond doubt an element of legend, and one is further tempted to suspect a certain amount of confusion in the telling of the latter part of the story³. But it is not therefore to be wholly cast aside. It is not like an alternative story in which Phalaris proclaims games outside the city as an occasion for seizing the arms of the citizens⁴. This is one of the current stories, fitted in with the names of Phalaris and Akragas, but which would do equally well for any other city and any other tyrant. But the other is clearly a local story; it implies knowledge of the topography of Akragas, and it takes for granted the still youthful and imperfect state of the city at the time of the establishment of the tyranny. We may fairly take it as some evidence both for the early date of the usurpation of Phalaris and for the means by which he rose to power, namely by turning some public trust to his own purposes.

¹ See vol. i. p. 437, and below, p. 80.

² Polyainos, v. 1; τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποκτείνας γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων κύριος καταστὰς ἐτυράννησε τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνων πόλεως.

³ The killing of the men and the seizure of the women and children reads like that kind of story of which the settlement of the Mamertines at Messana is the best known. But this is quite out of place here. Considering the mention of the Thesmophoria, one would think that the real story was that he seized the women outside the walls, and so brought the men to submit. And a general massacre of the men would naturally have been followed by some story of the enfranchisement of slaves or mercenaries or some other device for making up the loss of the slain citizens.

⁴ This story immediately follows the other. While the citizens are seeing the show, Phalaris shuts the gates and sends his guards to search the houses for arms. This story is clearly inconsistent with the former. And as this is one of the received stories of the tricks of tyrants, while the former one has a real local colouring, the former, in its general outline, is greatly to be preferred.

Phalaris then was tyrant ; but assuredly not, what some have called him, the first tyrant in the Greek world or even the first among the Greeks of Sicily. He was lord of Akragas ; whether his dominion reached beyond that city and its territory there is really nothing to show. There is distinct evidence that in his day that territory reached as far as the southern Himeras ; the hill of Eknomos, the site of the future town of Phintias, was his¹. This is all that can be said with certainty. Later writers, with Dionysios and Agathoklês before their eyes, have painted the most famous of tyrants as lord of all Sicily, or at least of many of its cities. Sometimes he appears as master of towns which did not come into being till long after his day. It is perfectly possible that Phalaris may have made himself master of some of the Sikeliot cities besides Akragas ; but there is no evidence that he did. The belief that he conquered Leontinoi seems to rest on no evidence beyond a chance explanation of a proverb² ; the belief that he conquered Himera seems to be an attempt to get some historical truth out of the story told by Aristotle. But his wars with the Sikans rest on quite other grounds. The fact that he is made to war with Sikans and not with Sikels increases our confidence. That is, it makes it more likely that the anecdote-monger was copying some good authority. A lord of Akragas in his age could hardly keep himself from Sikan warfare, and the tales of his doings in that way, whatever we say of the particular tricks by which he is said to have overcome his enemies, have doubtless an historical groundwork. A Sikan town and its prince, otherwise unknown, Vessa and its king Teutos, are not likely to be the invention of sophists³. We need not believe that Phalaris

CHAP. V.
Extent of
the Akra-
gantine
territory
under
Phalaris.

Later ex-
aggerations
of his
dominion.

His Sikan
warfare.

Teutos of
Vessa.

¹ Diod. xix. 104.

² See Appendix VII.

³ See vol. i. p. 118. In this story the names are perhaps the best part ; they can hardly be the invention of the compiler ; Φάλαρις πρὸς Τεῦτον ἄρχοντα Οὐέσσης, ἥπερ εὐδαιμονεστάτη καὶ μεγίστη Σικανῶν πόλις ἔπεμψε τοὺς μνηστευομένους αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα.

CHAP. V. could find no other way of overcoming the Sikan prince than by arranging a marriage with his daughter, and bringing youthful soldiers in the garb of handmaidens to begin the work of slaughter at the wedding-feast¹. Still we may set down the successful war which Phalaris is said to have waged against Teutos as a real scrap of early Sicilian history.

Real and mythical elements in his story.

The truth is that every detail that concerns Phalaris has a mythical element about it. Still something must have marked him out to become the subject of so large a mass of fiction beginning possibly so near his own day. It is easy to argue that he must have been a warrior and conqueror over some large part of Sicily, for that otherwise even exaggeration would not have spoken of him as lord of the whole island. It is no less easy to argue that, when he had once gained a reputation as the most famous of Sicilian tyrants, he was naturally painted as a conqueror like the great Sicilian tyrants of later days. Only then we have to account for the unusual renown, if only in the shape of infamy, which gathered round his name. And for that renown there is certainly enough to account in the traditional character of his internal government. There is no need to attribute to him any greater success in war than might be gained in those conflicts with barbarian neighbours which may be taken for granted in any ener-

¹ This is essentially the same story as the deception of the Persians by the Macedonian Alexander in Herodotus, v. 19, and as the story in Hérakleidês of Pontos, 32, of a Kephallenian tyrant whose name is not given.

Another wild story of the Sikan warfare of Phalaris is told by Polyainos, v. 3, and in a slightly different shape by Frontinus, *Strat.* iii. 4. 6. Phalaris pretends to make peace with certain Sikans who had been able to hold out for a long time because they had much corn in store. By the terms of the peace he gives them the corn that he has for his army, and is to take their next crop instead. He bribes the keepers of the corn-stores to let in the rain; so, when he has taken the next year's crop, the Sikans have no corn, and are driven to give in.

getic Sikeliot leader, whether king, tyrant, or republican CHAP. V.
magistrate.

As to the nature of the rule of Phalaris in his own city, we have the fact that he was traditionally handed down as one of the worst of tyrants, that his name became a proverb for cruelty, and was coupled with those of the worst recorded oppressors, mythical and real¹. On the other hand, there is the very singular fact that in later times he found advocates, that apologies were written for him², and that elaborate letters, painting him in another light than that of a wanton oppressor, were composed in his name. The apologies and letters were without doubt mere rhetorical exercises, examples of the skill with which a view might be maintained which ran counter to that commonly received. Still there must have been some special reason why this particular tyrant of all tyrants should have been picked out as the subject of these ingenious paradoxes. It might point to some current of tradition which represented Phalaris as less hateful than he looked in the tradition which was more commonly received. But it is just as easy, perhaps more easy, to suppose that the more favourable report, a report confined to quite late times, grew out of a mere spirit of contradiction. A man who was said to have roasted people to death in a brazen bull was naturally much talked about in all ages; he became a traditional bugbear, a traditional common-place of rhetoric. A natural reaction followed among rhetoricians and sophists. It became a trial of ingenuity to get

Rule of
Phalaris in
Akragas.

Apologies
for him.

Their
origin.

¹ Thus Lucian, when he is not engaged in making out a case for Phalaris, puts him in the very worst mythical company, with Busiris and Diomêdês of Thrace and with the monsters overthrown by Thêseus (*οἱ Σκείρωνες καὶ Πιτυοκάμπται καὶ Βουσίριδες καὶ Φαλάριδες*). The two passages (*Bis Accusatus*, 8, and *Vera Historia*, ii. 23) are in nearly the same words. So Cicero (*De Officiis*, ii. 7, iii. 7, and again, *Verres*, iv. 33, where he appears as "crudelissimus omnium tyrannorum Phalaris") takes him as the standard of a merciless oppressor.

² On the Phalaris of Lucian see Appendix VII.

CHAP. V. up a case on behalf of one who was everywhere spoken against, and what was at first practised merely as a rhetorical exercise came in the end to pass as a serious counter-statement.

Story of
Charitôn
and Melan-
ippos.

This on the whole seems the most likely way of explaining the strange phænomenon of the forged letters. At the same time it is only fair to put on record that one of the older stories about Phalaris does really describe him, not indeed as a just ruler, yet as something different from the monster of cruelty which he appears in the other tales. And this story, whatever may be its worth, stands quite apart from the rhetorical exercises in his defence. The writer who tells it brings it in with some surprise, as being unlike the ordinary character of the tyrant. We again come across one of those tales which to the Greek mind had all the charm of sentimental romance¹. To us it is instructive, because, if authentic, it throws some light on the nature of the power exercised by a tyrant.

Course of
law under
a tyranny.

Under the rule of Phalaris there are still magistrates and courts of law in Akragas; but the tyrant steps in to pervert the administration of justice to his private ends. The beautiful youth Melanippos has a suit against a personal friend of the tyrant; Phalaris, under frightful threats, bids him withdraw the indictment. Melanippos persists in appealing to the law; at the bidding of Phalaris the magistrates strike his suit off the list of causes². The

¹ The story of Charitôn and Melanippos is told at some length by Ælian (Var. Hist. ii. 4), and it is referred to in a shorter form by Athenaios, xiii. 78, who quotes a treatise of Herakleidês of Pontos of a lighter character than that which we often have to use, called *ὁ περὶ Ἑρωτικῶν*. Melanippos is *τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγαθὸς καὶ τὸ κάλλος διαφέρειν*.

² *Ib.*; *δικαζομένῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φαλάριδος προσέταξεν ὁ τύραννος τὴν γραφὴν καταθέσθαι. τοῦ δὲ μὴ πειθομένου ὁ δὲ ἠπέιλησε τὰ ἔσχατα δρᾶσειν αὐτὸν μὴ ὑπακούσαντα. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν παρὰ τὴν δίκην ἐκράτησε τοῦ ἀνάγκῃ προστάξαντος τοῦ Φαλάριδος, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες τὴν γραφὴν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἡπάνισαν.* This picture of the course of law under a tyranny, wherever Ælian found it, is worth notice.

youth tells his tale to his lover Charitôn, and prays him to join in an attack on the tyrant. Charitôn, it seems, had been already planning such an act out of purely patriotic motives, and he is further stirred up to it by the wrong done to his beloved. All Akragas was so bowed down by the fear of Phalaris that no help was to be looked for from any quarter¹. Charitôn prevails on Melanippos to keep quiet; he will take all the risk on himself. He watches his opportunity; he tries to slay Phalaris with a dagger; he is seized by the tyrant's body-guard; he is put to the torture, but he endures his sufferings without making any confession. Then Melanippos goes to the tyrant, and tells him that he is the real author of the attempt on his life, and that it was done in vengeance for the wrong done to him in the matter of the lawsuit. Phalaris, admiring the mutual self-sacrifice of the pair, spares their lives and leaves them their goods, but bids them leave Akragas and all Sicily².

CHAP. V.

Action of
Phalaris.

Tales like these, which are preserved only by late writers, but which have nothing in them inconsistent with the state of things at the time and place to which they are assigned, must be taken at what they are worth. There is no means either of confirming or of confuting them. But they are at least witnesses to current belief; they are often, as we have seen³, much more.

Value of
tales of this
kind.

¹ Ælian, u. s.; γινώσκων ὅτι τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς συλλήψεται δέει τῷ ἐκ τοῦ τυράννου.

² This is the version in Ælian, which has much more the air of being the genuine story than that in Athenaios. According to this last, both Charitôn and Melanippos are tortured, and Phalaris is moved by their physical sufferings (βασανιζόμενοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι τε λέγειν τοὺς συνειδότες, οὐ μόνον οὐ κατεῖπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Φάλαριν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔλεον τῶν βασάνων ἤγαγον, ὡς ἀπολῦσαι αὐτοὺς πολλὰ ἐπαινέσαντα). The terms on which they are spared, as given by Ælian, should be noticed; προστάξας αὐθημερὸν ἀπελθεῖν μὴ μόνον τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνων πόλεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Σικελίας· συνεχώρησε δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἴδια δίκαια καρποῦσθαι.

³ See above, p. 58.

CHAP. V. Such a story as this counts at least for more than the report that Phalaris was in the habit of eating sucking children as a special delicacy¹, a charge which has been brought against more than one potentate of the present century. The tale of Charitôn and Melanippos sets Phalaris before us as a tyrant, after the usual type of a tyrant. He is capable of milder feelings, but he does not let those milder feelings carry him into any act that might jeopard his own safety. He admires Charitôn and Melanippos, and his admiration saves their lives and goods. But, as they are clearly dangerous to his power, they are, like an Athenian under ostracism, bidden to withdraw to some place where they can do him no harm². Phalaris, after all, puts his own safety first. Even in his milder mood he is painted as less open to sentimental feelings than Dionysios appears in the better known story of Damôn and Pythias.

Phalaris
and
Dionysios.

The brazen
bull.

Questions
as to the
bull.

And now comes the main question in the whole story of Phalaris. If Charitôn and Melanippos had not awakened these gentler feelings in his heart, would they have been roasted to death in a brazen bull? It is before all things the brazen bull which has given to the name of Phalaris the kind of immortality which attaches to it. The brazen bull has made his name a household word at least from the days of Pindar, and it made his deeds a matter of controversy at least as early as the time of Timaios. Two questions have to be kept apart. First, Was there any brazen bull at all? Secondly, If there was, how came there to be one? If there was one, if Phalaris really practised a form of cruelty so essentially barbarian, so unlike the usual doings of even the worst of Greeks, we

¹ See Appendix VII.

² Contrast this with the law ascribed to Polykratês and other tyrants by Athenaios in the same chapter.

may, with a near approach to certainty, attribute the fact to Phœnician influence in some shape or other. But it is not at all likely that the story is a mere misconception of late times, that it is a mere explanatory legend which grew round some Canaanite idol which had nothing to do with Phalaris or his tyranny¹. The tale is either a fact, or it is a very early slander. Either Phalaris was really guilty of this outlandish form of cruelty, or his enemies saddled his memory with it while his memory was still fresh.

As the story is told, the bull was the work of an artist named Perillos or Perilaos; it was only under the influence of very late ideas that he was said to be an Athenian². The bull was hollow, with a door in the shoulder, through which the victim was pushed within. The brass was then heated, and by some ingenious device the cries of the sufferer were made to imitate the roaring of the bull. Phalaris first put the artist himself into the bull³, and afterwards employed it as a means of punishment for others. Now the evidence for the general truth of this story is exceedingly strong. Phalaris and his bull are taken as the received types of a cruel dominion in a famous ode of Pindar which was written within a hundred years after the time⁴. The general Greek belief was that the story was authentic, that the bull itself remained at Akragas, or within the Akragantine territory, till the city was sacked by the Carthaginians. It was then taken to Carthage; it was brought from Carthage by the younger Scipio and given back by him to the Agrigentines of his own day. It is clear that this last stage of

CHAP. V.
Probable
Phœnician
influence;
its form.

Evidence
of Pindar.

Story of
the bull at
Carthage.

¹ See Duncker, ii. 48.

² It does not appear that Perilaos is anywhere spoken of as an Athenian except in the forged letters. But such a notion might have grown up much earlier, when Athens had once come to be looked on as the general seat of art.

³ See Appendix VII.

⁴ See Appendix VII.

CHAP. V. the story is at once the least important and the most doubtful. Such a story might easily arise at Carthage; it might easily be invented for the satisfaction of Greek and Roman visitors, though the bull that was shown as the bull of Phalaris was of native and later Carthaginian workmanship. But it is not easy to see how the story, if false, could have so soon obtained such a currency that Pindar, who knew something of Sicilian and of Akragantine affairs, could have been led to accept it as a fact to be taken for granted. The one writer, the Tauromenitan Timaios, who is quoted as throwing doubt on the story, seems, on closer examination, not to have denied the truth of the story, but only to have denied the genuineness of a bull which was shown at Akragas in his time as the bull of Phalaris. According to him, the real bull of Phalaris was thrown into the sea by the people of Akragas when the tyranny of Phalaris was overthrown¹.

Evidence
of Timaios.

Torture
barbarian.

Here then is a far stronger amount of evidence for the reality of this famous bull than could have been looked for on behalf of a story which at first sight seems so unlikely. The Greek, even the worst of Greeks, in his fiercest wrath, seldom, at this stage at least, goes beyond the infliction of simple death. Death by prolonged means of suffering, death accompanied by elaborate mockery, are both essentially barbarian and not Greek. Instances of the kind in Greek history are strikingly few, and they may almost always be attributed to barbarian influence². If Phalaris had a brazen bull, and used it as the story describes, he assuredly did it in imitation of some Phœnician model or at the instigation of some Phœnician adviser. A bull might in itself be a

¹ See Appendix VII.

² See the remarks of Grote (v. 271) on the punishment of Artayktês. In that case the Greeks, enraged at a special wrong done by a barbarian, dealt with him in barbarian fashion.

harmless symbol of one of the river-gods of the land ; but a bull used as an instrument of torture is the symbol, not of the stream of Hypsas or Akragas, but of the Moloch or Baal of the Canaanite. Phœnician models, Phœnician advisers, were easily to be had in the Sicily of the sixth century before Christ. The Phœnicians of Sicily were not far off, and the prosperity of Akragas came largely of its trade with the Phœnicians of Africa. Later tyrants of Sicily come nearer to the nature of barbarians ; they are more given to the following of barbarian fashions than the worst recorded men of the elder Greece. If Phalaris did burn men to death in a brazen bull, he did very little more than forestall some of the doings of Dionysios and Agathoklês.

CHAP. V.

Barbarian
influence
in later
times.

The tyranny of Phalaris lasted about sixteen years¹. It did not come to an end without warnings. The tyrant one day saw a single hawk chasing a flight of doves. He turned to his companions and pointed out to them the cowardice of the many who allowed themselves thus to fly before one whom, if they had the heart, they might turn round and overcome². The story is told as if the fall of Phalaris in some way followed. Perhaps those who heard him took the hint, and no longer followed the pattern of the doves. His power was overthrown by a popular movement. Later legends brought in the names of various philosophers, specially that of Pythagoras, a name inevitable in any story of Sicily or Southern Italy. But the more trustworthy tradition gives the leader of the

The fall of
Phalaris.
B. C. 554.

Téléma-
chos ;

¹ The sixteen years come from Jerome's correction of Eusebius (Roncalli, i. 324): "Ol. lii. 3. Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit ann. xvi."

² This is from a fragment of Diodôros, ix. 28 ; ὁ Φάλαρις ἰδὼν περιστερῶν πλῆθος ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἰέρακος διακόμενον ἔφη, ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ὑφ' ἐνὸς διακόμενον διὰ δειλίαν ; ἐπεῖτοι γε εἰ τολμήσειεν ἐπιστρέψαι, βᾶδιως τοῦ διώκοντος ἂν περιγένοιτο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόγου ἀπέβαλε τὴν δυναστείαν, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ περὶ διαδοχῆς βασιλέων.

CHAP. V. movement the name of Têlemachos, and assigns to him his descent. a pedigree which went up, through the mythical kings of Thebes, to Kadmos himself¹. Later forefathers were said to have been among the first Rhodian settlers at Gela; this points to the family as having been among the original settlers at Akragas². The genealogy the other way seems clear enough; Têlemachos was, through three descents, the forefather of Thêrôn, the famous tyrant of Akragas at a later stage³. Phalaris was put to death; one legend, which reached a Latin poet of the Augustan age, told how he was himself made to perish in his own bull. Others spoke of that and other tortures dealt out to his mother and to his friends, while, according to a version at which we have already glanced, the bull itself was hurled into the sea⁴. More curious than all is the tradition that a law of liberated Akragas forbade the wearing of blue clothes, because that had been the colour of the dress worn by the tyrant's body-guard⁵. But it is perhaps rash to speak of liberated Akragas. It is by no means clear what the effect of the revolution was, whether it did not simply

Fore-
father of
Thêrôn.

Death of
Phalaris.

Doubtful
position of
Têlema-
chos.

¹ The pedigree of the Emmenids forms a main subject of the second Olympic ode of Pindar, addressed, as well as the one following it, to Thêrôn. See specially the scholia on ii. 82, iii. 68.

² This must be the meaning of the fragment of Pindar [84] addressed to Thêrôn;

Ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ κατένασθεν
ἐνθένδ' ἀφορμαθέντες ὑψηλὰν πόλιν ἀμφινέμονται,
πλείστα μὲν δῶρ' ἀθανάτοις ἀνέχοντες,
ἔσπετο δ' ἀενάου πλούτου νέφος.

³ See the pedigree in the scholia on Pindar, Ol. ii. 82, iii. 68, and Siefert, Akragas, 64. One hardly sees the meaning of the imperfect passage in the former scholion; ὁ μὲν Κλύτιος ἔμεινεν ἐν Θήρῃ τῇ νήσῳ, ὁ δὲ Τηλέμαχος κατέκειτο ἐν χώρῃ ὅθεν συλλέξας δύναμιν ἔρχεται εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ κρατεῖ τῶν τόπων. But it can hardly fail to be a dark way of saying that Têlemachos took a part in the settlement of Gela.

⁴ See Appendix VII.

⁵ Plut. Reip. Ger. Præc. 28; Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἀπαλλαγέντες Φαλάριδος, ἐψηφίσαντο μηδένα φορεῖν ἱμάτιον γλαυκινόν· οἱ γὰρ ὑπηρέται τοῦ τυράννου γλαυκίνοις ἐχρῶντο περιζώμασι.

give the city a new master, a master doubtless less CHAP. V.
 harsh than the one who was overthrown. Têlemachos
 is himself spoken of as tyrant, and even, though most
 likely only by the carelessness of a late writer, as king¹.
 And he is said to have had two successors in the rule His suc-
 cessors.
 of Akragas, Alkamenês and Alkandros. Of these a good
 character is given; but we are not told whether they
 were republican magistrates, perhaps with extraordinary
 powers, or whether they belonged to the class, rare but
 not unknown, of tyrants who were not oppressors². It
 seems clear that within less than seventy years after the B. C. 544-
 488.
 fall of Phalaris there was again a commonwealth of
 Akragas to be overthrown. The next name in Akra-
 gantine history to which we can attach any definite
 facts is that of the renowned tyrant Thêrôn, the great-
 grandson of Têlemachos.

Setting aside the bull and most other things true and Local im-
 portance of
 the story of
 Phalaris.
 false recorded of Phalaris, his story is in itself of very high
 local interest. The growth of a tyranny so soon after the
 foundation of a city is in itself remarkable; and the tale
 of the way in which the tyrant rose to power, though
 coming only from a late source, has every internal mark of
 being trustworthy. We see Akragas, when it was still Early
 picture of
 Akragas.
 only the upper city, the akropolis, the present Girgenti,
 just as our early tales of Syracuse show us that city
 when it was still shut up in the Island of Ortygia. The The temple
 of Zeus
 Polieus.
 rise of the tyrant is connected with the building of the

¹ Schol. Pind. Ol. iii. 68; Τηλέμαχος γάρ τις καταλύσας τὴν Φαλάριδος τυραννίδα ἐν Ἀκράγαντι, τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκτίσας. In Herodotus or Aristotle one would see some meaning in this seeming opposition between βασιλεία and τυραννίς; in a scholiast it is hardly safe to do so.

² This comes from Hêrakleidês, 37. He leaves out Têlemachos, and after the fall of Phalaris goes on; μεθ' οὗ Ἀλκαμένης παρέλαβε τὰ πράγματα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀλκανδρος προέστη, ἀνὴρ ἐπιεικής. "Sie waren gewiss weniger Tyrannen als Aesymneten" says Siefert. So Plass, Die Tyrannis, i. 506.

CHAP. V. temple of Zeus Polieus or Atabyrios. This, as we have seen, stood on the highest point of the akropolis, the highest point of the modern town, where the present church of Saint Gerlandus occupies the site of the ancient temple. Some small traces of its foundations are still to be seen, but of foundations only. The church is built on the site of the temple; the temple is not, as at Syracuse, itself made into the church. But, besides the temple of Zeus, the story speaks also of a temple of Dêmêtêr. The goddesses of Henna were no doubt by this time fast becoming the goddesses of all Sicily. The powers of the Sikel creed, adopted by the Hellenic settlers, had put on a thoroughly Hellenic shape, and the Thesmophoria of Dêmêtêr were kept at Akragas as well as at Athens. The place chosen for the solemnity was far beyond the walls of the elder city; it is barely within the walls of the enlarged city.

Temple of Dêmêtêr.

Chapel of Saint Blaise.

The foundations and part of the walls of a small temple *in antis* near the eastern wall of the city, close to some of the wildest rocks that overhang the valley of the Akragas, have been wrought into a chapel of Saint Blaise, who has given the stream its newer name. These have been taken to be the remains of an early temple of Dêmêtêr and the Korê. Others have held that so small a house was an unworthy offering to the goddesses from a city which boasted itself of being a special seat of Persephonê. They have inferred the same connexion between river and temple which has come about in later times. As the church of Saint Blaise looks down on the stream of Saint Blaise, so did the temple of the river-god Akragas look down on his stream below¹. Yet the story points to the temple of Dêmêtêr as without the city; so does the like case of the temple of the goddesses of Syracuse. A worship borrowed from the earlier inhabitants of the land and gradually worked

¹ See Schubring, Akragas, 44; Cavallari, Citta Greche, 95; Holm, i. 302.

into an Hellenic shape would most naturally in the first instance grow up outside the walls. And the rule might be continued even in a city founded after their worship was fully established. I know of no distinct evidence to prove that the chapel of Saint Blaise really is the temple of Dêmêtêr; but the received name does in this case fit in well with the story. The goddesses of the land are propitiated by a small sanctuary outside the walls, even before the great temple of Zeus is begun within them. CHAP. V.

The casual mention of the renowned Thêrôn of Akragas, though as yet a little out of place, suggests a tyrant of the same name, but of less renown, who must have been contemporary with Phalaris himself¹. We noticed some time back² that we get no account of what happened at Selinous after the joint defeat of Pentathlos and the Selinuntines by the Segestans and their Phœnician allies. There is a story in a late writer which seems to belong to this time. It is one of the usual stories of the rise of tyrants, stories which we must always take at what they may be worth. But in this case the tale, though it comes to no intelligible end, seems to fit in with the state of things after the death of Pentathlos. The Selinuntines have just been defeated by the Carthaginians—so their enemies are called in the story—with great loss, and are so hard pressed by the enemy that they do not dare to bury their dead³. In this state of distress, Thêrôn son of Miltiadês, a person not otherwise known, offers to the Selinuntines, if they will give him three hundred slaves who can cut Selinous after the death of Pentathlos. c. 579 B.C.
Phœnician war.
Thêrôn son of Miltiadês seizes the tyranny.

¹ I do not see why Plass (ii. 201) removes this story to the time of Hermokratês.

² See vol. i. pp. 444, 591, and Appendix VIII.

³ Polyainos, i. 28; *Σελινούντιοι Καρχηδονίους παραταξάμενοι πολλῶν πεσόντων ἀτάφων κειμένων, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων θάψαι τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐ θαρροῦντες, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀτάφους περιορᾶν ὑπομένοντες, ἐβουλευόντο τί χρὴ πράττειν.*

CHAP. V. wood, to go with them and burn the bodies and pile up their monument¹. If the enemy should get the better of them, they will at the outside lose one citizen and three hundred slaves. The people agree. Thêrôn is bidden to choose for himself among the slaves. He picks out the strongest, and they go forth with axes and reaping-hooks to cut wood for the burning of so many dead bodies. Once out of the city, Thêrôn persuades the slaves to set upon their masters; he comes in at evening; the guards, knowing him and his party, let them in without difficulty. They first kill the guards, and then the more part of the citizens in their sleep, and Thêrôn becomes tyrant of Selinous².

Stories of
the rise of
tyrants.

All these stories of the rise of tyrants are suspicious. There are so many of them; they all practise tricks, differing in detail, but essentially of the same kind. And, as we have seen, nothing is easier than to put the name of one city and one tyrant for another. In this particular story we are not told what became of the Selinuntine dead, still less what was the end of the war.

Mention of
Carthage.

We cannot be certain whether the warfare meant was really a warfare with Carthage, or whether the name of Carthage may not be vaguely used for Phœnicians of Motya or Panormos before these cities became subject to their African sister. According to the most likely date for the establishment of Carthaginian power in Sicily³, a Punic war immediately following the enterprise of Pentathlos would have been waged against independent Phœnicians. But a late collector of stories was likely enough to bring in the Carthaginian name too soon. On the whole, we are tempted to think, though without at all confidently

B.C. 540.

¹ It is only in the heading that he is called Θήρων Μιλτιάδου, to distinguish him from the famous Thêrôn of Akragas, of whom a story is told just before. He promises τὰ σώματα καῦσαι καὶ πολυάνδριον αὐτῶν ἐγείραι, doubtless a barrow or tump.

² κατέλαβε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τύραννος ἐγένετο Σελιουντίων.

³ See vol. i. p. 297.

affirming, that the joint defeat of Pentathlos and the Selinuntines was followed by the establishment of a tyranny at Selinous, a tyranny which must have gone on alongside of that of Phalaris. CHAP. V.

In any case our next mention of Selinous, towards the end of the same century, sets that city before us as again under the rule of a tyrant. But this glimpse of Selinuntine tyranny meets us quite casually in a story of far more importance than any that touches Selinous only. It comes as part of a story of a new attempt at Greek colonization on Sicilian ground, the last attempt in Sicily at colonization strictly so called on the part of any city of old Greece. In the later years of the sixth century before Christ the tale of Pentathlos of Knidos seems to come over again in the tale of Dôrieus of Sparta. And the tale of Dôrieus does not stand isolated like the tale of Pentathlos. It is directly connected, both in the way of analogy and in that of cause and effect, with later events both in Sicily and beyond the bounds of Sicily. The strife between Greek and Phœnician which is now waged is the immediate forerunner of the great strife between Greek and Phœnician, between Greek and barbarian all over the world, which begins to form the main subject of European history only a few years later. It is in fact the first stage of that long warfare which the Greeks of Sicily and their helpers from old Greece waged as the share of Sicily in the Eternal Question for ever debated between Europe and her barbarian enemies. It is moreover the first piece of Sicilian history for which we have, not indeed a contemporary narrative, but an intelligible and trustworthy narrative from the pen of one of the great masters of history. It comes too from one who looked at the strife between Greek and barbarian with an eye that was keen indeed. Instead of scraps and doubtful tales patched up from a hundred careless compilers, we are now admitted

Story of
Dôrieus.
c. 510 B.C.

Its relation to the
great Carthaginian
wars.

Narrative
of Herodotus.

CHAP. V. to follow a striking event in Sicilian story under the guidance of Herodotus himself.

Relation of
the story of
Dôrieus to
that of
Pent-
athlos.

In this tale of the last attempt at fresh Greek settlement in Sicily, of the beginning of abiding strife with the barbarian in Sicily, we see the story of Pentathlos repeated. We again see a Herakleid coming to found a settlement in that corner of Sicily which was held to be the special inheritance of the sons of Hêrakilês, but which had now become the special preserve of barbarians. And this time the leading motive of winning back the lands of Hêrakilês, of founding a new Hêrakteia, is put forth far more prominently than it was in the former case. It is now put forth by a Herakleid of far loftier position than the Knidian Pentathlos. The son of Hêrakilês who now steps forward is a Spartan of kingly birth, who seems almost to forestall the series of princes from Sparta and elsewhere who, a hundred and fifty years later, came to seek their fortunes in Sicily and Italy. But they, from Archidamos onwards, came avowedly to defend the Greeks against the attacks of barbarians who were too strong for them. As yet such help to imperilled countrymen is not called for. It is still deemed possible to found new Greek cities on the Sicilian coast at the cost of barbarian owners ¹.

Marriages
and sons of
King An-
axandridas.

The leader of the enterprise to the story of which we have now come is Dôrieus, the son of that King Anaxandridas of Sparta the story of whose double marriage is one of the most familiar in Herodotus ².

Kleomenês
king of
Sparta.
B. C. 520-
491.

Kleomenês, the eldest born of Anaxandridas, but the son of his second wife, succeeds his father in the kingship of Sparta, while the sons of the first wife, born after him, Dôrieus, Kleombrotos, and the more renowned Leônidas, were left in a private station. Dôrieus, high in the esteem of all men at Sparta, and believing himself to be far fitter for

¹ On the account in Justin, xix. i. 9, see Appendix VIII.

² v. 39 et seqq.

the kingly office than the frantic Kleomenês, had cherished hopes that he would have been acknowledged—in the strict hereditary succession of Sparta we cannot say chosen—rather than his elder brother¹. The question of legitimacy on the part of Kleomenês does not seem to have been raised; the eldest by birth succeeded according to Spartan law². Dôrieus, grievously disappointed, unwilling to live in a city where Kleomenês was king³, determined to seek a home elsewhere. He gathered a company of Spartans, and set forth to plant a colony. But he went through none of the accustomed rites prescribed by Greek usage for the planting of colonies. Spartan as he was, he did not even go to ask the will of Apollôn at Delphoi⁴ as to the land which he should choose for his settlement. His first scheme was a settlement in Libya; thither he was guided by men from the Spartan colony of Thêra, metropolis of greater Kyrênê. They led him to the mouth of the river Kinyps⁵, at a point between the two Syrtes, a little to the east of the greater Leptis. The site, one of remarkable beauty and richness, was occupied at the cost of the Libyan possessors. It was held for three years; in the third year the native tribes and their Phœnician neighbours or masters joined to drive out the intruders. Dôrieus had now his first experience of the enmity of Carthage towards Hellas. He went back to Peloponnêsos—it is not

CHAP. V.

Dissatisfaction of Dôrieus.

He neglects to consult the oracle.

His settlement in Libya. c. 513 B.C.

He is driven out by Carthaginians and Libyans.

¹ Herod. v. 42; ὁ Δωριεὺς ἦν τῶν ἡλικῶν πάντων πρῶτος· εὖ τε ἐπίστατο κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχήσαν τὴν βασιληίην.

² Ib.; οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρεώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ, ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κλεομένηα. Pausanias (iii. 3. 10) looks more deeply into the Spartan mind; τὸν μὲν ἀπώσαντο ἄκοντες, Κλεομένει δὲ διδόασιν ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρεσβεῖα τὴν ἀρχήν.

³ Ib.; δεινὸν τε ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξίων ὑπὸ Κλεομένηος βασιλεύεσθαι. Cf. the somewhat similar case of Dêmarratos, vi. 67. So Pausanias, iii. 4. 1; οὐ γὰρ ἡνείχετο ὑπακούειν Κλεομένει μένων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι.

⁴ Ib.; οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥτινα γῆν κτίσων ἤ οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζόμενων.

⁵ Ib.; ἀπικόμενος ἐς Κίνυπα, οἴκισε χῶρον κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ ποταμόν.

CHAP. V. said that he went back to Sparta—and there fell in with an adviser who suggested an undertaking in quite another region, but one where it was the fate of Dôrieus to fall in with the same enemies.

Pro-
phesies.

Collections of alleged prophecies attributed to seers of mythical date are a marked feature in this age of Greek history¹. In the present story we come across the prophecies of Laïos of Thebes, the king who perished by the hand of his son. Out of these prophecies a certain Anticharês of Eleôn in Boiôtia culled passages on the strength of which he exhorted Dôrieus, eager as he doubtless was for a second enterprise, to try his luck in Sicily. He was to try it in that special region of Sicily in which Pentathlos had tried and had failed. He was to found a Sikeliot Hêrakleia. He was to found it in that corner of the island which was the natural heritage of his house. Pentathlos had tried his luck at Lilybaion; Dôrieus was to make his attempt yet nearer to the rightful home of a Hêrakleid. Eryx, the special scene of the exploits of the wandering hero, had been chosen by him as his own possession, and a right to it which could not be gainsayed had passed on from him to his children. There Dôrieus is to found a colony which shall bear the name of Hêrakleia after his deified forefather².

Dôrieus
bidden to
found
Hêrakleia
in Sicily;

Eryx to be
the site.

Bearing of
the oracle
on the
legend of
Hêraklês;

When we read this oracle said to have been addressed to Dôrieus, we regret that we hear nothing of any oracles which may have been addressed to Pentathlos when he

¹ We meet them constantly throughout Herodotus (cf. Aristoph. *Knights*, *passim*). Take for example the story of Onomakritos, who was banished by the Peisistratids for interpolating the prophecies of Mousaios; Herod. vii. 6.

² Herod. v. 43; 'Αντιχάρης, ἀνὴρ Ἑλεώνιος, συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαίου χρησμῶν, Ἑρακλεῖην τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ κτίσειν, φὰς τὴν Ἑρως χώρην πᾶσαν εἶναι Ἑρακλεΐδων, αὐτοῦ Ἑρακλέος κτησαμένου. The words of Pausanias, iii. 16. 4, are a good commentary; ἐστάλησαν δὲ τὴν Ἑρικήν χωρὰν νομίζοντες τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν Ἑρακλέους εἶναι καὶ οὐ βαρβάρων τῶν ἐχόντων. He goes on with the story of Hêraklês at Eryx.

was about to undertake the same enterprise. That is, we wish to know the stages by which the legend of the exploit of Hêrâklês at Eryx had grown up. Was it in being before Pentathlos? Was it devised in the interest of Pentathlos? Was Pentathlos as distinctly sent by Apollôn as Dôrieus was, and was Dôrieus sent to retrieve the failure of Pentathlos? Or was the enterprise of Dôrieus simply suggested, as an enterprise, by that of Pentathlos, but honoured by a divine sanction which that of Pentathlos had not received? In this last case one would be tempted to think that the whole legend of Hêrâklês at Eryx may have grown up at this time, so conveniently for the purposes of Dôrieus. At all events the singular point of law which made the possessors of Eryx tenants-at-will of Hêrâklês and his heirs, bound to withdraw whenever a Hêrâkleid should come to claim his heritage, is likely to have now been heard of for the first time¹.

CHAP. V.

and on the enterprise of Pentathlos.

The lease of Eryx.

However this may be, Dôrieus, in setting out on his second enterprise, did not forget to begin his work with every becoming formality. He made his way to Delphoi, and asked the mind of Apollôn. Would he win the land against which he was going? The priestess, to judge from a very short report of her answer, bade him go and prosper; Apollôn would deliver the heritage of Hêrâklês into the hand of his descendant. But we may suspect that, if we had the answer of the god at greater length, we should find it so worded that the prophetic credit of the oracle should not be lessened by what actually followed².

Dôrieus consults the oracle.

¹ See vol. i. pp. 209-211.

² Herodotus (v. 43) says only; ἐς Δελφοὺς οἶχεται χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἰρέει ἐπ' ἣν στέλλεται χώραν· ἣ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ αἰρήσειν. This cannot be the answer in full; Apollôn must have kept some loophole for himself. Could the oracle have been so worded as to be fulfilled either by Dôrieus' alleged exploits at Sybaris or by the foundation of another Hêrâkleia by his follower Euryleôn?

CHAP. V. As founder of an intended Lacedæmonian colony, Dôrieus took with him other leading Spartans as joint-founders. We know the names of Thessalos, Paraibatês, Keleôn, and Euryleôn¹. And he had a comrade, not of Spartan or Lacedæmonian birth, whose story awakens a keener interest than those of his Spartan colleagues. Philippos of Krotôn, city of wrestlers and physicians, was a wealthy man and an Olympic victor. Renowned through the Hellenic world as the model of manly beauty, he had been promised the daughter of that mysterious Têlys of Sybaris who appears in different versions as demagogue, tyrant, and king². This connexion with the rival city gave offence to his own citizens, and led to his flight or banishment from Krotôn. He seemingly went to Sybaris to claim his bride. But the banished man was no longer welcome to the ruler, and Philippos found another place of exile in distant Kyrênê³. Once in Libya, he threw in his lot with the settlers by the Kinyps, and he now joined in the Sicilian expedition of Dôrieus. Even in banishment, Philippos must have kept no small wealth; he sailed in a trireme of his own, manned by a crew kept at his own cost⁴. The fleet of Dôrieus set forth. The usual course

Joint-founders of Hêrakleia.

Philippos of Krotôn.

His relations to Têlys of Sybaris.

His banishment.

He shares in the Libyan settlement of Dôrieus.

¹ Herod. v. 43. The name Thessalos is one of that class, common in Greece, of which our own Northman or Norman is a rare example in England. But what is to be made of the mutilated passage in Pausanias, iii. 16. 4? It stands thus in the new text; *ἰόντι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας* [at Sparta] *ἀπὸ τοῦ Χιτῶνος Χελωνός ἐστιν ἡρώων τοῦ σοφοῦ νομοζομένου, καὶ Ἀθηναίων . . . ρφ τῶν ὁμοῦ Δωριεῖ τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδου σταλέντων ἐς Σικελίαν*. This has been commonly understood of a Spartan Athênaios, fellow to Thessalos. It is a little hard to fancy the Athenians building a ἡρώων at Sparta to some Athenian comrade of Dôrieus whose name is imperfect; but the words look like it.

² On Têlys see Appendix I. Just now Herodotus (v. 47) is quite neutral; *Φίλιππος . . . ἀρμολόμενος Τήλως τοῦ Συβαρίτεω θυγατέρα, ἔφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος*.

³ Ib.; *ψευσθεὶς τοῦ γάμου, οἴχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην*.

⁴ Ib.; *ἐκ ταύτης ὀρμώμενος συνέσπετο οἰκῆτῃ τε τριηρεὶ καὶ οἰκῆτῃ ἀνδρῶν δαπάνῃ*.

of navigation led him by the shores of the Greater Greece, into the neighbourhood of both the cities from which Philippos had been turned away. He came at the moment when Krotôn and Sybaris were standing face to face in their last deadly struggle. The countrymen of Philippos were marching to that great battle by the stream of Krathis which was followed by the sweeping from the earth of the greatest and wealthiest of Hellenic cities¹. Did Dôrieus, coming at such a moment, having in his company a man who had his grudge alike against the men of Krotôn and the men of Sybaris, but himself charged with a divine commission for warfare of quite another kind, turn aside to be the helper of either city, or did he forbear?

CHAP. V.
Alleged claim of Dôrieus in the war of Sybaris and Krotôn.
B. C. 510.

The answers which seventy years later were given to these questions on the spots most nearly concerned furnish a strange example of the way in which utterly contradictory stories may be fervently believed on opposite sides, if only a point of local honour is touched. To the vanished Sybarites, keeping on a feeble being in a few corners of their old territory², it was some slight comfort to believe that it was not wholly beneath the arms of their hated neighbours that they had fallen. It was a less shameful fate to be overthrown by a prince of Sparta, a son of Hêraklês. The version believed among the scattered Sybarites, and doubtless handed on to the settlers at Thourioi, told how Dôrieus and his followers fought on the side of the men of Krotôn, and made their way along with them into conquered

Different statements at Sybaris and at Krotôn.

Sybarite version.

Share of Dôrieus in the overthrow of Sybaris.

¹ On the fall of Sybaris see Diod. xii. 9, 10; Strabo, vi. i. 13, 14; Grote, iv. 553 et seqq. I am not concerned with the details; but the stories about Milôn and the Pythagoreans have a mythical sound. The tale which Athênaios (xii. 21) quotes from Hêrakleidês of Pontos, about the overthrow of the tyranny of Têlys, hardly agrees with the stories either in Herodotus or in Diodôros. There was a frightful slaughter of his followers, accompanied by many signs from the gods.

² They were then, according to Herodotus (vi. 21), living at Laos and Skidris, seemingly in the old Sybarite territory. Their fate somewhat later is told by Diodôros, xii. 10.

CHAP. V. Sybaris ¹. At Krotôn it was no less a point of honour to believe that so great a victory was won wholly by Krotoniat valour. The presence of Dôrieus was denied; the tale which asserted it was confuted by convincing arguments. No stranger had any share in the work save only Kallias the prophet. He indeed, an Eleian of the divine stock of Iamos ², had once attached himself to the cause of the tyrant Têlys. But when his skill told him that the good will of the gods had passed away from Sybaris and her lord, he had betaken himself to the help of happier Krotôn ³. Besides Kallias, no man of any city but their own had stood in their ranks by Krathis ⁴. Sybaris, to be sure, or Thourioi speaking in her name, had her arguments also, and one which was either conclusive beyond answer or else the most daring of falsehoods. By the dry bed where Krathis had flowed on the day of battle—victorious Krotôn in after days turned his waters so as to run over the site of Sybaris—there stood a temple of Athênê which Dôrieus had reared to the goddess in memory of his share in the battle and the victorious entry ⁵. We are not

His presence
denied at
Krotôn.
The
prophet
Kallias.

Arguments
on both
sides.

¹ Herod. v. 44; *συστρατεύεσθαί τε ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωριέα καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν*.

² It is almost needless to refer to the sixth Olympian ode of Pindar, and to the train of adventures (120)

ἔξ οὗ πολὺ κλειτόν καθ' Ἑλλανας γένος Ἰαμίδων.

Truly καθ' Ἑλλανας; the ode witnesses to Iamids at Syracuse, and here we have them in Elis. Kallias may well have been, like Amphiaraios,

ἀμφότερον μάντις τ' ἀγαθὸς καὶ δουρὶ μάνασθαι.

If so, as an Iamid, he would have been thoroughly in place as a comrade of the Hêrakkleid.

³ Herod. u. s.; *παρὰ Τήλῃος τοῦ Συβαριτέων τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι παρὰ σφέας, ἐπεὶ τε οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προέχωρεε χρηστὰ θυομένῃ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα*. See Appendix I.

⁴ Ib.; *Κροτωνιῆται οὐδένα σφίσι φασὶ ξείνον προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου, εἰ μὴ Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμίδων μάντιν Ἥλειον μόνον*. Καλλίης τῶν Ἰαμίδων is the same idiom as "Lorenzo de'" = dei—"Medici."

⁵ On the *ξηρὸς Κράθις* see the note of Grote, iv. 555. This agrees with the statement of Strabo (vi. i. 13, where there is much about the river

told the Krotoniat answer to this appeal to an existing monument. When Krotôn argued that Dôrieus could not have helped her, because she honoured Kallias and his descendants and paid no honours to Dôrieus¹, the Sybarite rejoinder would not have been hard. To a distant and unconcerned critic it seems more likely that the Krotoniats should, from whatever motive, have denied a true story than that the Sybarites should have invented a tale which had no grounds of fact at all. The religious mind of Sybaris held it for the strongest proof of all that Dôrieus failed in his Sicilian enterprise. He, a son of Hêraklês, sent by Apollôn to win back the heritage of Hêraklês, could never have failed in so holy a work, unless he had brought down divine vengeance on him by some sin against the gods and their oracles. And Dôrieus had so sinned; he had sinned as the men of the Fourth Crusade sinned when they turned away to attack Zara and Constantinople. He turned away from the errand on which the gods had sent him, to fight against a Greek city which had done him no wrong². Nor was Nemesis weaker then than she was seventeen centuries later; Dôrieus, traitor to his faith, founded no Hêrakteia on Eryx or at its foot. Baldwin, traitor to his faith, never saw Antioch or Jerusalem. And, if he did reign in Constantinople, small joy had he and his successors of the phantom empire which they set up.

Cause of
the failure
of Dôrieus.

Analogy of
the Fourth
Crusade.

Whatever they did in Italy, Dôrieus, Philippos, and their comrades, sailed on to do the work for which they

Dôrieus
sails to
western
Sicily.

Krathis) as to the turning of the stream, which Diodôros (xii. 10) does not mention, but which Herodotus here supplies.

¹ The words (Herod. v. 45) are emphatic; *καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετό γε τοῦ Συβαριτικοῦ πολέμου Δωριεύς, δοθῆναι ἂν οἱ πολλαπλάσια ἢ Καλλίῃ.*

² *Ib.*; *αὐτοῦ Δωριέος τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῖνται ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ποίεων διεφθάρη. εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μηδὲν, ἐπ' ᾧ δὲ ἐστάλῃ ἐποίησε, εἴλε ἂν τὴν Ἐρυκίνην χώραν καὶ ἐλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ διεφθάρη.*

CHAP. V. were sent to Sicily, to win for the Herakleid and his companions the special domain of Hêraklê's. That means that they went to win for Hellas that corner of Sicily from which the life of Hellas had thus far been altogether shut out. The western side of the island, the western part of its northern side, was still as thoroughly barbarian as when Pentathlos, with the men of Rhodes and Knidos, had striven in vain to found a Hellenic settlement in that stubborn stronghold of Canaan¹. The attempt of Dôrieus was not made in exactly the same quarter as that of Pentathlos. The Knidian Herakleid had tried to settle on ground which was actually in Phœnician occupation, on Lilybaion, over against the island stronghold of Motya. The object of the Spartan was Eryx itself, the site of his forefather's great exploit. And the enterprise of Dôrieus, bringing us yet nearer than that of Pentathlos to the holy hill and to the land and water at its foot, makes us long the more keenly for some knowledge of the exact state of Eryx and of the parts of Sicily thereabouts at the time of Dôrieus' coming. But we are simply told that he was withstood by the same enemies who had withstood Pentathlos, the Phœnicians and the men of Segesta². The men of Segesta were the enemies of Pentathlos, not only because he was striving to plant a Greek colony on Lilybaion, but because he had taken part with their enemies of Selinous in warfare against themselves. Otherwise the enterprise of Dorieus touched Segesta more nearly than the enterprise of Pentathlos. A Greek colony on Lilybaion would have threatened Elymian as well as Phœnician interests; but the colony of Dôrieus was to be actually planted on Elymian ground. We cannot say whether Eryx was at this time a direct possession of Segesta or a separate Elymian com-

State of Western Sicily.

Position of Eryx.

Action of Segesta.

Relation of the Elymian towns to Carthage.

¹ See vol. i. pp. 442, 588.

² Herod. v. 46; ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες ὑπὸ τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἑγεσταίων.

monwealth. We see that the relations of Segesta towards CHAP. V. Carthage and her Sicilian dependencies—we may so speak of them now with all certainty—were still, as in the days of Pentathlos, friendly. As to any Carthaginian supremacy over the Elymian towns in general, as to any special Phœnician influence in Eryx as distinguished from Segesta, we can as yet say nothing. The interests of all, Phœnicians and Elymians alike threatened by Dôrieus. Phœnician and Elymian, were alike threatened by the schemes of Dôrieus. Whatever were the actual relations at that moment between Eryx and Carthage, the head of Phœnician cities could no more allow a Greek city at Eryx than at Lilybaion. The Phœnicians, whether of Sicily or of Africa, could afford to leave the Elymian occupants of Eryx and Segesta to themselves, even though they lay between the two Phœnician strongholds of Motya and Panormos. Such neighbours in no way threatened the supremacy of Carthage or the well-being of her dependencies. A Greek settlement in any part of the barbarian corner would be quite another matter. An Hellenic Eryx must have passed its whole life at daggers drawn with the Phœnician towns on each side of it. Whether the men of Eryx and Segesta were to Carthage simply neighbours or allies or dependents, nay had they even been at that moment enemies, Carthage could not allow any settlement of Greeks to be made at their expense.

We are told nothing as to the exact site of the settlement which Dôrieus now proposed to plant. Site of the included settlement. Elymian Eryx was the city on the mountain top, with the great temple, by this time doubtless of Phœnician Ashtoreth, crowning all. We are not directly told whether the westernmost of the two sickles, the peninsula of Drepana, Drepana haven of Eryx. had yet become the haven of the hill city¹. What an Elymian city might have done for itself we can only guess; but under any measure of Phœnician ascendancy or even

¹ See vol. i. p. 207.

CHAP. V. Phœnician influence, such a site could never have been neglected. We may feel sure that Drepana at this time was already the haven of Eryx, a haven which, if not actually in the hands of Phœnician masters, must assuredly have been thronged by Phœnician merchants. To this day an inviting site for this purpose, it must have been much

Changes in
the coast.

more so then. We shall see from the description of Drepana as it was nearly sixteen hundred years later ¹ that the peninsula was larger than it is now, that the town occupies its isthmus, and that there were then fertile meadows where the sea now dashes over rocks and small islands. Such a site was yet more tempting than the island of Syracuse or the peninsula of Naxos. It was more independent of the mainland. There, where now is Trapani, but on a wider expanse of ground than Trapani now covers, we may be sure that Dôrieus designed to plant this new Greek city. Such a city would have been a thorn indeed in the side of Phœnician Motya; it would have been even more threatening to Elymian Segesta. The mountain city and its temple would abide, but they would abide to new ends. The hill of Eryx would be the akropolis of the new Hêrakteia. The city to be founded would look to the strong and holy place as the Corinth of the days of Dôrieus already looked up to the Akrokorinthos of an earlier day.

Hêrakteia
to be on
the site of
Trapani.

Failure of
the plans
of Dôrieus.

But this was not to be. The barbarian corner of Sicily was never to be a land of free Greek commonwealths. Like Panormos itself, Eryx was for a moment to obey a Greek king, when the eagle of Molottis soared to his fitting eyrie ². Otherwise the barbarian corner was to remain barbarian till Europe first won it abidingly by the

The bar-
barian
corner

¹ See the description of Trapani at the time of the Norman conquest in Geoffrey Malaterra, iii. 11, to which I trust to come again in due course.

² See the Fragment of Diodôros (Bk. xxii) which records the taking of Eryx by Pyrrhos.

arms of Rome. It was to become again specially the barbarian corner under the second Semitic lords of Sicily, till Roger came to do for ever what Dôrieus failed to do at all and what Pyrrhos did only for a moment. The forces of Segesta and her Phœnician neighbours gathered, doubtless under a Carthaginian leader, to drive back the dangerous intruders. A battle was fought, doubtless somewhere by the foot of Eryx, and the descendant of Hêraklês was overthrown and slain on the wrestling-ground of his deified forefather. With Dôrieus fell three of his fellow-founders of the city which was never to be founded. And with them fell Philippos, shall we say of Krotôn or of Kyrênê? To him were given honours which fell to the lot of no other among his comrades. It shows the deep impression which manly beauty made on the minds of barbarians as well as Greeks that the men of Segesta—it must have been when they came to strip the slain—were overcome by the majestic form, noble even in death, of the victor of Olympia, most beautiful of all the Greeks. How the other bodies fared, how the slain Hêrakkleid fared, we know not; but for Philippos the men of Segesta reared a tomb, and over his tomb they built a chapel as for a hero. There they strove with sacrifices to turn away the wrath that might fall on those who had handed over such a form as his to the common lot of men¹.

CHAP. V.
remains
barbarian.

Defeat and
death of
Dôrieus.

Death of
Philippos.

Honours
paid to
him.

Of the four men who were to be the joint founders of Hêrakkleia, three, Thessalos, Paraibatês, and Keleôn, died with Dôrieus and Philippos. The fourth, Euryleôn, like the sons of the slain Pentathlos, gathered together the remnant of

¹ Herod. v. 47; διὰ δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κάλλος ἐνείκατο παρὰ Ἑγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώϊον ἰδρυσάμενοι, θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται. One is reminded of the effect of the personal appearance of another Dôrieus, him of Rhodes, on the Athenian people (Xen. Hell. i. 5. 19; Grote, viii. 218); but the tribute here is higher, as paid to a dead man, and it is more distinctly a tribute to beauty as such.

CHAP. V. the host. As in the earlier case, something was to come of the expedition after all. And Euryleôn seems to have been more fully minded that something should come of it than the sons of Pentathlos had been. These last had begun to sail homewards, and they lighted on a home at Lipara only by accident. Euryleôn took the opposite course to theirs. Unwilling that nothing should come of the enterprise, that no Hêrakleia at all should come into being, he sailed southwards from Eryx, along the western or barbarian face of the island, to seek his luck among the Greek cities on its southern side. Selinous was then under the rule of a tyrant named Peithagoras, against whom the citizens were striving in arms. Euryleôn joined his forces with theirs, and it must have been with some view to this campaign against the tyrant that he occupied the Selinuntine outpost of Minôa, at the extreme eastern point of the Selinuntine territory, at the mouth of the river Halykos. The old landing-place of Minôs and his Cretans, the burial-place of the ancient master of the seas¹, now makes its appearance in authentic history. By the joint efforts of the men of Selinous and of the new settlers at Minôa Peithagoras was overthrown. But it would seem that he was not overthrown without hard fighting. In after days men read a sepulchral legend which told of the men who quenched the flame of tyranny, whom brazen Arês did to death before the gates of Selinous². The tyrant was more easily got rid of than the tyranny. Euryleôn is said to have freed or helped to free

Enterprise
of Eury-
leôn.

Peitha-
goras
tyrant of
Selinous.

Euryleôn
at Minôa.

Overthrow
of Peitha-
goras.

¹ See vol. i. pp. 113, 497.

² Herod. v. 46; συλλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος τῆς στρατιῆς τοὺς περιγενομένους, ἔσχε Μινῶν τὴν Σελινουσίων ἀποικίην· καὶ συνελευθέρου Σελινουσίου τοῦ μονάρχου Πειθαγόρεω. There seems to be no further account of this Peithagoras. This is most likely the Selinuntine tyranny referred to by Plutarch, Apophth. Lac. Ἀριγέως, 2. A tomb at Selinous bore this inscription;

Σβερνόντας ποτὲ τούσδε τυραννίδα χάλκεος Ἄρης
εἶλε. Σελινούντος δ' ἀμφὶ πύλαις ἔθανον.

the people of Selinous from the yoke of Peithagoras. But presently, by what means we are not told, he was able to seize the tyranny for himself. His rule was but for a short time; but it must have been specially oppressive. We know what Spartan harmosts were a hundred years or so later; a Spartan tyrant now might well prove worse than a native. The people rose against Euryleôn. He sought shelter in the temple of Zeus of the *Agora*, within the bounds of the earlier city on the hill above the sea¹. But the holy place availed him not, and he was slain before the altar².

With this our story ends, one more incidental glimpse of the early history of Selinous. It is perhaps less important in what it tells us of Selinous itself than in what it tells us of the Selinuntine outpost of Minôa. Dôrieus had failed in his enterprise of founding a Hêrakleia at the foot of Eryx. Euryleôn had failed in his baser enterprise of keeping an enslaved Selinous in his own hands. And yet in some sort neither wholly failed. Euryleôn did, in a feeblener way, fulfil the mission of Dôrieus. The promised Hêrakleia did come into being, though not on the promised site. It must have been at the time of its occupation by Euryleôn that Minôa took the name by which it is otherwise known, and to which its elder name became attached as a kind of surname. Its history is for a long time fragmentary. In after days it passed into Carthaginian hands, and Hêrakleia became famous as the Headland of Melkart. At the time when it was thus cut off from Hellas, it appears as part of the territory of Akragas, and not, as now, of that of Selinous³. But it had not to wait for

¹ See vol. i. pp. 420, 428.

² Herod. ii. 8.; οἱ γὰρ μιν Σελινούσιοι ἐπανάσταντες ἀπέκτειναν, καταφονγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς ἀγοραίου βωμόν.

³ See the treaty between Dionysios and Carthage in Diod. xv. 17, where he cedes to Carthage τὴν τῶν Σελινουντίων πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ τῆς Ἀκραγαν-

CHAP. V. those distant days before it again saw the presence of the race who had most likely first called it into being¹. For the present all that we hear of the Hêrakleia of Euryleôn is that, at some unfixed time but seemingly not very long after the time which we have reached, the special enmity of Carthage fell on it, and that it was for a season swept away from the earth².

First over-
throw of
Hêrakleia.
B.C. 510-
480.

Relations
of Selinous
to Car-
thage.

It becomes
a Cartha-
ginian de-
pendency.

War be-
tween Car-
thage and
the Eastern
Sikeliots.
B.C. 510-
480.

This undated overthrow of Hêrakleia seems to connect itself with other events of which our accounts are no less dark. In all likelihood it happened very soon after the occupation of the place by Euryleôn. It is to be noticed that we hear nothing directly of Selinous till about thirty years after the expedition of Dôrieus. But its relations to Carthage must have changed in some way during that time. At the later date Selinous appears as an ally of Carthage against the other Hellenic cities of Sicily. It plays, or is expected to play, the part which Servia played against Christendom on the day of Nikopolis. Such a relation between Greek and barbarian surely implies some victorious advance on the part of Carthage, which had brought the western bulwark of Hellenic Sicily into some measure of dependence on the Phœnician. We hear too, vaguely enough it is true, of warfare waged specially to avenge the death of Dôrieus, warfare by which the Sikeliot cities in general were saved from dangers on the side of Carthage, dangers which could be said to have threatened their very being³. We have no means of exactly fixing a single date or detail; but something took place between Carthage and the Greek power which was now rising to

τίνης μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλύκου. That is to say, a district which Herodotus counts for Selinuntine must then have been Akragantine.

¹ See vol. i. pp. 113, 415, 496, 562.

² See Appendix VIII.

³ See Herod. vii. 158, and Appendix VIII.

ascendency in Sicily, something which could be looked on as touching the interests of Hellenic life in all its seats. For it led to embassies from Sicily to the cities of old Greece, asking for help against the common enemy of all Greeks everywhere. No help came from old Greece. Sparta cared not to avenge the blood of Dôrieus on the barbarians; she cared not to save Sikeliot cities from falling under the barbarian yoke. The Phœnician advance was checked by Sikeliot valour only. Such is the story which we are told, certainly in a most vague and allusive shape, but by an authority which cannot be lightly cast aside. It is hard to escape the conclusion that some warfare between Carthage and the Greeks of Sicily went on after the death of Dôrieus, warfare which helps to connect his enterprise, as the first act in our long tale, our tale of

CHAP. V.

Refusal of
help by
Sparta.

"Græcia barbariæ lento collisa duello,"

with the later and greater act of the same drama which forms a main epoch in our story. It was surely in this war, the war in which the defenders of Greek Sicily proclaimed vengeance for Dôrieus as their watchword, that Selinous became a dependency of Carthage and that the newly named Hêrakleia was destroyed. This must be the warfare in which the famous Gelôn, lord of Syracuse, is made to claim the first place for himself, and which must in any case have been carried on by a power in whose doings Gelôn had a share. This war with Carthage, obscurely recorded, but clearly of no small moment, bridges over, as far as strife with the barbarian is concerned, the space between the enterprise of Dôrieus, followed by victory on the part of Carthage, and the enterprise of Hamilkar, followed by victory on the part of Hellas.

War to
avenge
Dôrieus.Claims of
Gelôn.

The power which we can thus dimly see in the character of Hellenic and European champion, the power which, when it was wielded by Gelôn and had its seat at Syracuse, became a mighty power indeed, had its beginnings

Origin of
the Deino-
menid
power.

CHAP. V. under other lords and in another spot. It was a power which gradually made its way to the first place in Sicily, a power which came to rule over so large a part of Sicily that its masters could, with some exaggeration, be spoken of as lords of the whole island¹. Towards the end of the sixth century before Christ, most of the Sikeliot cities were ruled by tyrants or by single rulers of some kind. Of Selinous just at this moment we cannot speak, and the question of her internal government is of less interest than the question when and how she entered into her peculiar relation to Carthage. Syracuse, busy with her political disputes, did not in this age produce a tyrant of her own stock. But we hear of tyrants at Gela, at Akragas, at Himera, at Leontinoi, and of a lord of Zanklê who perhaps was not a tyrant². And we shall presently see a sight in those days more unexpected, but which is but the first example of a large class, that of an Italian ruler bringing Sicilian soil under his dominion³. Anaxilas of Rhêgion is a memorable name in Sicilian history; Thêrôn of Akragas is more memorable still; but the earliest in date and the greatest in extent of the Sikeliot powers of the beginning of the fifth century before Christ had its first rise at Gela. Translated to Syracuse, that power was to have no small share in the great strife of West and East. Whatever may have been the exact course of events immediately after the death of Dôrieus, it is certain that a lord of Gela and Syracuse presently was called to be the victorious champion of Hellas against the Semitic invader.

Tyrants in
various
cities.

Rise of
tyrants at
Gela.
B.C. 505.

¹ Gelôn is ἀρχων Σικελίας in Herod. vii. 157.

² See Herod. vi. 23 and Appendix I.

³ See vol. i. p. 24.

§ 3. *The Beginnings of the Deinomenid Dynasty.*

B.C. 505-480.

The dynasty of which we have now to speak is that of The Deinomenids. which Syracuse was the seat in the first time of Syracusan splendour. It is that which is made famous by the renowned names of Gelôn and Hierôn, by the laureate odes of Pindar, and by the purer glory of the great salvation of Hellas at Himera. But, as the first foundations of this power were not laid at Syracuse, so neither were those who laid them forefathers of the men who made Syracuse for the first time the head of Sicily. The beginning of the dynasty of which the greatest name is Gelôn, was not the work of Gelôn or his house, and the place of its beginning was not Syracuse but Gela. Of the Internal history of that city between its foundation and the time strifes at Gela. which we have now reached we know but little. One event only has been recorded in an incidental way which shows us that Gela, like other cities, had its internal struggles. In one of these, at the date of which we can only Secession to Maktôrion. guess, the defeated party were driven from the city, and established themselves at Maktôrion, on the hills above Gela¹. Were these, like the men who fled from Syracuse to Kasmenai, the few yielding to the numbers of the many? Or were they the many yielding to the wealth and military practice of the few? Did they, like the Roman *plebs*, secede of their own accord to become themselves the old citizens of a new commonwealth? Or was it merely a case of a banished *gens*, like the Syracusan Milytids²? Whoever the seceders were, those who were left in the city wished for them back again. This, according to our Roman precedent, might be taken as a sign that it was a

¹ Herod. vii. 153; ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλῃς οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελῶων, ἐσωθέντες στάσι. On Maktôrion see vol. i. p. 409.

² See above, p. 24, and vol. i. p. 411.

CHAP. V. secession of the commons. But as to the going forth of the seceders to Maktôrion we may guess for ever ; it is the story of their coming back to Gela which concerns us on more sides than one.

The means by which the men who had left Gela were brought back, vaguely as they are described, are instructive as an illustration of Greek religion. The malecontents yielded neither to force of arms nor yet to eloquence or strength of argument ; they were brought back by an appeal to their devotional feelings which for us needs a hierophant indeed. There was in Gela a citizen named Têlinês, who traced his descent from one of the first settlers at Gela. His forefather came, not from Rhodes or Crete, but from the small island of Têlos in the Karpathian sea, near the Triopian promontory¹. We are told by Herodotus, who clearly writes with bated breath on so awful a subject, that Têlinês was possessed of certain mysterious visible symbols of the powers beneath the earth which were deemed to be of wonder-working power. Of their nature he tells us nothing, and he distinctly disclaims all knowledge of the way in which Têlinês became possessed of them². Modern scholars have seen in these powers below the earth no other than the patron goddesses of Sicily, Dêmêtêr and Persephonê themselves. They have connected them with the dark hints which we have about the sanctuary on the Triopian headland, and have supposed that they were brought thence by the original settlers from whom Têlinês was descended³. But nothing fresh seems

Têlinês of Gela ;

his descent ;

his possession of sacred things.

¹ Herod. vii. 153 ; Γέλωνος πρόγονος, οικήτωρ ἑὼν Γέλῃς [al. ὁ ἐν Γέλῃ], ἣν ἐκνήσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ κειμένης· ὅς κτιζομένης Γέλῃς ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ 'Ρόδου καὶ 'Αντιφήμεν, οὐκ ἐλείφθη. Some special meaning would seem to lurk in these last words. The whole story is most remarkable, both for what Herodotus tells us and for what he does not tell us.

² Ib. ; εἶπεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἡ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν.

³ So Boeckh's note on the Scholiast on Pindar, Pyth. ii. 27 ; Δεινομένους [a mistake for Têlinês] γὰρ νῆεις εἰσὶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἱέρανα τοῦ τὰ Ἱερὰ ἐκ Τριόπου τῆς Καρίας εἰς Σικελίαν κομίσαντος. On the temple there, see

to have been brought to light as to the nature of the objects themselves or as to the way in which they exercised their strange influence. Têlinês himself is described as a man hardly designed by nature for any great exploit, not famous for valour or enterprise, but weak, it would seem, in body and feeble in spirit¹. But he had a weapon above all weapons in the mystic objects which he held at his command. Of the manner of using them we hear nothing; but such was the trust placed in them by Têlinês and his fellow-citizens that he was sent alone, without the help of any military force, to win back, by these ghostly arms only, the men who had seceded to Maktôrion². He undertook the task on condition that he and his descendants should be acknowledged by the commonwealth as the public and hereditary hierophants of the powers of whom he was already the personal servant. He went, and he succeeded on his errand. We long to hear the details of his mission; but we know only that his ministry charmed the seceders back again. The schism in the body politic of Gela was healed, and Têlinês and his descendants continued to enjoy the honours and profits of their hereditary priesthood³. After how many years we know not, we come, in the last decade of the sixth century before Christ, to our first ascertained date in Gelôan history. Whatever was the cause or nature of the secession to Maktôrion, the

CHAP. V.

The mission of Têlinês.

Return of the seceders.

Priesthood of Têlinês.

Herod. i. 144, but Têlos is not mentioned in connexion with it. Mr. Lloyd (Hist. of Sicily, 291 et seqq.) goes deeper into many matters than I can follow him. Grote has what to me is a more instructive note at vol. v. p. 279. If these objects were sacred things of Dêmêter brought from Greek Asia, in what relation did they stand to the worship of Henna?

¹ Herod. vii. 153; τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς νερόμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ βώμης ἀνδρείης. ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπέναντια τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυδρίας τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ.

² Ib.; τοὺτους [the seceders to Maktôrion] ὁ Τηλίνης κατήγαγε ἐς Γέλην, ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἰρὰ τούτων [τῶν χθονίαν] θεῶν.

³ Herod. u. 8.

CHAP. V. aristocratic party in Gela, the party most likely of the
 Gela an oligarchy. old citizens, either kept or won back their power. But
 the earliest event in the story of the city which can be
 assigned to a given year marks the year of their fall.

B. C. 505. We now hear of Gela under a ruler named Kleandros,

Kleandros son of Pantarês, who is reckoned among those tyrants who
 tyrant of Gela. rose to power by the earliest of many paths, the overthrow

B. C. 55. of the oligarchy¹. After a reign of seven years, he was slain

His death. by a man of Gela named Sabyllus; but the stroke that was
 thus dealt destroyed only the tyrant and not the tyranny.

Hippo- The power which Kleandros had held passed, perhaps after
 kratês succeeds. some opposition², to his brother Hippokratês, of whom we
 B. C. 498. have a more distinct picture³. Lord of Gela, never lord of

Hippo- of whom Syracuse became the special home. These were
 kratês and his suc- rulers who aimed at something more than despotic power
 cessors. over their own cities. They clearly sought to set up a great
 dominion, over all Sicily, if it so might be, but at least over
 as large a part of it as they could bring under their power.

His aims. Such an ambition, aiming at a dominion over Greeks and
 barbarians alike, might do something to raise the tyrant
 nearer to the level of a king. We here see one marked
 Difference between Sicily and old Greece. difference between old Greece and the Greek settlements
 elsewhere. No man, not Kleomenês himself, could have

¹ For the date and the death of Kleandros see Herod. vii. 154. He appears in Aristotle (Pol. v. 12) along with Panaitios, among the overthrowers of oligarchies. His father Pantarês, an Olympic victor, seems to be commemorated in the wonderful inscription in Röhl, *Inscriptiones Antiquissimæ*, p. 117.

² See below, p. 123.

³ *Ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μοναρχίην Ἴπποκράτης*, says Herodotus. His rule directly after is *τυραννίς*.

to take not a few steps towards it. The ambition of Hippokratès was of the same kind as that of Agathoklês, of Dionysios, of his own immediate successor Gelôn. Though Hippokratès never was lord of Syracuse, it is with him that the line of the lords of Syracuse begins.

The schemes of Hippokratès were wide, and it may be that, like his successors, he was able to cover them with pretexts, and more than pretexts, worthier than could be made use of by any tyrant of old Greece. The dim hints which are all that we have of the warfare which Greek Sicily waged to avenge the death of Dôrieus and to drive back Phœnician advance may suggest that in that strife Hippokratès was the leader¹. Of his rule within the walls of Gela we hear nothing; we cannot say whether he belonged to the worse or to the better class of tyrants. We only know, what does not prove much, that the men of Gela had no wish that his power should become hereditary. Hippokratès sought in all quarters for means to carry out his designs. He was ably served by Greek officers, not always natives of Gela. Among them was an Ainêsidamos, possibly of the great house of the Emmenids of Akragas, but who, if so, was not ashamed to serve the tyrant of his metropolis. Our slight mention of him casually shows us that service about the person of the tyrant, the place of spearman in his immediate body-guard, might be, like service under Teutonic kings, a path to high promotion².

¹ See above, p. 98, and Appendix VIII.

² Herod. vii. 154; *Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταϊκοῦ ὃς ἦν δορυφόρος Ἰπποκράτους*. It seems to be taken for granted that this Ainêsidamos is the same as the father of Thêrôn (Herod. vii. 163). But, according to the Scholiast on Pindar (Ol. ii. 82), that Ainêsidamos was the son of Emmenidês, and one might fancy that this one was marked as the son of Pataikos to be distinguished from him. But he must have been a man of some importance to be mentioned at all and to be coupled, as he is, with Gelôn.

CHAP. V. Hippokratês also hired Sikel mercenaries¹, and with his mixed force, Greek and barbarian, he went forth to make conquests at the cost of both Greeks and barbarians. He brought many Greek cities under his power; he warred against Sikel towns with Sikels in his army; if he did proclaim himself the champion of Hellas against the barbarian he sought for help from old Greece in so holy a crusade, but sought in vain². At all events, he established for himself a great dominion among the Greek cities of eastern Sicily. Naxos, eldest of Sikeliot cities, came under his power; so did her colony Kallipolis³. Of the circumstances of these conquests and of the political state of these towns before the conquest we know nothing; nor do we know in what relation they were made to stand to the ruling power at Gela. But in some cases, where Hippokratês found power in the hands of a single man, he seems to have found that it best suited his purpose to admit the existing ruler to the relation of vassalage or dependent alliance. Such was most likely the case with Leontinoi, then ruled by a tyrant named Ainesidêmos, a different person, we may suppose, from the officer of that name in his own service⁴. Such was certainly the case with Zanklê, where Hippokratês appears very distinctly as the overlord. But the story of Zanklê at this time is of such interest in itself, and it brings so many parts of the world into our view at once, that we must halt a while in the list of the victories of Hippokratês to take in more clearly the state of the two cities which

Conquests
of Hippo-
kratês.

Naxos and
Kallipolis.

His
vassals;

at Leon-
tinoi;

at Zanklê.

¹ See the story in Polyainos, v. 6, to which we shall come again.

² See Appendix VIII.

³ Herod., u. s. On Kallipolis, see vol. i. p. 379.

⁴ Pausanias (v. 22. 7) describes an offering at Olympia set up by certain Leontines, one of whom was named Ainesidêmos, and adds; *δὲν ἄλλον τινα Αἰνεσίδημον δοκῶ καὶ οὐ τὸν τυραννήσαντα εἶναι Λεοντίνων*. Was this the father of Thêrôn? Was either the son of Pataikos or the son of Emmenidês set up as tyrant of Leontinoi by Hippokratês? The name is spelled differently, at least in our texts, by Herodotus and by Pausanias.

watch the two sides of the strait which parts Sicily from Italy. CHAP. V.

Our Sicilian story has thus far had little to do with the affairs of the neighbouring peninsula. We have seen the laws of the Katanaian Charôndas adopted by some of the Italiot cities¹, and we have seen the Krotoniat Philippos come into Sicily to die below Eryx². But we have not as yet seen any active interference in the affairs of either land on the part of the commonwealths or rulers of the other. But in the early years of the fifth century before Christ, the years of the ascendancy of Gela under Hippokratês and for a good while longer, we find a close relation in war and peace between Rhêgion on the one side of the strait and Zanklê on the other. The connexion was of old standing; Zanklê was held to have had some hand in the settlement of Rhêgion³. This relation at last grew into the subjection of both cities to one ruler, and him a man of Rhêgion and not of Zanklê. Anaxilas now ruled in Rhêgion. He was, we are told, one of a privileged order of Messenian descent which held the chief place in Rhêgion⁴. But he had taken up, like Panaitios and Kleandros, the part of a popular leader, and he had in that character put his own single power as tyrant in the place of the oligarchy among whom he was but one among many. Ambitious and unscrupulous, he had, early in his reign, cast his eye across the narrow sea to the city at the foot of the hills, with her sickle-like peninsula guarding her landlocked haven. Anaxilas was at war with Skythês lord of Zanklê, the only Sikeliot ruler of these times on whom the name of king is bestowed by a historian who does not use words at random⁵. We do not know the ground of this quarrel,

Connexion
between
Zanklê and
Rhêgion.

Anaxilas of
Rhêgion.

War
between
Anaxilas
and
Skythês of
Zanklê.
B. C. 493.

¹ See above, p. 61.

² See above, p. 95.

³ See vol. i. p. 586.

⁴ See Appendix IX.

⁵ See Appendix I.

CHAP. V. but it presently becomes connected with greater events in the history of Sicily and of the world.

For the days which we have now reached are the days of barbarian advance alike in the older and the newer Hellenic world. We shall presently see the barbarian powers of East and West strive by one united effort to crush the life of Hellas alike in Sicily and in old Greece. We are all but on the eve of Marathôn; we are almost within sight of Salamis and Himera. The Persian, lord of the recovered Greek cities of Asia, is spreading his rule over the islands of the Ægean and planting his dependent tyrannies among them. In the very year in which Anaxilas rose to power in Rhêgion, Milêtos, greatest city of Hellas on Asiatic ground, fell before the barbarian arms, and its captive citizens were planted as settlers far away by the banks of Tigris¹. Samos was handed over to its native tyrant Aiakês; but its chief citizens would not be slaves to him and to the Medes². They sought homes in some other land, and that land could not fail to be a Western one. Long before, when the troubles of the Asiatic Ionians were only beginning, it had been suggested to them to move in a body to Sardinia³. We may doubt whether such a plantation would have raised Hellenic Sardinia to the level of Hellenic Sicily; but the experiment of a Hellenic Sardinia was never tried. This time Sicily itself was opened to them. Dionysios of Phôkaia, the corsair of Panhellenic sympathies, taking with him the

Persian
advance
in Asia.

Fall of
Milêtos.
B.C. 494.

Samos
under
Aiakês.

Proposed
migration
to Sardinia.
B.C. 545.

Dionysios
of Phôkaia.

¹ Herod. v. 20.

² Ib. vi. 14, 22; *Σαμίαν τοῖσί τι ἔχουσι τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιθὲν οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκε*. Here Herodotus speaks, according to the fashion of his day, of "Medes," where his own practice was to say "Persians." In the words which presently follow, *ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκπλέειν μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδοισί τε καὶ Αἰάκει δουλεύειν*, one seems to hear the words of a formal resolution. So Thucydides, who commonly speaks of "Medes," uses the word "Persian" in i. 16, for an obvious reason. Modern translators of both authors carefully get rid of these careful distinctions,

³ Herod. i. 170.

last remnant of the fleet of free Ionia, had sailed from lost Asia to free Sicily. There he had made some unnamed Sicilian haven the centre of adventurous voyages, in which he freely made a prey of Phœnicians and Tyrrhenians, but did no harm to any brother Greek¹. His presence may well have suggested the thought, it may well have been actually his own proposal², that the whole body of the Ionians of Asia should establish themselves in Sicily. CHAP. V.
Proposed migration of the Ionians to Sicily.

It was the king of Zanklê by whom this thought was put into a definite shape³. Skythês sent envoys to Asia inviting the Ionian body to come and form one settlement, one great Ionian city, on that northern coast of Sicily where Hellas had as yet made so few settlements. Between Himera and the Zanklaian outpost of Mylai were many sites on which a new Greek city might well arise. One specially fitting spot, then in Sikel possession, the modern *Marina di Caronia* between Cefalù and Patti, bore the inviting name of the Fair Shore⁴. *Kalê Aktê*, Invitation of Skythês. Kalê Aktê.

¹ Herod. vi. 17; Διονύσιος ὁ Φωκαεὺς . . . ἐπλῶε ἐς Σικελίην ὁρμώμενος δὲ ἐνθεῖπτεν, λῆϊστές κατεστήκεε, Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν.

² See Holm, G. S. i. 198.

³ It is plain that, unless Herodotus strangely forgot in one place what he had said in another, this Skythês, king or tyrant of Zanklê, cannot be the same person as Skythês, father of Kadmos of Kôs spoken of in vii. 163. Nor does it really prove anything that Skythês of Zanklê in one place (vi. 24) and Kadmos in the other are both praised for the same virtue of *δικαιοσύνη*. Yet there is something, perhaps the oddness of the name Skythês, which puts the two together in one's mind. And the fact that Skythês of Zanklê, when set free from prison in Sicily, at once flees to Asia (vi. 24), dimly suggests some connexion with Eastern parts. See Bunbury, Dict. Biog., art. Seythes.

⁴ Herod. vi. 22; Ζαγκλαῖοι οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον πέμποντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀγγέλους, ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐς Καλὴν Ἀκτὴν, βουλόμενοι αὐτόθι πόλιν κτίσαι Ἴωνων. ἡ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη Ἀκτὴ καλεομένη, ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίην τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης. Mark how Herodotus, doubtless after the settlement by Ducetius, speaks of Kalê Aktê as Sikel. It is a little perverse to translate "in the country of the Sicilians," but one joins none the less in the translator's wonder at the commentator who confounded Kalê Aktê and Zanklê.

CHAP. V. Calacta, came to have a history, a specially Sikel history, in later times; it is as yet memorable only as the spot where the great Ionian settlement in Sicily was not planted. There Skythês invited the whole Ionian body to fix themselves; but the more part of them chose bondage in their native land rather than freedom so far away.

Samian
and Mile-
sian emi-
grants.

Only the discontented of Samos and a small remnant of Milesian exiles who had escaped Persian transplantation set forth on the enterprise¹. And with them went a single man from another Greek island whose name and story make us wish to hear more of him. Kadmos son of Skythês had been tyrant of Kôs. He had not raised himself to power; he had inherited the lordship of the island, a flourishing and undisputed dominion, from his father. No revolt at home, no invasion from abroad, had threatened his power; but, like Lydiadas in days to come, he felt that tyranny was an evil thing. Of his own sense of right, he laid down his power; he gave back freedom to his people, and—we are not told why—sought a home for himself elsewhere². Such is the portrait of Kadmos, the one Dorian, as far as we can see, who took part in the enterprise. If that enterprise had been carried out on the scale which Skythês of Zanklê had proposed, it must have seriously affected the relations of the Ionian and Dorian cities in the later course of Sicilian history.

Kadmos
of Kôs;

he re-
signs his
tyranny.

Never was a man more disappointed in a well-meant scheme, never did a man more thoroughly receive hatred for his good will, than the king or tyrant of Zanklê. The

¹ Herod. vi. 22; *τούτων οὖν ἐπικαλεομένων, οἱ Σάμοι μόνου τῶν Ἰόνων ἐστάλησαν, σὺν δὲ σφὶ Μιλησίων οἱ ἐκπεφυγότες.*

² This story of Kadmos (*Κάδμος ὁ Σκύθεω, ἀνὴρ Κῶος*) is told incidentally by Herodotus in another place (vii. 164), where he has to say something more of him personally; *ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος, πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ πατρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα Κῶων εὖ βεβηκίαν, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης, ἐς μέσον Κῶιοι καταθεὶς τὴν ἀρχὴν, οἶχετο ἐς Σικελίην.*

men to whom he offered a Sicilian home were indeed to find one; but they were not to find it at Kalê Aktê, they were not to find it at the cost of barbarians. The Samians and Milesians and the ex-tyrant of Kôs had gone as far in their voyage as the Italian Lokroi. There a message came to them from the lord of Rhêgion. Skythês, with the whole force of Zanklê, was at that moment besieging a Sikel town, surely with some view to the proposed Greek settlement¹. Anaxilas seized on the coming of the Samians as a chance for striking a blow at the Zanklaians and their prince, and that by the hands of others. He told the newcomers to think no more of their settlement at Kalê Aktê, where they would have to found a new city. There was a ready-made city waiting for them, of which they had only to take possession. Through the absence of Skythês and his army—most likely in the service of the Samians themselves—the town of Zanklê was undefended; they had nothing to do but to march in². They took the hint; they were guilty of the first of those treacherous occupations of cities which are so common in Sicilian history, and to which both the town which now was Zanklê and Rhêgion itself seem to have been specially exposed. Worse than Campanians or Mamertines, these Greeks fleeing from barbarian bondage felt no scruple at a deed from which barbarians might have shrunk. The men whom Skythês had invited in all friendship, in all Panhellenic good will, were not ashamed to seize upon his city in his absence. We know not what protests were uttered by the righteous man from Kôs; at any rate he did not refuse to take his share in the settlement which

CHAP. V.

Skythês
absent on a
Sikel war.

Anaxilas
suggests
to the
Samians
to seize
Zanklê.

They seize
Zanklê.

¹ Herod. vi. 23; Σάμιοι κομίζόμενοι ἐς Σικελίην, ἐγένοντο ἐν Λοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιζεφυρίοις, καὶ Ζαγκλαῖοι, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ ὄννομα ἦν Σκύθης, περιεκατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν, ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενοι.

² Ib.; συμμίζας τοῖσι Σαμίοις, ἀναπεῖθει ὡς χρεὼν εἶη Καλὴν μὲν Ἀκτὴν ἐπ' ἣν ἐπλεον ἔαν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν, ἐοῦσαν ἐρῆμον ἀνδρῶν.

CHAP. V.
Skythês
calls on
Hippo-
kratês.

was now made¹. Zanklê was seized and occupied². The news reached Skythês and his army while engaged in their Sikel warfare; they marched back to recover their homes, and Skythês called on his powerful ally the lord of Gela to come to his help³.

Action of
Hippo-
kratês as
overlord.

Hippokratês came at the head of an army, and found Skythês and the Zanklaians in their own territory, but shut out of their own city. He acts distinctly as overlord, but as an overlord whose sense of duty towards his dependents was not very strict⁴. In his eyes Skythês was an officer who had failed in his charge; he had lost a city in which Hippokratês had an interest. For such neglect he must pay the penalty. He and his brother Pythogenês were accordingly sent as prisoners to Inykon⁵, ancient city of Kôkalos. It was a distant prison, far nearer to Akragas than to Zanklê, nearer most likely than to Gela. It is not likely to have been part of the immediate dominion of Hippokratês; but the thought is suggested that he may have had the same kind of influence

Skythês
imprisoned
at Inykon.

¹ Herod. vii. 164; μετὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην.

² Ib. vi. 23; πεπονημένοι δὲ τῶν Σαμίων, καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην. So Thucydides, vi. 4; ὑπὸ Σαμίων καὶ ἄλλων Ἴωνων ἐκπίπτουσιν, οἱ Μήδους φεύγοντες προσέβαλον Σικελίᾳ. Aristotle (Pol. v. 2. 11) has a somewhat different story; Ζαγκλαῖοι δὲ Σαμίους ὑποδεξάμενοι ἐξέπεσον καὶ αὐτοί. Grote (v. 284) truly says; "his brief notice is not to be set against the perspicuous narrative of Herodotus." It is just the difference which is likely to be between one who is directly telling the story and one who simply catches at it as an illustration.

³ Herod. vi. 23; ἐπεκαλέοντο Ἱπποκράτεια, τὸν Γέλης τύραννον· ἦν γὰρ δὴ σφι οὗτος σύμμαχος.

⁴ The word σύμμαχος naturally takes in both parties to an unequal alliance. But the relation of superior and dependent is, as Grote (v. 283) truly says, marked in Hippokrates' treatment of Skythês.

⁵ Herod. u. s.; Σκύθην μὲν τὸν μόναρχον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων, ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν, ὃ Ἱπποκράτης πεδήσας, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεια, ἐς Ἴνυκον πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε. It illustrates the carelessness of the later writers that Ælian (Var. Hist. viii. 17), telling the story of Skythes almost in the words of Herodotus, calls him Σκύθης ὁ Ἴνυκίνος ὁ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μόναρχος. He saw the word Ἴνυκον in his book, and that was enough. On Inykon, see vol. i. pp. 118, 495, 496.

with those who then held the rule of Akragas which his successors had some years later. If so, a spot so far away from his own city may have been thought a safer prison-house for the deposed lord of Zanklê. CHAP. V.

Having thus got rid of Skythês, Hippokratês had no thought of supporting or avenging the rest of the Zanklaians against the men who had done them so great and so treacherous a wrong. Hippokratês deemed that his interests lay the other way, in making terms with the Samian intruders. A treaty was made, and confirmed by oath on both sides¹. The Samians were to keep the city; but they were to give up to Hippokratês half the moveable property, goods and slaves, within the walls. Under the head of slaves we must doubtless understand both the slaves whom the Samians had found in the city, and such of the unwarlike population of Zanklê as they had made slaves of for themselves². Outside the walls all that could be taken away was to be the spoil of Hippokratês, his wages or bribe for the favour which he had shown to the actual possessors of Zanklê³. Among this booty was the Zanklaian army who had come back with Skythês. We hear nothing of any resistance on the part of men who, one would have thought, would have fought to the death against the fate which was actually in store for them. The mass of the Zanklaians were made slaves; three hundred of the chief among them

Hippo-
kratês'
treaty
with the
Samians.

The Zan-
klaian
army made
slaves by
Hippo-
kratês.

¹ Herod. u. 8.; τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους, κοινολογησάμενος τοῖσι Σαμίοις, καὶ ὄρκους δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος προέδωκε. Elsewhere (vii. 154) Herodotus speaks of Hippokratês as *besieging* Zanklê among other towns; πολιορκέοντος Ἰπποκράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίου καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίωνος. In the story of his present dealings with Zanklê we fail to see any siege. But Herodotus may have written laxly, or it may have been by a siege that Hippokratês first gained the overlordship over Skythês which he seems here to exercise.

² Who these were would depend a good deal on the question whether the new-comers had brought women with them. The Samians were not unlikely to have done so, but hardly the Milesians.

³ Herod. u. 8.; μισθὸς δὲ οἱ ἦν εἰρημένος ὕδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων.

CHAP. V. were given up by Hippokratês to the Samians to be put to death. He could hardly have had any personal spite against them. The slaughter must have been designed on some ground of policy. It may have been because the leading men, who might be able to find friends to ransom them, might some day disturb the state of things agreed on between Hippokratês and the Samians¹. The Samians, though not over-scrupulous, were not ready to go this length. They had turned the men of Zanklê out of their city; but they did not feel called on to murder them as well². The lives of the three hundred were spared; but we do not hear what became of them. Skythês, by some means or other, escaped from his prison at Inykon. He made his way to Himera, where he took ship for Asia, and went straight to the court of the Great King. Darius was used to such visitors; but he pronounced Skythês to be the most righteous of all the Greeks who had ever come up to him. For, unlike Dêmokêdês of Krotôn, when Skythês had by the King's leave gone once more to Sicily on some errand, he came back again to Persia³. There he lived to a great age, and died in all honour⁴.

The Samians refuse to slaughter the three hundred Zanklaians.

Skythês escapes to Darius.

The Samians who had seized on Zanklê thus refused to sink to the yet lower depth of baseness which Hippokratês had proposed to them. We are not told whether they thereby drew on themselves the wrath and vengeance of the lord of Gela. It is certain that they did by some

¹ This is Grote's probable suggestion, v. 284.

² Herod. vii. 154; τοὺς δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τριηκοσίους ἔδωκε τοῖσι Σάμοισι κατασφάζαι· οὐ μὲν τοι οἱ γε Σάμοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα.

³ The contrast with Dêmokêdês—the part of his story that concerns us comes in Herod. iii. 126–7—not made by Herodotus here, is made by Ælian, Var. Hist. viii. 17; Δαρείος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ [Δημοκίδους] φλαύρως ἔλεγεν, ἀπατεῶνα λέγων καὶ ἄνθρωπον κάκιστον. Of Skythês Herodotus says; καὶ μιν ἰνόμισε Δαρείος πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιοτάτον εἶναι ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἀνέβησαν. Mark that Ἑλλάς here takes in Sicily, which in the seventh book it does not. One would like to know on what errand he went into Sicily.

⁴ Herod. u. s.; γήραϊ μέγα ὄλβιος ἔων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσῃσι.

means or other draw on themselves the ill will of the lord of Rhêgion, the man who had stirred them up to their first wrong-doing. At some unfixed time during the next seventeen years, Anaxilas found that it suited his purposes to drive the Samian population out of the city which he might in some sort be said to have given them. He planted Zanklê afresh with a mixed multitude of inhabitants, of whom we are not even told whether all were Greek. But he kept the dominion of the town in his own hands, and reigned in his later years as tyrant both of Rhêgion and of Zanklê. For the first time but not the last, a lord of the Italian mainland ruled on Sicilian ground¹. According to one statement, of the highest authority and yet perhaps not absolutely decisive, he changed the name of the town from Zanklê to Messana. The motive assigned is a singular one. Anaxilas gave to the city the name of the land of his remote forefathers in Peloponnêsos. It is perhaps more likely that the name really belongs to a later time, when it might have been bestowed on the city by settlers direct from the Peloponnesian Messênê². In either case the name goes along with that of the Sicilian Euboiâ³ as the name of a land transferred to a town. The Sicilian Messana, it must be remembered, was the oldest city of the name. It was not till the next century that a city so called arose in Peloponnêsos. It is hard to find a parallel in modern colonial nomenclature. More than one town in the United States bears the name, not of an English town, but of an English shire or other district. Cleveland in Ohio is so far a parallel to the Sicilian Euboiâ and Messana. But to make the parallel with Messana exact, a new town of Cleveland ought to arise in the Northumbrian district of that name.

CHAP. V.

The Samians turned out by Anaxilas.

B.C. 493-476.

He settles Zanklê afresh and keeps it.

Change of name to Messana.

Question of its date.

Use of the name Μεσσήνη.

The action of Hippokratês towards Zanklê had brought

¹ See vol. i. p. 24.² See Appendix IX.³ See vol. i. p. 380.

CHAP. V. him in a plentiful booty at the expense of humanity and good faith. The sale of his captives and of the rest of his spoils went doubtless to fill the hoard whence came the pay of the tyrant's mercenaries. At their head he went on

Design of Hippokratês on Syracuse.

Was his war with the *Gamoroî* or with the democracy?

Battle of the Helôros.

B. C. 492.

Exploits of Chromios.

Scene of the battle.

conquering. The great object of his ambition was to win Syracuse. It is hard to say what was the exact state of that city at this moment. Not long after we see the banished *Gamoroî* at Kasmenai¹; but it is not clear whether the war waged by Hippokratês against Syracuse was waged against them in the last days of their power or against the democracy which stepped into their place. In the former case the result of the war may have been among the occasions of their fall. The Syracusans were defeated in a battle by the river Helôros. So much we read in plain prose². In the songs which told the praises of victors in the Sikyonian games, a youthful warrior, Chromios son of Agêsidamos, fighting in the Geloan ranks, was said to have won, by the steep and rocky banks of the stream, by the ford of Arês, fame no meaner than Hektôr had won by the banks of Skamandros³. The site of this battle of the Helôros can hardly be where the Helorine Tempê, too wide to be so called, are crossed by the bridges, old and new, of the Helorine way⁴. We must look further inland, and a spot which better answers the poet's description may be found where the stream is crossed by the road leading westward between the modern towns of Noto and Rossolino. Here, most likely, Hippokratês, with Gelôn and Chromios in his army, overthrew the forces of the city where Gelôn was presently to reign with Chromios as his chosen friend and kinsman.

¹ See above, p. 39.

² Herod. vii. 154; *Συρηκουσίους . . . μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἑλάρῳ*.

³ See Appendix X.

⁴ See above, p. 18.

The victor of the Helôros now made his way into the road which took its name from the river which was the scene of his victory. That road led him straight to the Polichna, the outpost of Syracuse on the west side of the harbour, where the columns of Olympian Zeus still look down upon the hollow way. First of a crowd of invaders whose coming those hoary columns have outlived, Hippokratês pitched his camp in or near the holy place¹. But he carefully abstained from any damage to the temple or its ornaments. We are at this point privileged to see the inner workings of the mind of a tyrant. By keeping his hands clean from sacrilege, the lord of Gela hoped to make the best of both worlds. Engaged in so great a warfare, he would avoid drawing on himself the wrath of the gods, and he would fain win for himself a good reputation among men. Above all, he would fain win a good reputation within the walls of Syracuse, and so lead the people to look more favourably on him than on their actual rulers². If we can trust such an isolated story as this, we might think that this war was waged while the *Gamoroi* were still in possession, but when their power was already threatened by discontents on the part of the excluded people. And Hippokratês did something more than himself abstain from sacrilege; he proclaimed himself

CHAP. V.
Victory of
Hippo-
kratês.

Hippo-
kratês by
the Olym-
pieion.

Were the
Gamoroi
in posses-
sion?

¹ This comes from a fragment of the tenth book of Diodôros; Ἰπποκράτης ὁ Γελῶν τοὺς Συρακούσιους νενικηκὼς κατεστρατοπέδευεν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερόν.

² Ib.; αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἀπέσχετο, φιλοδοξῆσαι θέλων καὶ νομίζων δεῖν τὸν τηλικούτον ἐπαναιρούμενον πόλεμον μὴθὲν ἑξαμαρτάνειν εἰς τὸ θεῖον· ἅμα δὲ νομίζων διαβάλλειν τοὺς προεστῶτας τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις πραγμάτων πρὸς τὰ πλήθη, διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτοῖς πλεονεκτικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ δημοτικῶς οὐδ' ἴσως ἄρχειν. If one could be quite sure that this curious setting forth of motives came from Antiochos or even from Phillistos, we might safely say that the driving out of the *Gamoroi* came later than this war. But would not either of them have spoken more distinctly of the *Gamoroi*, and not vaguely of οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις πραγμάτων? Hippokratês may have tried to raise a feeling against the magistrates of the new democracy.

CHAP. V. as the avenger of that crime, on those above all in whom
 Alleged that crime was most sinful. The story goes that the
 sacrilege of the priest invader found several Syracusans, and among them the
 of Zeus. priest of the temple, engaged in carrying off the golden
 offerings, above all the robe of Zeus himself, thickly
 wrought with gold¹. The pious wrath of Hippokratēs
 was kindled; but we only hear that he threatened the
 robbers of the holy things and bade them go back into
 the city². What became of their spoil is not recorded.
 One would like to hear the other side of this story from
 the mouth of the priest of Zeus. One is a little reminded
 of the orders that went forth from Henry the Eighth and
 the first Lord Russell to try—and hang—Abbot Whiting
 for robbing the plate of Glastonbury.

Syracuse in after days outlived the encampment of
 several enemies on or near the Olympieion. But the first
 appearance of an enemy so close at her gates seems to have
 brought her very near to overthrow or bondage. She was
 saved by the stepping in of mediators whose unselfish work
 illustrates the brightest side of Greek political life. Syra-
 cuse had a metropolis to which she did not stand in the
 same relation in which Kamarina stood to herself, a metro-
 polis which, not claiming to be a mistress, was all the
 more truly a mother. She had a sister who could forget
 bitter enmities with the head of the household to join in
 stretching out her hand to save its threatened member.
 The daughter-city was saved by the help of her mother
 and her sister. This is the first act in a long tale of
 kindly intercourse between Syracuse and her mother
 Corinth. It is also one of the much rarer cases of the like

Mediation
 of Corinth
 and Kor-
 kyra.

¹ Diod. x.; κατέλαβε δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ἱερέα καὶ τῶν Συρακουσίων τινας καθαι-
 ροῦντας ἀναθήματα χρυσᾶ καὶ μάλιστα ἱμάτιον τοῦ Διὸς περιαιρουμένους ἐκ
 πολλοῦ κατεσκευασμένον χρυσίῳ.

² Ib.; τούτοις μὲν ἐπιπλήξας ὡς ἱεροσύλοις, ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν.

good will being shown to her by her twin-sister Korkyra. CHAP. V.
 Only once again did Corinth and Korkyra step in together to bring about any end on Sicilian soil¹. It is not easy to see why Hippokratês, victor at the Helôros, eager for the conquest of Syracuse, holding his camp by one of her most venerated sanctuaries, did not make the most of his victory. It seems strange that he did not push on to the coveted city, but allowed time for negotiations with distant powers. Peace between Syracuse and Hippokratês.
 But, as the tale is told to us, Syracuse was delivered from her danger by a treaty concluded under the joint mediation of Corinth and Korkyra². Syracuse was spared by Hippokratês, and the captives taken at the Helôros were restored. But it was only on condition of the cession of a valuable piece of Syracusan territory. Cession of Kamarina.
 The site of the rebellious Kamarina, swept from the earth by wrathful Syracuse as the punishment of her rebellion³, was ceded to the lord of Gela⁴. With it, we may suppose, passed the whole territory of Kamarina as far as the boundary stream of Hyrminos⁵. By this loss of territory Syracuse was not wholly cut off from that southern sea for a hold on which she had so long striven, but her hold on it was made far weaker. Kamarina, once her outpost against Gela, now became an outpost of Gela against her. In the hands of Hippokratês the site of Kamarina no longer remained Kamarina refounded by Hippokratês.
 desolate. It became again an inhabited town, no doubt a

¹ Plut. Tim. 8.

² Herod. vii. 154; Συρηκουσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο. Never did one more hopelessly wish for details.

³ See above, p. 37.

⁴ Herod. ii. 8.; ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ᾧ τε Ἱπποκράτει Καμορίναν Συρηκουσίους παραδοῦναι, Συρηκουσίων δὲ ἦν Καμαρίνα τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Thucydides (vi. 5) mentions the cession of Kamarina and adds the release of the prisoners; but he says nothing about the mediation; χρόνῳ Ἱπποκράτης ὕστερον Γέλας τύραννος, λύτρα ἀνδρῶν Συρακοσίων αἰχμαλώτων λαβὼν τὴν γῆν Καμαριναίων.

⁵ See above, p. 37.

CHAP. V. dependency of Gela and her master¹. The renewed city had many ups and downs in store for her. Kamarina was before long to perish again and to rise again; but in all the changes of Sicilian history she never again became an outpost or a dependency of a Syracusan commonwealth.

Sikel wars
of Hippo-
kratès.

The last years of Hippokratès were spent in enlarging his dominions at the expense of the Sikels. At some time after the restoration of Kamarina, he is said to have planned an enterprise against the inland Sikel town of Ergetium. This place lay among the hills somewhat east of the modern Aidone, nearly west from Catania and south-west from Castrogiovanni, by the river known as *Fiume delle Gabelle*. But Hippokratès had some difficulty in carrying out his plan, inasmuch as among his Sikel mercenaries were many from Ergetium itself. Still a tyrant was never lacking in resources and was seldom troubled by scruples. Hippokratès showed the greatest favour to the mercenaries from Ergetium; he honoured them as his best soldiers, and gave them higher pay and a greater share of plunder than the rest². His service became popular in Ergetium; all the military population flocked to his banners and left Ergetium itself defenceless. By a trick on his march he contrived to isolate his Ergetine troops at a disadvantage³. He then sent horsemen to occupy the town; he next by a herald declared war against Ergetium, a ceremony which he seems to have thought justified him in any dealings towards the men of that town. At a given signal the men of Gela and of

His deal-
ings with
the men of
Ergetium.

¹ Thuc. vi. 5; αὐτὸς οἰκιστὴς γενόμενος κατέκτισε Καμάριναν.

² Polyainos, v. 6; ὅσους Ἐργετίνους εἶχε μισθοφόρους, το τοῖς ἐνεμεν ἀεὶ τῆς λείας τὸ πλεῖον μέρος καὶ μισθὸν μείζονας, ὑπερεπαίνων αὐτοὺς ὡς προθυμωτάτους καὶ μάλιστα χαριζόμενος.

³ Ib.; ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεφράχθησαν πρὸς ταῖς βαχίαις τῶν κυμάτων οἱ Ἐργετῖνοι. This sounds as if it came from some minute local account, which would have said whereabouts on the coast this happened, which Polyainos refuses to tell us.

restored Kamarina—the latter doubtless eager to do the bidding of their founder—fell upon the Ergetine soldiers and slaughtered them all ¹. CHAP. V.

This tale, though coming from a late writer, can hardly be sheer invention, and it curiously illustrates the way in which a purely formal religion found means to excuse any baseness. Hippokratês' solemn declaration of war against his own soldiers is of a piece with the oath of the founders of Lokroi, the oath that was to be kept as long as they stood on this earth and had heads on their shoulders ². And we know from better authority that Hippokratês was waging war against Sikels in nearly the same quarter of Sicily up to the last moment of his life. He died while he was engaged in a campaign against Hybla, that is the Least Hybla, the Heraian Hybla, the town at the meeting of the rocky combes, the Lower Ragusa of modern days ³. His deeds show us to what a depth of cruel treachery a Greek tyrant could sink. Even without bringing in this last story of the Ergetine mercenaries, it would be hard to find a blacker piece of wickedness than the treatment of the king and people of Zanklê by the tyrant of Gela. Hippokratês was doubtless honoured at Kamarina; his victories may have won him some measure of good will at Gela; but the men of his own city seemingly grew weary of his rule. When his vigorous hand was taken away by death, they would have no more of his house. A tyrant always made his power hereditary if he

Illustration of Greek religion.

Hippokratês' siege of the Heraian Hybla. His death. B. C. 491.

Gela refuses to acknowledge his sons.

¹ Polyainos, v. 6; καὶ τὸν κήρυκα πόλεμον αὐτοῖς προειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ σύνθημα Γελαῖοις καὶ Καμαριναίοις ἔδωκε κτείνειν ἀδεῶς Ἐργετινοὺς ἅπαντας. The special mention of Kamarinaians looks as if the anecdote-monger had got the story from some trustworthy source, perhaps Antiochos.

The declaration of war sounds like the Spartan declaration of war against the Helots.

² Polybios, v. 6.

³ Herod. vii. 155; ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἱπποκράτεια, τυραννεύσαντα ἴσα ἔτεια τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ, κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλιν Ὑβλην, στρατευομένην ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς. On Hybla, see vol. i. pp. 162, 517.

CHAP. V. could, and the sons of Hippokratês, Eukleidês and Kleandros, looked on the lordship of Gela as their right. They were seemingly young or feeble, not able to act without a protector. The Gelôans would have none of them; for a moment Gela was again a free commonwealth¹. The oligarchy which the elder Kleandros had swept away could hardly have been set up again. Gela doubtless became a democracy, but a democracy which was very soon to yield to the renewed rule of one.

Historic
position of
GELÔN.

His mixed
character.

His
descent
from
Têlinês.

The place of Hippokratês is now taken by a far more memorable man, Gelôn the son of Deinomenês. He is the first man in Sicilian history of whom we can get a distinct personal idea. Tyrant, perhaps king, lord of many cities, coming nearer to being lord of Sicily than any man before him, destroyer here, founder there, founder above all of that enlarged Syracuse which so far outstripped the ancient city on the Island, but before all things, champion of Hellas and Europe against Canaan and Africa, Gelôn did great things both for good and for evil; but he left behind him a memory in which the good thrust the evil out of sight. He came of a stock honourable, and even holy, among the citizens of Gela. He was the descendant, we are not told by how many generations, of that Têlinês who had won over the seceders at Maktôrion by the mysterious rites of the powers beneath the earth². He was himself doubtless clothed with the same ghostly office as his forefather; but in Greek ideas the ministry of the gods did not shut a man out from the fullest share in the toils and honours of government and warfare. Gelôn was one of four brothers, sons of Deinomenês. The story went that his father consulted the Pythian oracle as to the fates of

¹ Herod. vii. 155; τοῖσι² Ἱπποκράτεος παῖσι Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ οὐ βουλομένων τῶν πολιτῶν κατηκόων ἔτι εἶναι.

² Ib. 154. See above, p. 102.

his children. He got for answer that three of them, Gelôn, Hierôn, and Thrasyboulos, should all in their turn be tyrants. In what city they were to rule does not come into the story, nor do we hear whether anything was foretold as to the lot of the fourth brother Polyzêlos. When the sons of Deinomenês were young at Gela, their father certainly did not picture them to himself as lords of Syracuse. But to the loyal citizen of a Greek commonwealth the prospect of his sons being tyrants anywhere was not pleasing; Deinomenês expostulated with Apollôn on the doom to which he had sentenced his house¹. Whether he kept the prophecy hidden from those who were concerned we are not told.

CHAP. V.
Oracle to
his father
Deino-
menês.

Our first distinct mention of Gelôn sets him before us, along with a comrade called Ainêsidamos son of Pataïkos, one of the tyrant's body-guard, as a soldier winning eminent distinction in the wars of the earlier tyrants. We cherish a hope that he may have borne a part in warfare against the Phœnician². It is more certain that, on the death of Kleandros, something happened, something in which both Gelôn and Ainêsidamos took a part, which commended Gelôn to the special favour of the Geloan people. Presently the valiant deeds of Gelôn, combined with the popular good will, raised him to the chief command of the cavalry of Hippokratês³. In that character he was foremost in every struggle against Greeks and Sikels. As leader of the Geloan horse, he played no small part in the battle which Hippokratês waged against Syracuse by the banks of Helôros. In that fight he most likely noticed the valour of the young Chromios, whom we find attached to his fortunes, and to whom he gave his sister in marriage⁴. With his

He com-
mands the
cavalry.

¹ The story is told by Plutarch, *Pyth. Or.* 19.

² See above, p. 98, and Appendix VIII.

³ See Appendix XI.

⁴ See Appendix X.

CHAP. V. comrade Ainêsidamos he seems to have been on friendly terms; but Gelôn had the start of him in an enterprise which was framed in the minds of both. Each of these favoured officers of Hippokratês sought to succeed to the dominion of their master; but what Ainêsidamos simply dreamed of Gelôn won by an unscrupulous use of both craft and force¹. When Gela refused to receive the sons of Hippokratês as her lords, Gelôn, commander of the late ruler's cavalry, put on the character of a Mayor of the Palace. He proclaimed himself the guardian and defender of Eukleidês and Kleandros, and made war on the revolted city in their name. At the head, we may suppose, of the mercenary forces of the late tyrant, helped perhaps by banished partisans of the tyranny, Gelôn overcame the citizens in battle, and, once in possession of the city, he put aside the sons of Hippokratês and openly seized the supreme power for himself².

Gelôn and Ainêsidamos.

Gelôn undertakes the cause of the sons of Hippokratês.

He seizes the tyranny at Gela.
B. C. 491.

Estimate of the act.

A modern reader, on hearing such a story as this, is tempted to think first of the seeming wrong done to Eukleidês and Kleandros. He is tempted to look upon them as lawful princes, deprived of their rights by a dis-

¹ This seems implied in the story told by Aristotle (Rhet. i. 12); *ὡς περ λέγεται Αἰνεσίδημος Γέλωνι πέμψαι κοττάβεια ἀνδραποδισαμένῳ . . . ὅτι ἔφθασεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς μέλλων*. Some name has clearly dropped out after *ἀνδραποδισαμένῳ*. One can hardly fail to supply *Γέλων*. Perhaps *ἀνδραποδίζομαι* is hardly the word to express Gelôn's occupation of Gela; but it is hard to conceive in what later exploit of Gelôn's Ainêsidamos could have thought of forestalling him, while the scheme of succeeding Hippokratês might easily suggest itself to two of his officers.

² Herod. vii. 155; *ὁ Γέλων, τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖσι Ἱπποκράτεος παισι . . . τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς ἐπεκ ἄτησε μάχῃ τῶν Γελῶν, ἤρχε αὐτὸς, ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἱπποκράτεος παῖδα*. The date is fixed by Dionysios, vii. 1, and Pausanias, vi. 9. 4. It is clear that, as Clinton and Grote (v. 286) say, Pausanias got hold of the date of Gelôn's occupation of Gela and transferred it to his occupation of Syracuse.

It is singular, as Grote points out, that Dionysios of Halikarnassos (vii. 1), while blaming those who confounded Gelôn and Dionysios, himself fell into the blunder of mistaking Gelôn for a brother of Hippokratês.

graceful trick of their own officer. And no doubt the conduct of Gelôn, seen from the point of view of the sons of Hippokratês, was base enough. But we should remember that his real crime was done, not against the sons of Hippokratês, but against the people of Gela. The sons of Hippokratês, sons of a tyrant, had no hereditary right to dominion in Gela, and the people of Gela had refused to receive them. Then their own citizen Gelôn wages a civil war against them, under pretence of establishing others in an unlawful power, but really with the object of winning the unlawful power for himself. The splendour of Gelôn's position in the history of the world must not blind us to the means by which he rose to power at Gela and elsewhere. Those means were certainly not worse than those commonly employed by Greek tyrants, but they were in no way better, except that we nowhere hear of any actual massacre of his doing. We must remember further that Gelôn, a born Geloan, not only overthrew the freedom which his native city had just won back, but sadly lessened the position of Gela in Sicily and in the world. He found her the first of Sikeliot cities; he took that position from her and gave it to another.

CHAP. V.

Gelôn's
treason
against the
common-
wealth.

With the dominion of Hippokratês in Gela, Gelôn seems to have inherited his external dominion over so many towns, Greek and barbarian, in short over nearly all eastern Sicily except the territory of Syracuse. As lord of Gela he reigned for six years, and, while still described as a man of Gela, he dedicated his offering of a chariot to Zeus of Olympia¹. If we are to infer from this that

Gelôn
tyrant of
Gela.
B.C. 491-
485.

His
Olympic
offering.

¹ The evidence for this is very curious. It comes from the passage of Pausanias just referred to. The offering was made in the seventy-third Olympiad (B.C. 488-485); *ἐπίγραμμα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ Γέλωνα Δεινομένους ἀναθεῖναι Γελῶν*. Pausanias argues that this must have been some other Gelôn, son of some other Deinomenês, for that Gelôn, in the seventy-third Olympiad, would have called himself a Syracusan. That is, Pausanias has made the mistake in the date mentioned in the last note.

CHAP. V. Gelôn forestalled the Olympic victories of Hierôn, he found no Simônidês or Pindar to sing his praises. Presently a greater prize than Gela and than all the dominions of Hippokratês offered itself to him. Syracuse was the one city which Hippokratês had striven to seize, and had failed in his striving. What Hippokratês had not done was to be the work of Gelôn. However we arrange the dates of the internal and external events of Syracusan history, whatever party we take to have been in power at the time of the war with Hippokratês, by this time at least Syracuse was a democracy. The *Gamoroi* were in their exile at Kasmenai. There they seem to have established a commonwealth in opposition to that of Syracuse; or rather, in their eyes, the true Syracusan commonwealth was now at Kasmenai. They were like the Athenian democrats at Samos when the city had revolted from them¹, or like the Athenian oligarchs when Eleusis became a separate commonwealth in the hands of the partisans of the Thirty². Of the condition of things within the walls of Syracuse we have no certain account. A single vague allusion of Aristotle seems to speak of the new democracy, the first democracy, by that name, in Syracuse, as unruly and disorderly³; but that is the common way of speaking of all democracies among those who stand aloof from practical politics. Yet it is easy to believe that an excluded class who had suddenly sprung to power, strengthened by emancipated villains or bondmen who were not even Greeks, would not at once learn to conduct the affairs of

State of
things at
Syracuse.

The *Ga-
moroi* at
Kasmenai.

The first
Syracusan
democracy.

¹ Thuc. viii. 76; οὐ δει̃ ἀθυμεῖν ὅτι ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀφέστηκε.

² Xen. Hell. ii. 24.

³ Arist. Pol. v. 2. 6; ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ εὖποροι καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας, οἷον καὶ ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις μάχην κακῶς πολιτευομένων ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη καὶ ἡ Μεγαρέων δι' ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἡττηθέντων, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ τῆς Γέλωνος τυραννίδος. This is clearly a hasty reference, not thought out with much care. Still I cannot follow Grote's note in vol. v. p. 286. I cannot think that Aristotle has confounded Gelôn and Dionysios.

the new commonwealth with quite such regard to rule and order as the democracy of Athens under Periklês or that of Achaia under Aratos. It is hard in all ages to persuade those who are not themselves put to the trial that the virtues of freemen can be gained only by the practice of freedom.

What followed is told us only in the fewest words. The banished *Gamoroi* craved help from Gelôn; he engaged to lead them back from Kasmenai to Syracuse. When he drew near to the city, the new democracy at once submitted, and Gelôn became lord of Syracuse¹. Whatever were the details of the process, with whatever objects or motives any other person or party acted, we may be sure that to become lord of Syracuse by any means that came in his way was the one object in the mind of Gelôn. The banished oligarchs would catch at any chance of restoration to home and power, and Gelôn would be glad to support oligarchs against democrats or democrats against oligarchs, if by either course he was brought nearer to obtaining a dominion over both. Neither oligarchs nor democrats could really wish to submit to the tyrant of another city; but either party might hold such submission to be a less evil than submission to the rule of the other party. In this state of things it is not very wonderful if Gelôn undertook the restoration of the *Gamoroi*, and if the people of Syracuse submitted to him without resistance. That they submitted thus easily implies that Gelôn came against Syracuse with an overwhelming force, the force of all the cities under his rule, his mercenaries Greek and barbarian, all strengthened by the Syracusan oligarchs and any force that was at their disposal. Against such a power resistance on the part of a single city might seem hopeless. But

CHAP. V.

The *Gamoroi* ask help of Gelôn. B. C. 485. Submission of Syracuse.

Motives of the Syracusan parties.

¹ Herod. vii. 155; τοὺς γαμόρους . . . Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἔσχε καὶ ταύτας. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκουσίων ἐπιδόντι Γέλωνι παραδίδοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἑωυτόν.

CHAP. V. the democracy might further hope that somewhat better terms might be gained by submission to Gelôn personally than if the *Gamoroi* came back by force and without conditions. On the whole the new commonwealth was not disappointed. We are not directly told whether any terms were made or whether Gelôn bound himself by any promises. But he certainly treated the popular party in Syracuse far more favourably than we shall presently find that he treated the popular party in other conquered cities. And this may be held to point to some kind of compact between him and them. The restored oligarchs were perhaps the more disappointed of the two, when Gelôn, instead of setting up again the ascendancy of either party over the other, simply made himself master of all.

His treatment of the Syracusans.

Gelôn lord of Syracuse.
B. C. 485-478.

Effects of the possession of Syracuse.

Syracuse and Gela.

The establishment of Gelôn at Syracuse is one of the foremost events in the whole history of Sicily. A power was now founded such as the island had never seen before. Hippokratês had gathered together a dominion which was far more than the lordship of a single city. Gelôn had inherited that dominion, and he had enlarged it by the addition of that one city after whose possession Hippokratês had striven in vain. But the acquisition of Syracuse was something more than the acquisition of another city, however valuable. The body which had been growing up found a head. Since the career of Hippokratês had begun, Gela had held the first place among Sikeliot cities; but the place came to her by a kind of accident; to Syracuse it came by a kind of natural selection. Hippokratês may have all along marked this course of things; Gelôn assuredly did. His native city was in no way suited to be the head of such a dominion as had grown up there under Hippokratês. Still less was it suited to become the head of a dominion which took in Syracuse as

one of its members. Gela, on the south coast, with its face turned towards Africa, could not compare in its geographical position with Syracuse on the east coast, looking towards Italy, Greece, Asia, and the civilized world in general. Nor could Gela in any way compare with Syracuse, its harbours, its island-city, with the hill beside it inviting almost boundless expansion, everything in short that was needed for the growth of a mighty capital. For we may fairly apply that name to Syracuse under her tyrants. She became the head of a great dominion ruled by a single man, a man who had his dwelling-place, who, we may almost say, kept his court, within her walls. This dominion was something quite different from that of any earlier tyrant. Gelôn rose far above the position of a mere local lord like Phalaris or Peithagoras. He came far nearer than any one before him to the position of a king of Sicily. As such, he had his viceroys or satraps. To the lord of Syracuse Gela seemed but of small account. It became a secondary city, the rule of which he entrusted to his brother Hierôn¹. Syracuse became the home of Gelôn's power; and under his rule the city entered on a time of growth in extent and population which a hundred years later made it the greatest city of Hellas and of Europe.

CHAP. V.

Position of
Gelôn and
Syracuse.Hierôn at
Gela.

In carrying out his object of making Syracuse great, Gelôn was not greatly troubled with scruples as to the rights of men out of Syracuse. In Syracuse itself we hear nothing of any changes with regard to the existing population, beyond the return of the banished oligarchs. We must therefore suppose that *Gamoroî*, *Démos*, and emancipated *Kyllyrioi* all kept the citizenship of Syracuse,

¹ Herod. vii. 155; ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλῃς μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν Ἱέρωνι ἀδελφεῷ ἑωυτοῦ· ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε καὶ ἦσαν ἅπαντά οἱ Συρήκουσαι.

CHAP. V. such as citizenship was under Gelôn's rule. But Gelôn
 Gelôn's aspired to be lord of a city far greater than any of which
 trans- these should be the only inhabitants. To carry out this
 plantations of men. end, many settlers were brought to Syracuse against their
 will, and many came of their own free will. Gelôn seems
 to have been the first Sicilian ruler to begin those great
 transplantations of men from one city or land to another
 which had long been familiar among Eastern kings, and
 which became common in Sicily, both among later tyrants
 and among Norman princes¹. The affairs of the newly
 restored Kamarina gave him an excuse for action of this
 kind. The story goes that on the death of Hippokratês
 Gelôn entrusted Kamarina in some shape or other to the
 care of the famous wrestler Glaukos of Karystos. The
 men of Kamarina, either wishing for freedom or attached
 to the house of their second founder, instead of submitting
 quietly to Gelôn's lieutenant, sentenced him to death². It
 is characteristic of this class of rulers, with whom neither
 mercy nor vengeance counts for anything when weighed
 against policy, that it was the stones of Kamarina, and
 not the men, that had to pay the penalty of this resistance
 to Gelôn's authority³. In the revolt of Kamarina Gelôn
 saw chiefly an excuse and an opportunity for an enlargement
 of the population of Syracuse. The newly rebuilt town
 was a second time swept with the besom of destruction;
 but the men of the commonwealth which had put Glaukos
 to death were carried in a body to Syracuse and there
 admitted to citizenship⁴.

Glaukos at
 Kamarina;
 his death.

Gelôn de-
 stroys Ka-
 marina and
 moves its
 citizens to
 Syracuse.

More remarkable still were the dealings of Gelôn with

¹ This is the remark of Grote, v. 307. Both Anaxilas and Hippokratês had done something of the kind but Gelôn, and after him Hierôn, did it on a much greater scale.

² See Appendix XII.

³ Cf. on the other hand the remarks in Ihne's History of Rome, vol. ii. p. 343.

⁴ See Appendix XII.

his own city. Gela was the place of his birth, the place where his family held so honourable and sacred a post, the city which had been the first in which he had exercised lordship, and where his brother exercised a deputed lordship still. In the teeth of all these ties, the greatness and prosperity of Gela were deliberately sacrificed to the greatness and prosperity of the new capital. More than half the citizens of Gela, his brother-in-law Chromios among them, willingly or unwillingly removed to Syracuse and received Syracusan citizenship¹. The Lindian akropolis and the holy place of Apollôn must have looked down on a city sadly shrunk up within walls perhaps of no great age.

CHAP. V.
His dealings with Gela; half the citizens moved to Syracuse.

At Kamarina we are distinctly told that all the inhabitants were transplanted; the removal must have been made without distinction of rich or poor. On what principle the emigrants from Gela to Syracuse were chosen we are not told. But in two other cases of transplantation Gelôn is recorded to have acted on a very clear, though somewhat unexpected, principle. Two years after his establishment at Syracuse, he had to wage a war with Megara, a town within easy sight of the Syracusan hill. The government of Megara was oligarchic, and it would seem that the ruling class had provoked the war against the will, or at any rate without the consent, of the commons. Gelôn marched against Megara and besieged the city, which presently surrendered. The oligarchs, authors of the war, trembled for their lives. The commons, conscious of no wrong towards Gelôn, feared no harm; they may even have looked on him as a deliverer. But the treatment of the men of Megara at the hands of the conqueror was fixed by some other rule than that of their merits or demerits towards himself. The oligarchs were surprised at the mildness of their

War with Megara.
B.C. 483.

Surrender of Megara

treatment of the oligarchs and the commons.

¹ Herod. vii. 155; Γελῶν ὑπερήμεσεας τῶν ἀστῶν τῶντὸ τοῖσι Καμαριναίοις ἐποίησε.

CHAP. V. doom, when they were led to Syracuse and there admitted as citizens. The commons were no less surprised at the harshness of theirs, when they too were taken to Syracuse, not to be received as citizens or as inhabitants of any class, but to be sold in the slave-market, with the further condition that they were to be taken out of Sicily¹. Megara from this time sinks out of the list of Sikeliot commonwealths; its territory was merged in that of Syracuse, and, when we next hear of it, it is not named as a city. Some part of it, doubtless its akropolis, served as a military outpost of the Syracusan territory. In after times it was an out-post towards Leontinoi². Just now, while Leontinoi was part of the dominions which Gelôn had inherited from Hippokratês, it was hardly needed in that character; the conquest of Megara must have filled up a gap in Gelôn's dominion on the east coast. But the Leontine colony of Euboia, most likely north of Naxos³, must have kept its independence longer than its metropolis. It remained to be subdued by Gelôn after he had become lord of Syracuse. He dealt with it⁴ exactly as he had dealt with Megara; he drew the same distinction between the two classes of its inhabitants, and in the like sort he destroyed the town so thoroughly that it is never again spoken of in history.

Megara an
outpost of
Syracuse.

Destruction
of
Euboia;
fate of its
inhabitants.

Gelôn's
grants of
citizenship.

Three cities of Hellenic Sicily had thus utterly perished, and a fourth had been seriously maimed, in order to swell the greatness of Syracuse and her master. But Gelôn had other ways of enlarging the population of his capital. Either now or at some later stage, he granted Syracusan citizenship to ten thousand of his mercenary soldiers, many of whom were likely to have been Sikels rather than

¹ See Appendix XII.

² See Appendix XII.

³ See vol. i. p. 380.

⁴ Herod. vii. 156; τῶντὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε διακρίνας.

Greeks¹. On the other hand, he drew from Old Greece CHAP. V. itself men who served him in war and peace, men who grew rich in his service, but who must have been of a higher stamp than the ordinary mercenary. Where we hear of three such by name, there must have been many others. We have already seen Glaukos of Karystos ruling Settlers from Old Greece. in Gelôn's name over restored Kamarina. The Arkadian land too, whence Alpheios sprang to make his way to Ortygia, now sent its tribute of men to find homes by the fountain of Arethousa. Goodly gifts at Olympia and at Delphoi, statues of men and horses, a statue of Phormis himself as a warrior in battle, preserved the name of Phormis and of his friend the Syracusan Lykortas. And they preserved it with the addition that Phormis had once been an Arkadian of Mainalos, but that he now dedicated his gifts to the gods as a man of Syracuse². Phormis came across the sea in the time of Gelôn; he did many acts in war under Gelôn and his successor Hierôn—let us picture him doing his part on the day of Himera and on the day of Kymê—and in their service he doubtless won the wealth which enabled him so richly to adorn the holy places of the mother-land³. Another settler came of a sacred stock Phormis of Mainalos. like Gelôn himself, sprung, by his mother's side at least, Agêsias of Stymphalos. of that Iamid race of whose prophetic gifts we have

¹ Diod. xi. 72; Γέλωνας πλείονας τῶν μυρίων πολιτογραφήσαντος ξένους μισθοφόρους.

² Pausanias (v. 27. 1) describes the gifts of Phormis, one of which bore the inscription,

Φόρμις ἀνέθηκεν

Ἀρκὰς Μαινάλιος, νῦν δὲ Συρακόσιος.

He adds the names of the artists, Dionysios of Argos and Simôn of Aigina. He tells a most wonderful story about one of the horses. The statue of Phormis set up by Lykortas comes in v. 27. 7.

³ Ib.; ἐκ Μαινάλου διαβὰς ἐς Σικελίαν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένους, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰέρωνι ὕστερον ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐς τὰς στρατείας ἀποδεικνύμενος λαμπρὰ ἔργα, ἐς τοσοῦτο προήλθεν εὐδαιμονίας ὥς ἀναθεῖναι μὲν ταῦτα εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἄλλα ἐς Δελφοὺς.

CHAP. V. already heard¹. This was that Agêsius whose memory is preserved to us by an Olympic victory commemorated in one of Pindar's most striking odes². When the mules of Agêsius won the prize, Hierôn reigned in Syracuse and Agêsius was his subject. But we seem to see in the dark words of the poet that their master had come to Syracuse from his native Stympthalos, and that he had some special share in that enlargement of the city which caused Gelôn to be looked on as a second founder. The poet dwells specially on his two homes with the sea between them. Agêsius had not so completely severed himself from Stympthalos as Phormis had from Mainalos. It was not till the time of Hierôn that Syracuse became a great intellectual centre, the chosen resort of poets and philosophers from the whole Greek world. But these examples, types no doubt of a class, show how anxious Gelôn was at once to enlarge the bounds and the population of his capital, and to draw thither men of mark who might serve him in various ways.

Gelôn's reason for his dealings with the commons of the conquered cities.

Of the distinction drawn by Gelôn between the two classes of citizens in Megara and Eubœia, of his gentleness to his enemies, his harshness to those who, if not his friends, were at least not his enemies, we have his own explanation. He gave as a reason that he looked on the commons as a most unthankful neighbour³. It is creditable to the spirit of the commons of Megara and Eubœia that the man who thus thought of them should deal with them as he did. He must have held that his safety called, not only for their bondage, but for their bondage in some part of the world where they were not likely to disturb his dominion. But the words thus put into the mouth of Gelôn are worthy of the closest attention. They must

Aspect of his saying about the commons.

¹ See above, p. 80.

² See Appendix XIV.

³ Herod. vii. 156; ἐποίησε δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους, νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι συνόλημα ἀχαρίτωτατον. One is reminded of the language of Walter Map about villains. See Norman Conquest, v. 888.

surely be a bit of genuine tradition; no one could have thought of inventing such a saying at any later time. And, as a genuine setting forth of Gelôn's feelings, they are most remarkable. They are words which we should expect to hear from the mouth of a member of an oligarchy in bitter dispute with the local commons. They are hardly words which we should look for from the mouth of a tyrant in full possession of power over both oligarchs and commons. The tyrant often rose to dominion by the help of the commons; he often, even as tyrant, kept a certain measure of their good will as the man who had given them one master instead of many. Gelôn owed no such obligations as this to the commons anywhere; but there is no sign that the commons anywhere were his special enemies; they assuredly were not so at Megara or Eubœia. Yet these recorded words of his breathe the full spirit of that fearful oath which bound the oligarchs of some Greek cities to be evil-minded to the commons¹. They would have a more natural sound in the mouth of a mediæval lord than in the mouth of a Greek tyrant. As such, they fall in with one side of the kind of princely position which the lord, not only of Syracuse but of so large a part of Sicily, was silently taking.

Whether Gelôn ever took or received the kingly title is a question which we shall have presently to look to. It is plain that, in any case, he felt rather as a king of Sicily than as a mere tyrant of Syracuse. Himself sprung of a house ancient, famous, and even sacred, he would have his court around him, a court of nobles, *Gamoroi*, *Eupatridai*, all that reached the highest standard of the nobility of the time².

¹ Arist. Pol. v. 9. 10; νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ὀλιγαρχίας ὀμνύουσιν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ κακόνους ἔσσομαι καὶ βουλευέσω ὅτι ἂν ἔχω κακόν. Cf. Theognis, 845.

² What the oligarchs thought of and called themselves we see in every page of Theognis. They are *σαόφρονες*, *ἀγαθοί*, *πιστοί*, anything else. All perhaps is summed up in the *καλὸς κἀγαθός*, the perfect gentleman.

CHAP. V. The restored *Gamoroi* of Syracuse, owing their restoration to him, formed the kernel of such a class. He would welcome men of the same class from Megara, from Eubœia, from any other conquered or allied city of Sicily. He would welcome also men from more distant parts of the Greek world, men like Phormis and Agêsias, men devoted to himself personally, who, in Sicily at least, owed everything to him, and whose best hopes were in his favour. All these he could afford to receive, to promote, and to enrich. So he could afford to promote—for to such men the citizenship of Syracuse was promotion—adventurers of a lower class, the mixed multitude of mercenaries, Greek and barbarian, who had served in his wars and those of Hippokratês. But an independent commons would not suit his purpose. And it is again to be noticed that the treatment of the commons of Megara and Eubœia and the reason for it assigned by Gelôn himself clearly point to some compact between Gelôn and that Syracusan people who had admitted him so easily. He was surely bound to them by some tie which he shrank from breaking. He would not enslave them as he did their fellows from other cities. But he would not strengthen them by admitting other citizens of their own class, while he did all that he could to strengthen the other classes as a balance against them. In this way the slavery and banishment of the commons of Megara and Eubœia was in some sort the price of the toleration granted to the commons of Syracuse.

His quasi-court.

His relation to the commons of Syracuse.

Character of his government.

On the whole then we see in Gelôn a man not much troubled with scruples as to the means by which he compassed his ends, but one who did shrink from the breach of a solemn compact, and who was certainly not inclined to any oppression or harshness beyond what was needed to compass his ends. Every notice of him sets him before us as a tyrant of the better kind. Even as lord of

Syracuse, without looking to his higher character as CHAP. V. Hellenic and European champion, Gelôn was popular in His life and was honoured in death by all classes of the po- general pulation of Syracuse. For all, the *Gamoroi* of Syracuse popularity. whom he brought back, the *Gamoroi* of other cities whom he brought in, the mercenaries whom he led to victory and its rewards, even the commons of Syracuse who compared their lot with that of the commons of Megara, all alike owed him much. As to his formal position among and above them all, it is as hard to say what it was as in the case of any other tyrant. No man, we may be sure, ever called himself tyrant in any formal act, and, at this stage at least, Gelôn left it to others to call him king. With Gelôn, as with Phalaris, we are left to guess whether Gelôn the power of the tyrant was simply the vague but irresistible στρατηγὸς power of one who could bring physical force to bear at any αὐτοκρά- moment, or whether, like the power of the early Emperors τωρ? at Rome, it was veiled under the title of some office known to the law. It is very strongly suggested, but we cannot say that it is quite proved, by the confused statement of a late writer that Gelôn ruled at Syracuse under cover of the office of general with full powers¹. But however names and forms may have run, we see what Gelôn's power was. He commanded the resources of all south-eastern Sicily, Extent of from his own Gela at least to the peninsula of Naxos and his power. the hill of Tauros. If there was any exception to this No men- rule, it must have been at Katanê, a city which we hear tion of nothing of in his story, and whose name is never mentioned Katanê. by our chief authority². We do not wonder at hearing that Gelôn became a mighty tyrant³, that his power far

¹ See Appendix XIII.

² We shall come to Katanê again in the days of Hierôn. See Diod. xi. 49. It was clearly a commonwealth distinct from Syracuse; but it may have been either dependent or independent.

³ Herod. vii. 156; τοιοῦτῃ τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε μέγας ὁ Γέλων.

CHAP. V. surpassed any other power in the Hellenic world¹, and that under him Syracuse above all, the capital of his great dominion, waxed great and flourished².

Gelôn
founder
of the
enlarged
Syracuse.

Ortygia
and its
outposts.

Beginning
of union
of the
outposts.

These last phrases are emphatically true, no less as a matter of Syracusan topography than as a matter of Sicilian politics. As Archias was the founder of the first Syracuse in the island of Ortygia, so Gelôn was no less the founder of the enlarged Syracuse which, from his day onwards, went on growing greater and greater. We have seen that up to this time the proper Syracuse was still only the Island. It was by no means the only place, or the only fortified place, inhabited by Syracusan citizens. But it was the home, the centre, the meeting-place, of all. The system of outposts, nearer and more distant, which we have seen grow up in the former period, gave Syracuse a character of its own. It was a city made up of many cities; it was at all events a central city surrounded by several detached towns. The Syracusan territory must have been something like Attica, after the merging of the other Attic towns in the one Athenian commonwealth. But at Syracuse, far more than in Attica, all the other settlements stood in a relation to the central Island; all may be said to have existed for the sake of the central Island. Distant Akrai and Kasmenai stood as the guards of the Syracusan territory. Neaiton kept the hills and Helôron the coast; neighbouring Polichna, Temenitês, and Achradina, were the immediate sentinels of the Syracusan city itself. But even in the case of these nearer outposts, large spaces, which, whether inhabited or not, were certainly unfortified, parted them from the Island and from

¹ Herod. vii. 145; τὰ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω.

² Ib. 156; αἱ δὲ [Συρήκουσαι] παραντίκα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἀνέβλαστον. Not ill-chosen words to set forth the climbing up of the city from Ortygia to the height of Achradina.

one another. The time was now come for the union CHAP. V.
with the Island city of those among them whose union
was possible.

Among the nearer outposts, Polichna was so placed that it was fated in the nature of things to remain an outpost; the swamps between it and the foot of the hill could not be inhabited or built over. But Achradina and Temenitês came near enough to the Island and to one another to suggest the union which in the end took place. Of that union Gelôn was the beginner; under him Syracuse began to deserve the epithet given to it by the poet as the great city made up of many cities¹. The great additions which he had made to the population of the city called for a physical extension of its borders; at least if the citizens of Syracuse, or the great mass of them, were to dwell within a single city and a fortified city². Gelôn's work then was to make the nearest and greatest of the nearer outposts no longer an outpost but an integral part of the city itself. It was he who joined Achradina to Ortygia. We have seen that both the occupation and the fortification of Achradina were older than Gelon's day³. And we may be sure that the low ground between Achradina and the Island, though not fortified, was at least not uninhabited. It must surely have begun to put on the character of an open suburb between the two defended posts. This seems implied in the fact that, before the time of Gelôn, the Island had ceased to be an island; it was, as Thucydides says, no longer surrounded by the waves⁴.

Gelôn
joins
Achra-
dina and
Ortygia.

We have distinct evidence that, somewhere about the middle of the sixth century before Christ, a mole of cut Making of
the mole of
Ortygia.
B.C. c. 540.

¹ Μεγαλοπόλεις. See vol. i. p. 252.

² Thuc. vi. 3; ὕστερον δὲ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ ἔξω προστειχισθεῖσα πολυάνθρωπος ἐγένετο. See Appendix V.

³ See above, p. 43, and Appendix V.

⁴ Thuc. u. s.; ἡ νῆσος, ἐν ᾗ νῦν οὐκέτι περικλυζομένη ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐντὸς ἐστιν.

CHAP. V. stones was made which joined Ortygia to the mainland.

The ground has been so often changed, last of all by the cutting of many channels, that it might be dangerous to fix its exact site¹. The making of the mole may well have been a further cause of the extension of the fortified city. The Island, now become a peninsula, had lost one source of strength, and needed some new bulwark on the mainland. Such a bulwark it found in the new wall which there can be no doubt that Gelôn built from the southern end of the wall of Achradina down to the shore of the Great Harbour. To the west it commanded the marshy inlet, so to speak, which the outpost of Temenitês commanded from above². Thus the height of Achradina, and the lower ground between its base and the Island, were now both taken within one fortified enclosure with the Island. Syracuse thus, under her first tyrant, sprang at once to the position of a great city: she was even now the greatest city of Greek Sicily, one of the greatest cities of the whole Greek world.

Gelôn continues the wall of Achradina down to the Great Harbour.

The Island practically an akropolis.

The space thus taken within the walls was many times greater than the original Island. But the Island still kept its position, oddly but strikingly expressed by the misapplied name of *akropolis*³. It, and not the height that rose above it, became the practical akropolis, the head and stronghold of the enlarged city. From the practice of all later rulers of Syracuse, we may infer that the Island was already, under the Deinomenid dynasty, the dwelling-place of the tyrants. But the centre of the civic life of Syracuse was moved elsewhere. The city must have had an *agora* from the beginning; and while the Island was the whole city, the *agora* must have been in the Island. But the only *agora* of Syracuse that we know lies in a

The new *agora*.

¹ See Appendix XV.

² See above, pp. 42, 43, and vol. i. p. 349.

³ See vol. i. p. 352.

place much better suited to be the centre of public and private business for the enlarged city. A large void space, marked by a single column of far later days, now occupies a large part of the low ground between the still inhabited Island and the forsaken parts of the city. Here was the meeting-place of enlarged Syracuse, the scene of many famous events in Syracusan history. There arose the buildings which commemorated the good deeds of Timoleôn; there the Sikel king Ducetius took refuge at the altar; there, in after days, a second Olympieion arose¹, bringing Zeus nearer to the men of enlarged Syracuse than he was in his elder home at Polichna. As the *agora* was certainly here fifty years later, it is only reasonable to suppose that it was established here by Gelôn when he made its soil part, and the central part, of his enlarged city.

One result of these changes was that now, if not before, the name of Achradina, which must once have belonged to the height only, was spread over the low ground between the hill and the Island². The later Achradina thus took in, as has been already hinted³, much that we are surprised to find within the walls of a great city, much that must have had a strange effect when that city did not yet sit solitary, but was full of people. The *Latomiai* still yawned in the midst of human dwellings; sometimes a narrow road, where ancient wheel-tracks are to be seen, passed over a narrow isthmus between one deep quarry and another. Holes in the rock of all kinds, natural caves, tombs of past times, were all left in the midst of enlarged Syracuse, a wilderness with the hum of busy life around it, and assuredly a contrast, then as now, to the closely packed buildings of the Island. Some notion of the strange effect of such a

¹ For the Olympieion of King Hierôn, see Diod. xvi. 83; Cic. Verr. iv. 119.

² See Appendix V.

³ See above, p. 45.

CHAP. V. contrast may be seen in the deep ravines of Henna and of the Heraian Hybla. There, as has been already said¹, primæval holes and modern houses divide the hill-side between them in a strange sort. But it is a sort which must have been very like the state of a large part of Syracuse from the days of Gelôn to the days when Achradina was forsaken. In Gelôn's wall, the wall that fenced it so much both old and new, stood the gate of Achradina, the chief outer gate of Syracuse, which is constantly marked as being near the *agora*². It was the approach to the Island from two of the great roads, the road to Helôron and the road to Akrai, the road guarded by Polichna and the road guarded by Temenîtês. So placed, the gate of Achradina naturally plays its part in many stirring scenes of our history.

The gate of
Achradina.

Water-
works.

We cannot be quite sure whether it is to Gelôn or his successor, or to the democracy that followed the overthrow of his house, that we ought to attribute some great works which are older than the Athenian invasion and later than the enlargement of the city. What, for instance, are we to say to the elaborate system of underground waterworks by which water was brought to Syracuse from Mount Thymbris, the present Criniti³? These works supplied the various parts of the hill; they even, it would seem, bored under the waters of the Little Haven and appeared in the Island⁴. One can hardly fancy such works older than Gelôn; they seem a natural part of his schemes. His time seems also the most likely for the making of the great naval arsenal of Syracuse. Under him Syracuse was greater, in the sense of power and external dominion, than she had ever been before, or than she ever was after, as a republican

¹ See vol. i. pp. 151, 163, 173.

² See the story of Hermokrates in Diodôros, xiii. 75, and that of Dionysios, xiii. 113.

³ All this is elaborately dealt with in Schubring's *Bewässerung*.

⁴ Schubring, *Bewässerung*, p. 607. See vol. i. p. 354.

state. Gelôn made Syracuse a naval power, and the making of the docks in the Great Harbour, a work which clearly stood in close connexion with the walling in of the lower Achradina, is most likely to be set down as his doing. It is a work which seems naturally to follow on the enlargement and strengthening of his capital by a mighty prince. The docks were made on the northern side of the Harbour, on the shore of the low ground between the new wall and the Island. The water here is deeper than it is further west, and it must be remembered that the sea has encroached on the land at this point, so that the place where the ships would be drawn up on land is now covered with water. Here was the haven for the war-ships; the merchant-ships had their place on the west coast of the Island¹. All this may be fairly set down as the work of Gelôn. It is less clear whether he had any hand in the other haven of the war-ships, in the Little Harbour on the other side of the isthmus. It was certainly in use at the time of the Athenian invasion²; but it was only by Dionysios that it was brought to perfection.

CHAP. V.
The Docks
in the
Great
Harbour
the work
of Gelôn.

The Little
Harbour.

§ 4. *The Emmenid Dynasty at Akragas.*

B. C. 488-472.

Besides Syracuse and its dependencies other Sikeliot cities at this time were under the rule of tyrants. Two of these rulers fill an important place, though in wholly different characters, in the great drama to which we are now drawing near. One of them has, partly by his share in that work, partly through the laureate strains of Pindar, won for himself a name second only to that of the lords of Syracuse. We shall soon come across Térillos tyrant of

¹ See Schubring, Achradina, p. 31.

² See Thucydides, vii. 22, 25.

CHAP. V. Himera as the betrayer of Hellas and of Europe. Thêrôn tyrant of Akragas appears in the first rank of their defenders. Of Têrillos personally we know next to nothing; neither the time nor the manner of his rise to power is recorded; but he is marked as being in close alliance with Anaxilas of Rhêgion and Zanklê, to whom he gave his daughter Kydippê in marriage¹. Thêrôn, on the other hand, appears as in no less close alliance with the ruling house of Syracuse. Gelôn had married his daughter Damareta, and Thêrôn himself took, evidently in a second marriage, a daughter of Gelôn's brother Polyzêlos². Thêrôn came of the great house of the Emmenids, the house of that Têlemachos who had overthrown the power of Phalaris³. The poet who sings of the Olympic victories won by Thêrôn at a later time does not fail to tell of the Rhodian settlers who came from their old home, to dwell in the holy house by the river, to be the eye of Sicily, and to be the forefathers of one who was to be the bulwark of Akragas, the man than whom none on earth was more gracious in spirit and more bountiful of hand⁴. They dwelled in a lofty city, and their bounteous gifts to the

¹ Herod. vii. 163.

² Schol. Pind. Olymp. ii. 6 (10). He refers to Timaios for the marriages.

³ See above, p. 78.

⁴ Pind. Olymp. ii. 6 (10). He sings of Thêrôn as

ὅπιν δίκαιον ξένων,
 ἔρεισμ' Ἀκράγαντος,
 εὐνώνυμον τε πατέρων ἅστων ὀρθόπολιν.
 καμόντες οἱ πολλὰ θυμῷ
 ἱερὸν ἔσχον οἶκημα ποταμοῦ, Σικελίας τ' ἔσαν
 ὀφθαλμός.

(The Scholiasts have a vast deal to say about them.) And in 102;

τεκεῖν μή τιν' ἑκατόν γε ἐτέων πόλιν
 φίλοις ἄνδρα μᾶλλον
 εὐεργέταν πραπίσιν ἀφθονέστερόν τε χέρα
 Θήρωνος.

So also at the end of the third Olympic, also in his honour. Cf. the fragment (Bergk, i. 416) quoted by the Scholiast on Ol. ii. 16.

gods were rewarded by the ever-flowing cloud of wealth that followed them¹. The wealth of Akragas, above all the wealth of the Emmenid house, stands out in all accounts, and makes us less inclined to believe our one story of the path by which Thêrôn rose to power. The beginning of his reign comes between Gelôn's occupation of Gela and his occupation of Syracuse. Of the circumstances of his elevation we have only one of those later accounts which become suspicious through their likeness to one another. Thêrôn, like Phalaris, gets for himself or for his son the contract for building a temple, and employs the money in hiring men to act as his body-guard, and so makes himself tyrant².

CHAP. V.
Fame and
wealth of
the Emme-
nids.

Story of
Thêrôn's
rise to
power.
B.C. 488.

All these stories, coming over and over again, about a man making his way to the tyranny by misuse of a public trust, above all by means of money designed for a sacred use, while they make us doubt as to the literal truth of each particular case, still have a certain value. They point to tricks of the kind attributed to Phalaris and Thêrôn as being a likely path by which men might rise to power. And in this case, as in that of Phalaris, the tale has a good local colouring. The temple is that of Athênê. We are still in the akropolis. Dwelling-places of man have no doubt already begun to spread themselves far down the hill; but, at the beginning of Thêrôn's power, the old city, girt with the wall of Phalaris, is still the place where the great temples of the gods are rising.

Local
colouring.

¹ Pindar, Encom. 2 ;

ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ . . . κατόκησθαι
ἐνθένδ' ἀφορμαθέντες ὑψηλὰν πόλιν ἀμφινέμονται,
πλεῖστα μὲν δῶρ' ἀθανάτοις ἀνέχοντες,
ἔσπετο δ' ἀενάου πλούτου νέφος.

² This story is told by Polyainos, vi. 51. The odd thing about it is that Thêrôn, before he gets the contract, has got his body-guard ready, but is not able to pay them; δορυφόρους μὲν ἔχων ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παρεσκευασμένος, χρημάτων δὲ οὐκ εὐπορῶν πρὸς μισθοδοσίας. All this happens τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν μεγαλοπρεπῇ ναὶν ἀγειρούσης.

CHAP. V. The temple is still there ; as at Athens, as at Syracuse,
 The temple of Athênê as at Kamarina, so at Akragas also, the Parthenôn re-
 at Akra- mains a Parthenôn. Within, and under, a church of the
 gas. Panagia, we still trace large fragments of the basement,
 the columns, the walls, of the temple of Thêrôn's elder
 day. By a happy accident, though the ritual of the
 East has now passed away from its altars, the church
 still bears the name of Saint Mary of the Greeks. Far
 below, in the later city, we see the works of Thêrôn's
 days of power, the days of his better fame. Here, in
 the upper city, we see, it may be, a monument of the
 way in which he rose to power. Yet the story is not a
 pleasant one. It seems unworthy of the character which
 Thêrôn bears in his later days, a character which does not
 come only from the poet who was bound to sing the
 praises of the prince who paid and feasted him. Thêrôn
 is set before us as highest in birth, first in wealth, not
 only of the men of Akragas but of the men of all Sicily,
 as surpassing them all in bounty and mildness of rule¹.
 We might believe that such an one rose to dominion by a
 blow struck in some party strife; we would rather not
 believe that a dominion which seems on the whole to have
 been exercised for good began in so base a cheat as that
 attributed to him in our only story of his path to power.

Thêrôn
 and
 Phalaris.

There is somewhat singular in the comparison between the
 later fame of Thêrôn and that of Phalaris. In dealing
 with Phalaris, while we had no kind of consecutive narra-
 tive, while we had hardly an ascertained and dated fact to
 record of him, we were simply overwhelmed by the mass of
 casual references to him in all manner of writers in later
 ages. Thêrôn holds a real, an important, and, from one

¹ Diod. Fr. I. 10; Θήρων δ' Ἀκραγαντῖνος γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ
 πλῆθος φιланθρωπία πολλὸν προεῖχεν οὐ μόνον τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων
 τῶν Σικελιωτῶν. This character throws great doubt on the story in
 Polyainos.

side at least, an honourable, place in the history of Sicily and of Europe. But not only has no forger taken the trouble to invent letters in his name; the dictionary-makers and anecdote-mongers of later times have hardly treasured up a single saying or story of the most bountiful of mankind. Our only casual source of knowledge tells us that Thêrôn had enemies, and enemies in his own household. A brother, Xenokratês by name, won glory for Akragas and for the house of Ainêsidamos by the victory of his chariot, not indeed by the banks of Alpheios but on the humbler field of the Isthmos¹. Other kinsfolk, Kapys and Hippokratês, stirred up, we are told, by envy at Thêrôn's merits, rose and levied war against him, only to feel defeat at his hands by the banks of Himeras². A victory of Himeras won by Thêrôn in civil strife sounds almost like a mockery of the great day of his life. It was in a song in Thêrôn's honour that the poet was stirred up to the loveliest picture of the pagan world of spirits. To him Pindar told of the home in the happy island, with its Ocean breezes and its golden flowers, the dwelling of those to whom it was given to tread the path of Zeus to the tower of Kronos³. There dwelled the heroes and lawgivers of old; there dwelled the chief of the Achaians who smote down the pillar of Troy and the Æthiop son of the Morning⁴. And, if

CHAP. V.
No stories
of Thêrôn.

Kapys and
Hippo-
crates.

¹ See Appendix XXVI.

² The story of Kapys and Hippokratês, not very clear in any version, has got mixed up with the relations of Thêrôn and Hierôn at a somewhat later time. See Appendix XXIII.

³ See the wonderful passage, 64-84.

⁴ Ib. 79 (142);

Ἀχιλλέα τ' ἐνείκ' ἐπεὶ Ζηνὸς ἦτορ

λυταῖς ἐπεισε, μάτηρ

ὅς "Ἐκτορ' ἔσφαλε, Τροίης

ἄμαχον ἀστραβῇ κίονα, Κύκνον τε θανάτῳ πόρεν

Ἄοῦς τε παῖδ' Αἰθίοπα.

Hektôr is Τροίης κίων, as Thêrôn himself is ἔρεισμ' Ἀκράγατος.

CHAP. V. the lays of Athens could claim a place in that happy company for the slayers of a tyrant, Syracuse and Akragas might claim a place beside them for the tyrants themselves. For the warfare in which the lords of Syracuse and Akragas played their part was, as Herodotus has taught us, the same warfare as that which Achilleus and Agamemnôn had waged before them.

§ 5. *Early Poetry and Philosophy in Sicily.*

Share of
Sicily in
Greek
poetry.

That Greek Sicily should play its part in the poetic, as well as the political, world of Hellas might seem to be foreshadowed in the presence of the cyclic Eumêlos among the earliest Corinthian settlers at Syracuse¹. Such an expectation was not disappointed. Sicily contributed its fair share to the general choir of Greek minstrels, and in some particular branches of the poetic art men who belonged to Sicily by birth or adoption took the lead and passed for inventors. Of lyric poetry Sicily can hardly claim to be the birth-place. Aristoxenos of Selinous, said to have been one of the earliest writers of iambics along with Archilochos and the elder Simônidês, was, if his date be rightly given, a Selinuntine only in the sense in which Eumêlos was a Syracusan. Selinous must have had a poet among her colonists². But one of the most famous of lyric poets belonged more fully to Sicily than Eumêlos or Aristoxenos. Terpan-dros and Alkman come earlier than her Stêsichoros, and, though the island has its share in the history or legend of Sapphô, the songstress of Lesbos

Aristo-
xenos of
Selinous.

The lyric
poets.

¹ See vol. i. p. 344.

² If the date in Jerome's Chronicle, Ol. 29 (B.C. 664), be right, "Archilochus et Simonidês et Aristoxenus illustres habentur," Aristoxenos can have been a Selinuntine in no sense but that of being one of the Megarian colonists in 628.

appears in Sicily only as a guest. In the elegiacs of Ovid CHAP. V.
 Sicily and its women, Sapphō's rivals for the love of Sapphō in
 Phaôn, have no small share¹. The grave chronicle of Sicily.
 Paros sends her in person to Sicily, seemingly as the result B.C. 595.
 of a political revolution in Mytilênê². But in her extant
 fragments the only possible reference to Sicily is where she
 couples a Panormos, which may be our Phœnician All-
 haven, along with Cyprian Paphos as a seat of Aphroditê³.
 An Aphroditê of Panormos could hardly fail to be near
 akin to Aphroditê of Eryx.

Stêsichoros, on the other hand, was in Sicily more than Stêsichoros
 a guest. He was perhaps a native; he was at any rate a of Himera.
 colonist in early childhood. He was Stêsichoros of Himera, B.C. 640-
 and the city was so closely connected in men's minds with 546, or
 the poet that the description of "the man of Himera" was B.C. 632-
 sometimes enough to mark him⁴. The most probable 552.
 reckonings of his birth and death make his birth come not
 long after the foundation of Himera, which would suggest
 that he was the son of an original or early settler. His His de-
 father bears several names; one wild version makes him scend.
 the son of the poet Hêsiod; but the consent seems to be
 pretty general in favour of Euphêmos. His family came
 from the Lokrian Matauros on the west coast of the south-
 western peninsula of Italy, which shows that, as usual,
 settlers from various parts took a share in the foundation
 of Himera. His true name is said to have been Tisias; His name
 he was called Stêsichoros from his being the first to set in Tisias.

¹ Ep. Her. xxi. 51-58. One is not surprised to hear the presiding goddess addressed as

"Tu quoque quæ montes celebras, Erycina, Sicanos;"

but why does Sapphō call on the

"Nisiades matres Nisiadesque nurus"

to send back the runaway? Surely Nisa (see vol. i. p. 122), if it existed at all, was the most obscure of Sikan or other towns.

² See Appendix II.

³ See vol. i. p. 250.

⁴ See Appendix XVI.

- CHAP. V. order the lyric chorus. If so, his surname as thoroughly displaced his original name as Plato did that of Aristoklês. Whatever was his birth or his parentage, his fame as a poet was prefigured from the very moment of his birth. Before the babe had uttered his first cry, a nightingale settled on his mouth and lifted up her voice in song.
- His brothers. That he had a brother named Helianax, lawgiver of some unknown place, we need neither affirm nor deny. A brother Mamertinus is a harder trial of faith. That he kept up some connexion with the elder land of his house is implied in a story preserved by Aristotle, in which he warns the Lokrians in a dark saying of the coming harrying of their lands¹. And the man of Himera was no less at home at Katanê. There he died, and there seemingly he was buried. Himera had a monument for him also, but his most famous tomb was that at Katanê. If we rightly understand the somewhat dark account, his ashes were sheltered in an octagon surrounded by eight columns, outside a gate that bore his name. His memory abides in the nomenclature of modern Catania. It is more to be noticed than all that, after his native Himera had perished, his memory was cherished by statues and on the coinage, in the city of the Himeraian Thermai which kept on its traditions.
- His tomb at Katanê.
- His alleged relations to Phalaris. It is only in Italy that we see the poet of Himera playing any part in practical politics. We need not discuss his alleged relations to Phalaris, as they appear in the forged letters. And it has already been shown that the warning against that tyrant which he is said to have given to the men of Himera must belong to another sage, another tyrant, or another city, perhaps to all three at

¹ Aristotle tells this story twice in the Rhetoric, ii. 21 and iii. 11. The first time he warns them *ὅτι οὐ δέῃ ὑβριστὰς εἶναι, ὅπως μὴ οἱ τέττιγες χαμόθεν ᾄδωσιν*. This is explained to mean, lest the enemy should come and cut down their trees.

once¹. In his extant fragments and in the various refer- CHAP. V.
ences made to him there is little indeed that directly bears upon Sicily. He seems to have been responsible for the doctrine that his own Himeras flowed from the same fountain as the southern stream of the same name²; and when, in a mutilated passage of a late writer, he appears as decking some city with his praises, a loyal editor assumes that it must have been his own Himera. But there can be little doubt that in one at least of his famous mythological poems Sicily must have had no small place. It may well be that in the legends of the Sicilian exploits of Hêraklês to which we have had already to refer³ we have largely been listening to echoes of the Gêryonêis. His
Gêryonêis.
Stêsichoros. His tale carried the hero to the stream of His legend
Tartêssos and beyond it, to the stream of Ocean and of Hêra-
beyond it, to Erytheia and the fountains that flowed klês.
with silver, and brought him face to face with the sun-
god in his golden cup. He surely told of his journey
back again, of the wrestling-match by Eryx, and of
the birth of the hot-waters of Himera⁴. One thing at
least he did for the hero, be he Theban Hêraklês or
Phœnician Melkart. The Hêraklês of the older Greek
song was a civilized warrior, with the arms and dress of
any other Hellenic hero. Was it under any barbarian

¹ See above, p. 66.

² Vibius Sequester, p. 11; "Himera oppido Thermitanorum dedit nomen Himerae [very indirectly]. Hoc flumen in duas findi partes ait Stesichorus, unam in Tyrrhenum mare, alteram in Libycum decurrere." See vol. i. p. 81.

³ See vol. i. pp. 209, 544. It is worth noticing that Gêryonês had (Suet. Tib. 14) an oracle somewhere near Patavium. This is not very near to Amprakia, but it is nearer than Tartêssos.

⁴ See vol. i. pp. 77, 210. Cf. Athen. xii. 6, where Hêraklês is painted as a votary of the βίος ἀπολαυστικός. "Ἡ διὰ τί τὰ θερμὰ λουτρά τὰ φαινόμενα ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντες Ἡρακλέους φασὶν εἶναι ιερά; ἢ διὰ τί τὰς μαλακὰς στρωμνὰς Ἡρακλέους κοίτας εἰώθασι καλεῖν, εἰ κατεφρόνει τῶν ἡδέως ζώντων. Cf. Aristoph. Clouds, 1033.

CHAP. V. teaching that Stêsichoros was the first to dress him in the lion's skin and to give him the club and the bow for weapons? A less renowned poem on Skylla might well contain Sicilian matter, and it has been thought that he told the tale of the Sicilian Daphnis¹. But it is hard to see from the existing fragments of his poem on the Fall of Troy that Stêsichoros was the special prophet of the tale that brought Aineias into the Western lands.

Story of
his blind-
ness.

Next to the tale of the warning given to the men of Himera, Stêsichoros is perhaps best known by the story of the blindness which fell on him by the vengeance of the deified Helen. The blind poet suggests Homer; it suggests also Sicilian Daphnis. The version of the story which most concerns us is one which, as late as the days of Pausanias, was fully believed at Krotôn and at the Thermai which had taken the place of Himera. In the battle of the Sagras between Krotôn and Lokroi², the Lesser Aias of the Iliad took his place in the Lokrian ranks, to defend those who were his kinsfolk by the spindle-side.

Leônymos
and the
Lesser
Aias.

The Krotoniat general Leônymos, fighting opposite to the post of the hostile hero, was smitten with a wound in the breast; we should surely have been told whether the arm that dealt it was seen or unseen. The wounded man

The Island
Leukê.

went to Delphoi; the Pythia bade him go to the isle of Leukê by the mouth of Ister, where Aias, like some of his fellow-heroes, would heal the wound that he had given. There, not in the Island of the Blessed beyond the Ocean, the heroes dwelled. There was Achilleus; there were the Greater and the Lesser Aias. Odysseus is not spoken of; the old feud perhaps was still unhealed. But Achilleus had with him his Patroklos and his Antilochos; and Dêidameia and Brisêis had passed away to make room for

¹ See Appendix XVI.

² Justin, xx. 2, 3; Strabo, vi. i. 10; Grote, iv. 352.

a lawful wedlock with Helen herself. In her indeed Paris and Dêiphobos had no rights to plead; but what had become of the claims of Menelaos, promoted to his place in the Elysian field on the special ground of being son-in-law of Zeus? From this heroic gathering Leônymos, healed by the hand that smote him, went back to the company of men of his own day. But he bore with him the bidding of Helen herself to sail to Himera, and to tell the blind bard Stêsichoros that the stroke had come upon him from Helen's wrath. Once had he sung that Tyndareôs, sacrificing to the other gods, made no offering to the goddess of Cyprus. Aphroditê in her wrath decreed that the daughters of Tyndareôs, twice and thrice-wedded, should leave their husbands for other men. But now, as far as one of them was concerned, he sang his *Palinôdia* to her who had smitten him. Once he had told a false tale; now he sang that Helen had never gone in the well-benched ships or come to the *Pergama* of Troy. The atonement now was made, and the man of Himera saw once more.

Message
from Helen
to Stêsi-
choros.

One is carried away by the famous tale. What then shall we say to a version which denied the blindness of Stêsichoros as strongly as he denied the voyage of Helen to Troy? For some said that in the true tale—the *ἔτυμος λόγος*—Stêsichoros maligned no daughter of Zeus, but merely played the part of Archilochos towards Lykambê and her father. The Helen whom he libelled was but a mortal maid of Himera, whose father's name is given as Mikythos. She scorned the poet as a lover, and preferred a rival named Boupalos¹. We should at least

Helen of
Himera.

¹ Phôtios (Bibl. 149, Bekker) quotes the *Καὶνὴ Ἱστορία* of Ptolemy Hêphaistiôn for this very dull story; 'Ἀρχέλαος δὲ ὁ Κύπριος Στῆσιχόρου φησὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ Ἑλένην Ἱμεραίαν ἐρωμένην γενέσθαι, Μικύθου θυγατέρα· ἀποστᾶσαν δὲ Στῆσιχόρου καὶ πρὸς Βούπαλον πορευθεῖσαν ἀμυνόμενον τῆς ὑπεροφίας τὸν ποιητὴν γράφαι ὡς Ἑλένη ἐκούσα ἀπῆρε. ψευδὴ δὲ τὸν περὶ τῆς πηρώσεως εἶναι λόγον. But may there not have been at Himera

CHAP. V. have been told how the story of the poet's blindness came about.

His
parable of
the eagle.

Much more might easily be found to say about the bard of Himera; but most of his other remains concern the general historian of Greek literature rather than the special historian of Sicily. His parable of the grateful eagle saving the life of his benefactor by a seeming damage is one of a class¹. It points, like the other stories of his warnings, to the old sententious Hesiodic vein of wisdom living on alongside of those more modern forms of song of which Stêsichoros was deemed so high a master as to be coupled with Homer himself, whose soul was sometimes said to have passed into him². In the story of the next poet of whom we have to speak a tale of the same kind is brought in, not as a parable, but as an alleged fact.

Ibykos of
Rhêgion.
B. C. c. 540.

Ibykos of Rhêgion, one of the Messenian stock in that city³, having, according to one tale, refused the tyranny of his own city⁴, lived much at the court of the tyrant Polykratês of Samos. But he touches Sicily also. It was on a journey between Himera and Katanê that he fell

a quickset-hedge with the same virtues as the one which we all know to have grown in Thessaly?

¹ Ælian, Hist. An. xvii. 87. It was sung *ἐν τινι ποιήματι οὐκ ἐκφοιτήσαντι πον ἐς πολλούς*. The story is the opposite to that of the husbandman and the adder. But somehow the eagle reminds one of the fate of Æschylus.

² See Appendix XVI.

³ Soudas in *Ἰβυκος*; *Ἰβυκος Φωτίου (οἱ δὲ Πολυζήλου τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ιστοριογράφου, οἱ δὲ Κέρδαντος), γένει Ῥηγίνος*. Here is evidently some confusion, and one would like to have the writings of an *ιστοριογράφος* of so early date. What is meant must be that Ibykos belonged to one of the Messénian families in Rhêgion. See above, p. 107, and vol. i. p. 393. He goes on to confuse the dates of Croesus and Polykratês; but he must mean that Ibykos was contemporary and friend of the Samian tyrant.

⁴ If one can make out anything from the proverb preserved by Apostolios, iii. 84; *Ἀρχαιότερος Ἰβύκων. ἐπὶ τῶν εὐθῶν, οὗτος γὰρ τυραννεῖν δυνάμενος ἀπεδήμησεν*.

from a carriage and hurt his hand; he then dedicated his lyre to Apollôn¹. And it is perhaps more likely, if not in Sicily yet at his own Rhêgion rather than at Corinth, that we should place the story of his death and the vengeance that followed it. He was slain by robbers in a desert place; his last words were that the cranes that he saw flying over his head would be his avengers. The dead man was missed, and was long sought for in vain. At last, on the day of a public spectacle, the murderers or some of them were seated unsuspected among the other lookers-on. A flight of cranes passed over them. Urged by their fate, they said merrily one to the other, There are the avengers of Ibykos. The words were heard; suspicion was awakened; inquiry was made, and the justice, be it of Corinth or of Rhêgion, came upon the slayers of the poet².

We have already had to refer to Ibykos as our earliest direct authority for the topography of Syracuse³. We are told also that he had his own version of the Sicilian exploits of Hêraklês, which points to a poem on somewhat the same subject as the Gêryonêid of Stêsichoros. It was not any nymphs, but Hêphaistos—may we say Sikel Hadranos?—that sent up the hot springs to refresh him⁴. This slight difference still allows us to keep within the true range of Sicilian mythology. Ibykos must have touched on another point in the story of Stêsichoros, when he found a home for Achilleus, not in Leukê, but in the Elysian plain, and gave him for a wife, not Argeian Helen but

¹ Himerius, Orat. xxii. 5; "Ιβυκον δὲ κατέχει λόγος ἀπολισθεῖν μὲν ἐξ ἄρματος, εἰς Ἱμέραν ἀπὸ Κατάνης ὀχούμενον· συντριβείσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς χειρὸς συγχρόν τινα χρόνον ἀπὸδὸν γενέσθαι, τὴν λύραν δὲ ἀναθεῖναι Ἀπόλλωνι.

² The story is told, among other writers, by Plutarch, De Garrul. 14. The city is not mentioned. The murderers are sitting in the theatre; καὶ γεράνων παραφανείσων, ἅμα γέλῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ψιθυρίζοντες, ὥς οἱ Ἰβύκου ἐκδοικοὶ πάρεσιν. Soudas mentions only one, εἰς ἐν τῇ πόλει θεασάμενος.

³ See above, p. 151.

⁴ Schol. Arist. Clouds, 1050; Fr. 46.

CHAP. V. barbarian Mèdeia¹. From the favourite subject of his poems he would seem to have been a fitting laureate for the founder of Syracuse². He too had his fable to tell, how, by the misapplied gift of Zeus, the serpent came by his power of renewing youth, coupled with the counterbalancing evil of unceasing thirst³.

Ibykos seems to have appeared in Sicily only as a guest. So did Ariôn, to whom a dweller in the deep did a yet greater service than the fowls of the air did to Ibykos. The wealth with which he set forth from Taras had been gathered in Sicily as well as in Italy, no doubt by the practice of his art⁴. It must have been other motives which led Theognis, the poet of oligarchy, to leave his native Megara by the Isthmus to become, perhaps a citizen, certainly a visitor, in its Sicilian colony⁵. He himself records the fact of his having been in the island⁶; but

Theognis.
B. C. c. 560-
480.

¹ Apollônios (iv. 811) makes Hêrê tell Thetis,

εὖτ' ἂν ἐς Ἑλύσιον πεδῖον τέος υἱὸς ἴκηται
* * * * *
χρεῖά μιν κούρης πόσιν ἔμμεναι Αἰήταο
Μηδείης.

The Scholiast adds, ὅτι δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰς τὸ Ἑλύσιον πεδῖον παραγενόμενος ἔγημε Μήδειαν, πρῶτος Ἰβυκος εἴρηκει μεθ' ὃν Σιμωνίδης.

² See his character in Soudas and Cic. Tusc. iv. 39. But could he have outdone Theognis, or Solôn himself?

³ Ælian, Hist. An. vi. 51.

⁴ Herod. i. 24. So we have his own epigram in Ælian, Hist. An. xii. 45, where the dolphin saves him ἐκ Σικελοῦ πελάγους, and the alleged fragment (see Bergk, iii. 79),

οἳ μ' εἰς Πέλοπος γῶν ἐπὶ Ταυναρίαν ἀκτῶν
ἐπορεύσατε πλαζόμενον Σικελῶ ἐνὶ ποντῶ.

⁵ Plato, Legg. i. 630; Θεόγνιν, πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων whence the confused statement of Soudas (Θέογνις), making him Μεγαρεὺς τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων.

⁶ Theog. 783 (Bergk, iii. 187);

ἦλθον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωνγε καὶ ἐς Σικελὴν ποτε γαῖαν
* * * * *
καὶ μ' ἐφίλειν προφρόνως πάντες ἐπερχόμενον.

He also visited Euboea and Sparta; but he must have gone home; for he adds,

ἀλλ' οὐτις μοι τέρψις ἐπὶ φρένας ἦλθεν ἐκείνων,
οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν φίλτερον ἄλλο πάτρης.

beyond that his extant verses contain no Sicilian matter. CHAP. V.
 But, if we can believe a late writer, Theognis, if all his His poem on the deliverance of Syracuse.
 writings had survived, would have been the most precious
 of all the poets for Sicilian history. He is said to have
 composed an elegy on the deliverance of Syracuse from
 Hippokratês¹, a piece of contemporary history for which
 we would gladly exchange a large part of his extant
 writings. The subject suggests many questions. How
 did Theognis fare when a few years later the city of his
 adoption perished at the hands of Gelôn? So stanch
 an oligarch, if he were then in Megara, would assuredly
 have been among the favoured ones who received the
 citizenship of Syracuse. On the whole one is tempted
 to believe that his Sicilian stay had come to an end His return to old Megara.
 at an earlier time. Very soon after the event which
 formed the subject of his Sicilian poem, he seems to
 have been again in his own Megara, praying that his
 native city might escape the hands of the invading
 Mede².

The gap, if in this age there was any, between poets Xenophanês of Kolophôn.
 and philosophers is bridged by Xenophanês of Kolophôn.
 Banished from his Asiatic home, his later dwelling-place B. C. c. 568-478.
 was the Italiot Eleia; but he visited Sicily also, and his
 presence was remembered at Zanklê and Katanê³. He
 lived to a great age; for he himself witnesses, in an elegy
 composed sixty-five years afterwards, that his banishment

¹ Soudas; ἔγραψεν ἐλεγείαν εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. See above, p. 110. However confused the report, this can refer to nothing else.

² Theog. 775. How long did Theognis live? The verses seem to refer to the expedition of Xerxês; but it may have been written some years before 480 B. C.

³ Diog. Laert. ix. 2. 1; οὗτος, ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος, ἐν Ζάγκλῃ τῆς Σικελίας διέτριβε καὶ ἐν Κατάνῃ. The use of the name Zanklê is favourable to the genuineness of the story.

CHAP. V. was at the age of twenty-five¹. He may therefore really have lived on, as one version makes him, to be one of the brilliant circle that gathered round the happy hearth of Hierôn². He had dealings with tyrants of some kind, as appears from his saying that a man must either keep away from their company or conform to their will³. This piece of practical wisdom came most likely from Sicilian experience, and it concerns our history more than his speculations about the One and the Many. A pleasing fragment of another of his elegies brings us across the more famous name of Pythagoras, and puts the mysterious sage and his doctrine in an amiable light. His belief that the souls of men passed into other bodies enabled him to plead on behalf of the beaten dog that he heard in his howlings the voice of a departed friend⁴. But though the followers of Pythagoras will often come across our path, the historian of Sicily is happily relieved from any speculations as to the great master himself. No trustworthy witness carries him into Sicily. Those who take him to Tauromenion at once consign themselves to the same fate as the forgers of letters of Phalaris⁵. And it is hardly

His experience of tyrants.

His doctrines.

Pythagoras.

Tales of Pythagoras in Sicily.

¹ Diogenês preserves the fragment (7. Bergk, iii. 115).

² Jerome places him in the sixtieth Olympiad (B.C. 540-536); "clarus habetur." In the fragment of Timaios, 92 (C. Müller, i. 215), ὃν [Ξενοφάνη] φησι Τίμαιος κατὰ Ἱέρωνα τὸν Σικελίας δυνάστην, καὶ Ἐπίχαρμον τὸν ποιητὴν γεγονέναι. Ἀπολλόδαμος δὲ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα γενόμενον, παρατετακέναι ἄχρι τῶν Δαρείου τε καὶ Κύρου χρόνων. A man born about B.C. 640 could hardly have lived into the time of Darius; but a man who was writing verses at ninety might have been famous in 536, and still alive in 478. Epicharmos was as long-lived as Xenophanês; but if a contemporary, he must have been a much younger one. Diogenês Laertius makes him discourse with Empedoklês, which can hardly be.

³ Diog. Laert. ix. 2. 3; τοῖς τυράννοις ἐντυγχάνειν ἢ ὡς ἤμιστα ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα.

⁴ The fragment is preserved by Diogenês, viii. 1. 20 (Bergk, ii. 115). See Grote, iv. 528.

⁵ I cannot, with Holm (i. 410), let off the author of this anachronism on the chance that by Tauromenion he may have meant Naxos.

easier to believe that Pythagoras in person commanded the army of Akragas in a war with Syracuse, and that, so far as anything can be made out of the story, he perished by a strict observance of one of his own most mysterious precepts. He lost the battle and his life by refusing to march across a bean-field¹. By the side of this, the exploits of his pupil Milôn as the comrade of Dôrieus may seem historical². The political influence of Pythagoras and his sect at Krotôn is of great importance for the history of Greek Italy; it hardly touches us in our island.

A faint interest is raised by a certain Ekphantos of Syracuse, described as a follower of Pythagoras, who wrote a treatise in praise of kingship, of which some passages have been preserved³. They may have been acceptable when Pindar was dreaming of Deinomenês as constitutional king of Ætna⁴. Ekphantos had also views about the earth, which concern us less, though, as being far beyond the science of his time, they may win him more credit⁵. And it may be that the philosophic impulse spread beyond the bounds of Hellas in the island. A certain Petrôn, described as of Himera, whose date is

¹ So, according to Diogenês (viii. i. 21), witnessed the philosopher Hermippos in the third century before Christ; *φησὶ, πολεμούντων Ἀκραγαντίνων καὶ Συρακοσίων ἐξελθεῖν τὸν Πυθαγόραν μετὰ τῶν συνήθων καὶ προστῆναι τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων τροπῇ δὲ γενομένης, περικάμπτοντα αὐτὸν τὴν τῶν κυάμων χώραν, ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀναιρεθῆναι*. Then follows a story how those who escaped, 305 in number, were burned at Taras; *θέλοντας ἀντιπολιτεῦσθαι τοῖς προεστῶσι*. This is another version of the burning of the *φροντιστήριον* at Krotôn.

² See above, p. 89.

³ John of Stoboi, among his collections on a thesis *ὅτι κάλλιστον ἡ μοναρχία*, has (xlvii. 22, xlviii. 64) two extracts from Ekphantos, some of which come twice over. There are some pleasant bits of dialect, but the arguments would hardly have convinced either an Athenian democrat or a Corinthian oligarch. On the name, see Ebert, *Dissertationes Siculae*, 119.

⁴ Pind. Pyth. i. 60 (116).

⁵ Plut. de Plac. Phil. iii. 13.

CHAP. V. older than that of our first historian Hippias of Rhêgion, had numbered the worlds, and found the tale to be one hundred and eighty-three¹. His name is perhaps of greater interest than his philosophy. Petrôn must have come, by some path or other, from Sikel Petra²; he is fellow to Gelôn and to the older Hyblôn³.

Union of
barbarians
against
Greece.

From questions like these we have now to turn to the great realities of the history of the world. We now come to the days when Hellas was threatened at once in the East and in the West. The whole barbarian world seemed leagued against her. On one fateful day—so the next generation at least believed—the hopes of all times to come were jeopardized at once on the waters of the Salaminian gulf and on the ground below the hills of Himera. In the common danger, in the common victory, we may forget that, while at Salamis the barbarian was beaten back by the captains and the seamen of free commonwealths, at Himera he yielded to the arms of tyrants. On that great day Ekphantos might have got a hearing in the *agora* of Syracuse or of Akragas. If the men of both those cities marched forth at the bidding of a master, it was a master who was at least their countryman, and in many a later year Sicily might indeed have welcomed another despot of the kind of Gelôn or of Thêrôn. In the tale of Sicily, the tale of Sicily as part of the tale of

Position
of the
tyrants.

¹ Plut. de Def. Or. 23; Δωριεύς ἀπὸ Σικελίας, ἀνδρὸς Ἱμεραίου τοῦνομα Πέτρωνος· αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐκείνου βιβλιδίον οὐκ ἀνέγνων, οὐδὲ οἷδα διασωζόμενον, Ἱππυς δὲ ὁ Ῥηγίνος (οὗ μέμνηται Φανίας ὁ Ἐφέσιος) ἱστορεῖ δόξαν εἶναι ταύτην. The writings of Hippias seem to have perished before Plutarch's day. See vol. i. p. 454.

² See vol. i. p. 146.

³ Holm, i. 402; "Reiske hielt den Namen nicht für griechisch und wollte deshalb Hieron lesen. Es ist ächt sicilisch; Petron von Petra, wie Gelon von Gela, Theron von Thera, Hieron von Hiera, Hyblon von Hybla, Krison von Krisa." Hyblôn of Hybla (see vol. i. p. 389) is the one who most concerns us.

Europe, theirs are the first names that we can with full certainty inscribe on the bede-roll of the men who won their choicest laurels in the Eternal Cause. As worthy forerunners, they handed on the torch to those who should come after them, to Timoleôn and to Pyrrhos, to Maniakês and to Roger. CHAP. V.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST WARS WITH CARTHAGE AND ETRURIA ¹.

B.C. 480-472.

Character
of the war
with the
barbarians.

WE have now reached a time when the great question between Greek and barbarian, with all that that question carries with it in the history of the world, is to become, for one moment of surpassing interest, the leading fact in local Sicilian history. Greek and barbarian have already met in arms alike on the soil of Attica and on the soil of Sicily. Miltiadês, defending the land of the Greek,

¹ We now, for the first time, have something more than scraps and casual notices. In the eleventh book of Diodôros we come to the beginning of that continuous, though not contemporary, narrative of Sicilian affairs which remains our chief guide for nearly two hundred years. We always lament that we have only Diodôros and not his sources. We often lament that Diodôros did not make a better use of his sources. Still we feel the gain at every step, as compared with the times through which we have thus far gone, and to make easy sneers at a writer to whom we owe so much is a sign of a very feeble grasp of Greek history and a very slight knowledge of Greek literature. If Diodôros represents Ephoros and Timaios, he also represents Antiochos and Philistos. But we have also, for parts of our story, much nearer approaches to contemporary narrative. Herodotus helped us in our last chapter; he helps us still for the battle of Himera and the embassy to Gelôn. These are events nearer to his own time, and more closely related to his general narrative, than those with which he was dealing at an earlier stage. And the odes of Pindar, valuable in the last chapter, become of tenfold value now. If not a contemporary narrator, he is at least a contemporary commentator on events. And we still have, though not to the same extent as in the days of Phalaris, a large crop of references in various casual sources, from the fragments of Simônîdês onwards.

has beaten back the barbarian for a season. Dôrieus, CHAP. VI. invading the land of the barbarian, has been himself more than beaten back in his daring enterprise. What distinguishes the time which we have now reached is that the enemy of Miltiadês and the enemy of Dôrieus appear joined in a common undertaking. The day of barbarian advance has already begun; it began, if at no The barbarian advance. earlier time, when Crœsus brought the Greek cities of Asia under barbarian supremacy. And we must again recall the great paradox which is the key to the whole story. While, from one point of view, we are entering Greece on one side declining. on the most brilliant time of the story of the Greek people, we are, from another point of view, entering on the time of its decline. The literature, the art, the science, of Greece, are all in their vigorous growth; so is the political developement of her cities, the developement of democratic Athens above all. But, from another side, the old age of Greece has already begun. The long tale of Rule of barbarians over Greeks. Greece under Foreign Domination¹, the tale which stretches from the advance of the Lydian to the betrayal of Parga, has already had its first chapters written. In our common conception, from many points a true conception, of the history of Greece, the most splendid pages of that history are those which record the beating back of the Persian from the soil of Europe, the winning back of what the Persian had conquered from Hellas on the soil of Asia. But the mere fact that an enemy had to be beaten back, Character of the Persian war in Old Greece. that lands had to be freed from his grasp, shows that the enemy was in some sort the stronger, that he was at least the advancing power which had to be beaten back. With the great strife against Persia begins the long struggle which in our own day is not yet ended, the struggle of

¹ I must once more pay my tribute to the great work of Finlay, from whom I first learned to understand this side of Greek history. Strange as it seems, we are now entering on his period,

CHAP. VI. the Greek to win back what the barbarian has torn away from him. Themistoklēs and Kanarēs waged a warfare of exactly the same kind, a warfare, not of advance and conquest, but of recovery and deliverance. Theirs was not the warfare of Cæsar and Trajan, but the warfare of Stilicho and Belisarius, the warfare of every lord of the New Rome who won back any spot of his Empire from the grasp of Saracen or Bulgarian. It is the surpassing brilliancy of the Greece of the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ which makes us forget that the Greece—the scattered as well as the continuous Hellas—of the sixth and seventh held in one sense a greater place in the world. When men carved the grotesque shapes of Medousa and the Kerkôpes on the metopes of the Selnuntine temple, Hellas could still make the boast that all her sons were free, that no inch of Hellenic ground obeyed a barbarian master. When men carved the deathless forms which filled the same place on the Athenian akropolis, the highest boast of Hellas was that she had driven out the barbarian from that very akropolis, and there were still spots in the world which had been Hellas over which the barbarian ruled.

The seventh and the fifth centuries.

European and Asiatic barbarians.

There are few more touching tales in the whole story of the Greek people than that which told how the men of Poseidônia—that Pæstum where the works of the old Hellenic days have outlived the rule of every conqueror—after they had fallen away from their Hellenic speech and Hellenic life, still kept one holy day of mourning in each year, to weep and wail for what once had been, for the change which instead of Hellênes had made them Lucanians or Romans¹. Yet to become Lucanians or Romans

¹ See the account copied from Aristoxenos of Taras in Athênaios, xiv. 31. He speaks of the Poseidoniats; οἷς συνέβη τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἑλλησιν οὔσιν ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι Τυρρηνοῖς ἢ Ῥωμαίοις γεγονόσι, καὶ τήν τε φωνὴν μεταβεβληκέναι τὰ τε λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀγεῖν τε μίαν τινα αὐτοῖς

did not wholly cut them off from the great fellowship. CHAP. VI.
It did not hinder them from having their part in Europe; it did not hinder them from one day having their part in Christendom. It was to ward off a darker fate that Old Greece and Greek Sicily had to strive at the same moment in the last years of the second decade of the fifth century. And Greek Sicily had to strive to ward off a darker fate than any that threatened Old Greece. Had the Persian won the day at Salamis and Plataia, Athens and Sparta might have been forced to become what Thebes had made herself willingly. They would have become the dependents and tributaries of the Great King; they would hardly have sunk lower. But had the Carthaginian won the day at Himera, Syracuse and Akragas would surely have undergone a sterner doom than this. From what Gelôn and Thêrôn saved their cities we best know by the fate which lighted on Selinous and Himera seventy years later.

Another point not to be left out, at least in local Sicilian history, is that it is now that the first and second of Sikeliot cities distinctly come to their place as first and second. Syracuse is not strictly the head even of Greek Sicily; but it is drawing near to that character. If not the head, it is distinctly the foremost. Akragas too is so distinctly marked as the second that it feels some call to reckon itself as the first. Syracuse now begins to play her characteristic part in history. Her calling, it was said, was, when she was herself under tyrants, to rule over other cities; when she was herself set free, it was to set free those who were under the rule of the barbarians¹. Yet this

Position
of Syra-
cuse and
Akragas.

Mission of
Syracuse.

τῶν ἑορτῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἐν ᾗ συνιόντες ἀναμνησκονται τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκείνων ὀνομάτων τε καὶ νομίμων, καὶ ἀπολοφυράμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποδακρύσαντες ἀπέρχονται. Aristoxenos was a disciple of Aristotle, and the way in which he speaks of the Romans should be noticed. But his Tyrrhenians should surely be Lucanians.

¹ Strabo, vi. 2. 4; οἱ ἄνδρες ἡγεμονικοὶ κατέστησαν, καὶ συνέβη Συρα-

CHAP. VI. account is hardly adequate ; it hardly does justice to the time or the men with whom we are just now dealing. The picture is drawn from later tyrants and later deliverers. We have to speak of men who were tyrants and deliverers in one. The enslaved Syracuse of Dionysios ruled over other cities. The free Syracuse of Timoleôn set free enslaved cities. The Syracuse of Gelôn, certainly not free, but hardly to be called enslaved, could do its work in both ways.

§ 1. *The Carthaginian Invasion and the Death of Gelôn.*

B. C. 480-478.

Alliance of
Persia and
Carthage.

There seems to be no reasonable ground for doubting the statement of more than one ancient writer that the Persian attack on Old Greece and the Carthaginian attack on the Greek cities of Sicily were parts of a joint enterprise planned in concert ¹. The motive for a joint attack on the part of the two great barbarian powers of East and West is obvious. Wherever the Greek, the independent Greek, had settled, he was a thorn in the side of his barbarian neighbours, as his barbarian neighbours were a thorn in his side. If powers like Persia and Carthage were to flourish and advance, the Greek states that severally came in their way, if not actually swept away or brought down to bondage, must at least be brought under tribute. It was the growth of powers like Persia and Carthage which made a general barbarian league of this kind possible. The great kingdom of the East, the great commonwealth of the West, were barbarian powers such as the world had never seen before. They were vigorous, advancing, powers, they were active enemies of Europe in a way that no barbarian

Their new
position.

κουσίους τυραννουμένους τε δεσπόζειν τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ἐλευθερωθεῖσιν ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καταδυναστευομένους.

¹ See Appendix XVII.

powers had been before, because no barbarian powers on the same scale had ever before come into the same contact with Europe. And they were dangerous beyond all earlier barbarian powers, because both had, in different ways, something of kindred with Europe. The Aryan Persian, though he had turned aside and become part of the Asiatic world, had not lost all traces of his origin. His born superiority to the mere Asiatic races around him is shown in that strong and abiding national life of the Persian people which has lived through all conquests and led captive all conquerors. And if the Persian had not wholly lost all traces of earlier brotherhood, the Phœnicians of Africa, Spain, and Sicily, Eastern settlers in the Western world, had in some sort become part of the Western world. No other barbarian power had developed a political constitution like that of Carthage¹. CHAP. VI.

Two great powers of this kind, having a common interest in checking Hellenic growth, but which had not yet come near enough to one another to become direct rivals, were surely likely to combine for the object which both had at heart. The Persian kings kept a watchful eye on the affairs of the Greeks of the West. We have come across not a few cases of intercourse between Persia and the Greeks of Italy², and we have seen the Persian court chosen as the most obvious place of shelter on the part of a fallen Sikeliot prince³. Between Carthage and Old Greece we have less signs of intercourse; but

Inter-
course
between
Persia and
the West.

¹ See vol. i. pp. 229, 289.

² Take for instance the whole story of Dêmokêdês, Herod. iii. 125 et seqq.

³ As in the case of Skythês of Zanklê. See above, p. 114.

The opposite notion of Sicily as an obvious place of shelter from Asia comes out in a wild story of Konôn (Narr. 38; Photios, 158, Bekker) which is akin to the Letters of Phalaris. A man of Milêtos, at a time which is described as *τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου τοῦ Κύρου* [an odd genealogy] *ἐν κινδύνῳ οὖσης*, flees to the as yet unfounded Tauromenion (*εἰς τὸ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ταυρομένιον ἐπαίρει*), and there puts his money with a banker.

CHAP. VI. the great city of Africa had made a deep impression on the Greek mind, and two generations later it could find its place in dreams of Athenian ambition¹. The East and the West had quite knowledge enough of one another for Persia and Carthage to know that they had a joint interest in the attack, and for Sicily and Old Greece to know that they had a joint interest in the defence.

Carthage
not de-
pendent on
Persia.

At the same time there is no need to think, as has been inferred from some passages in ancient writers, that the advance of the Persian arms along the coast of Libya had been so successful that the Great King could not only deal with Carthage as an ally but could command her as a master². The joint interest of Persia and Carthage in opposition to the interests of Greece everywhere were enough to bring the two powers into harmony, and the Persian king had his agents for such a negotiation ready at hand. The supremacy over the old Canaan which he had inherited from earlier Asiatic powers does not seem to have been harshly exercised or to have called forth any

Position of
the old
Phœnician
cities.

special discontent³. The cities of the old Phœnicia still kept their separate being, their untouched Phœnician life, and their relations to the younger cities of their own stock. Tyre was no less the metropolis of Carthage, it was no less visited and honoured as such, its renowned temples of the national gods were none the less places of pilgrimage, because the fleets of Tyre now sailed at the bidding of the lord of Susa and Ekbatana. Indeed Persian naval action

Old-Phœ-
nician
mediation.

commonly meant Phœnician naval action⁴. The shipmen of Tyre and Sidon fought gladly against Hellas, and when

¹ Thuc. vi. 90.

² See Appendix XVII.

³ See the honourable position held by the Sidonian and Tyrian kings in the military council of Xerxes; Herod. viii. 67.

⁴ This comes out strongly in the poems of Simônides; see 96 or 157;

*ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἐλόντες
καὶ Μήδους ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα βυσάμεθα.*

So 107 or 167, and the more famous 142; Bergk, 1168.

Xerxes wished to open communications with the *Shophetim* and senate of Carthage, there were men of Tyre and Sidon ever ready to act as his envoys. And, if those communications tended to the damage of Greek interests, those envoys were sure to discharge their errand the more faithfully and zealously. Phœnician representatives of the Persian king appeared at Carthage to arrange a scheme of joint operations. Sicily and Old Greece were to be attacked at the same time. If the Carthaginians should have done their work in Sicily soon enough, they were to sail to the help of the King in Peloponnêsos, to be fellow-workers with the men of the elder Phœnicia in the strife against the common enemy everywhere¹. That the Persian attack on the Greeks of old Hellas and the Carthaginian attack on the Greeks of Sicily was the result of an agreement between the Persian king and the Carthaginian commonwealth, if not asserted by the very best evidence of all, is a statement at once probable and uncontradicted. It was one of the supreme moments in the history of the world, when the life and civilization of Europe, as yet confined to a single nation, was threatened in its two chief seats by two such powers, each of them, from different points of view, such really worthy adversaries, as those which now combined to sweep Hellas from the earth.

CHAP. VI.

Treaty
between
Persia and
Carthage.

The warfare which the Greeks had now to wage with Persia on the one hand and with Carthage on the other had some special characteristics in each of its two fields of action. The Phœnician enemy was in every way nearer to the Greek of Sicily than the Persian was to the Greek of Attica or Peloponnêsos. Carthage was an actual neighbour; she had her dependencies on the soil of Sicily itself, from whence she could at any moment pour her forces into the Hellenic territories. The position of the Sikeliots had in

Advantage
to Carthage
of her
Sicilian de-
pendencies.¹ See Appendix XVII.

CHAP. VI. truth more likeness to that of the Greeks of Asia than it had to that of the Greeks of the Greek mainland and the islands. Syracuse was as Athens would have been if there had been three powerful Persian settlements in Aitôlia, and if weaker and less dangerous barbarians had dwelled in Phôkis and Lokris. In comparing the two stories, the *quasi*-continental character of Sicily must never be forgotten. But this *quasi*-continental character touched only the great advantage which the Carthaginian drew from his abiding possession of part of Sicily itself. The Persian had no such hold on Greece as the Carthaginian had on Sicily through his dependencies at Motya, Panormos, and Solous. But, as regarded the gathering and the march of his main forces, the Persian had the easier, though the longer, path of the two. He could march from Susa and Ekbatana to Athens and Sparta with no obstacle on the part of Poseidôn beyond a strait which could be yoked with a bridge. But the whole Carthaginian power, bating the forces of the Phœnician cities in Sicily itself, had to be brought together by sea. From the shores and islands of the western Mediterranean men had to be brought to the trysting-place at Carthage, and thence carried again to the seat of war in Sicily. Picked men doubtless all of them, the flower of the barbarian warriors of Western Europe, they were brought together with more pains, and they had to be sent on their watery path with greater care, than the multitudes that marched from Asia into Europe under the Persian lash. No wonder then that, far nearer as Carthage was to its intended scene of action, the preparations of the Phœnician commonwealth took as long as the preparations of the Persian king.

March of
the two
armies.

Gathering
of the
Cartha-
ginian
armies.

Length of
prepara-
tions.

Different
result of
the warfare
in Sicily

On the other hand, when the strife was over, then the *quasi*-continental character of Sicily, its analogy to Asia rather than to Old Greece, came to light again. The victories of Salamis

and Plataia cleared the old Greek lands of Medes and Persians for ever ; it cleared them of barbarians of any kind for some ages. The victory of Himera did not clear Sicily of Phœnicians ; the victories of Mykalê and Eurymedôn did not clear Asia Minor of Persians. In both cases the barbarian was simply weakened, not rooted out. He was shut up within certain bounds, in Sicily within the bounds of his old corner. In both cases he was to come forth again with fresh power, to win back, by arms or by policy, more than he had held before. Athens and Sparta were freed, as far as the Persian was concerned, for ever ; Thebes was even freed against her own will. So Milêtos and Selinous were freed, but not for ever. A hundred years later Milêtos was again a tributary of the Persian ; seventy years later Selinous was a far more lowly tributary of the Phœnician.

CHAP. VI.
and in Old
Greece.

The agreement between Persia and Carthage provided for a joint attack on Old Greece and Greek Sicily at the same time. The effort in both cases was to be on the very greatest scale ; the dominions both of the Eastern king and of the Western commonwealth were to be taxed to the uttermost to provide all that was needed for an expedition such as had never before been seen. The tale of the King's preparations has been handed down to us in a shape which, prose as it is, we instinctively place alongside of the songs which hand down to us the tale of Ilios. Of the three years' preparations of the wise men of Carthage¹ we have no such life-like picture ; but we know that the whole barbarian world was stirred at both ends to strike a blow which was, if not to root out Hellas for ever, at least to put Greeks everywhere under the supremacy of barbarian masters. Six-and-forty nations, reckoning, if we believe the reckoning, their contingents by myriads and millions,

Prepara-
tions of the
allies.

¹ Diod. xi. 1 ; τέλος δὲ τριετὴ χρόνον περὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς ἀσχολη-
θέντες.

CHAP. VI. marched at the bidding of Xerxês¹. We have a graphic picture of the dress and the arms, of the home and the manners, of each. He who has painted for us this picture has given us the mere names, speaking names indeed some of them, of the nations which went to swell the motley host of Carthage. From Iberia and Gaul, from Liguria and Italy², from the great islands that lie between Sicily and those lands, came the men who made up the tale of her thirty myriads³. One thing is plain; those who came from Italy came simply as mercenaries; while we do see signs of joint action between Carthage and Persia, we see no signs of any joint action between Carthage and Etruria. In truth nothing but a most dangerous common foe could ever have brought those two powers into partnership, and there is no sign that they ever were so brought. Carthage and Etruria were rivals in a way in which Carthage and Persia never could be rivals, rivals for the dominion of the western basin of the Mediterranean. According to one account, the joint schemes of Persia and Carthage marked out Italiots as well as Sikeliots for Carthaginian conquest. And no people of Italy could have endured Carthaginian settlement in any part of the Italian peninsula. Gelôn was threatened by the joint efforts of Persia and Carthage;

No Etrus-
can action.

Rivalry of
Carthage
and Etru-
ria.

¹ Cf. Herod. ix. 26, 27, with the famous list in vii. 61. But there are not likely to have been contingents of all forty-six at Marathôn.

² That the *Ἑλισυκοί* of Herodotus, vii. 165, were Volscians used to be accepted (see Grote, v. 296) as a happy guess of Niebuhr. But Holm (i. 415) and Busolt (ii. 263) quote the explanation of *Ἑλισυκοί* as *ἔθνος Λιγύων* given by Stephen of Byzantium from Ephoros (p. 20). This is unlucky for the etymology; but Diodôros (xi. 1), reckoning up the Carthaginian force, says distinctly *μισθοφόρους συνήγον ἐκ τε τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Λιγυστικῆς ἔτι δὲ Γαλατίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας*. And I do not see that this is set aside by saying with Busolt that Ephoros changed the tradition according to the usage of his own age, when Campanian mercenaries were common. Why should not Carthage in 480 hire Volscians or any other Italians?

³ Diod. xi. 5. But we have the same figures in Herod. vii. 165.

it was Hierôn who was threatened by the power of Etruria after Carthage and Persia had withdrawn from the field. CHAP. VI.

The Carthaginians then were making ready for the invasion of Sicily; Xerxês was beginning his march for the invasion of Old Greece¹. Old Greece itself was divided. Some of her commonwealths had given earth and water to the barbarian. Others were making ready to withstand him to the death, if only they could bring about enough of unity among themselves to enable them to withstand him at all. The representatives of the Greeks who kept the better mind² were gathered at the Isthmus to devise means for the common deliverance. They sought how all the Greek folk everywhere might be as one, how they might join together in the same work, and so escape the danger that was hanging over all³. To that end they sent their envoys hither and thither; among others they sent them to the mightiest power of the whole Greek name; for none was there so great as the lord of Syracuse⁴. In such an embassy we should have looked for the mother-city of Syracuse to take the lead; but of Corinthian envoys we hear nothing; the speakers whose alleged words have been preserved are the Spartan Syagros and a nameless Athenian⁵. It may deserve a passing thought whether, now that Syracuse was under the rule of a man of Gela, the tie between metropolis and colony

March of
Xerxês.

The Greeks
at the
Isthmus.
B. C. 480.

Their em-
bassy to
Gelon.

¹ See Appendix XVII.

² Herod. vii. 145; οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὰ ἀμείνω φρονέοντες.

³ Ib.; εἴ πως ἔν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τὸν πῦρ πῆρσι πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἕλλησι. The lesson of all ages, once carried out in our century, and then called "an untoward event."

⁴ Ib.; τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πράγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω.

⁵ Ib. 157; ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι.

CHAP. VI. could have been so keenly felt as it assuredly was both earlier and later. But the reported dialogue between Gelôn and the Athenian and Lacedæmonian envoys is one of the most famous scenes in Grecian history. The unlucky thing is that to accept the speeches recorded by Herodotus as reports of anything that was actually said is to cast aside all the known circumstances of the case. It is to attribute to the representatives of Athens and Sparta a measure of empty boastfulness and a lack of the most ordinary prudence which seems to pass all belief¹. When men in great danger ask for help of a powerful kinsman, they do not go out of their way elaborately to insult him.

The
speeches in
Herodotus.

Help from
Gelôn im-
possible.

As the story stands, Gelôn is prayed to give help to Old Greece against the Persian, exactly as if he were free to devote the whole power of his dominions to that end. Yet, as the course of events is conceived, and no doubt rightly conceived, by Herodotus himself, Gelôn had a perfectly good answer to any such appeal². He could no more help those who asked his help than they could help him: The barbarian confederacy was aimed at both alike; if Athens and Sparta were threatened by the Persian, Syracuse and Akragas were equally threatened by the Carthaginian. The envoys are made to set forth to Gelôn, as one in high place among the powers of Hellas—ruler of Sicily they call him³—the danger which hangs over Hellas everywhere. If the Persian should overcome Old Greece, he will assuredly come on to Sicily also.

First
speech of
the envoys.

Answer of
Gelôn.

Gelôn is made to answer, in words on which we have already had to comment⁴, that the Greeks of Old Greece had refused to give him any help when he had fought

¹ See Appendix XIX.

² See Grote, v. 292, and Appendix XIX.

³ Herod. vii. 157; *Σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τε ἦκεις μεγάλης καὶ μοῖρά τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μετὰ, ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης.*

⁴ See above, p. 98, and Appendix VIII.

against the barbarian to avenge the death of Dôrieus. CHAP. VI.
 They had left him to fight the battle, while they had shared in the commercial advantages which his success had won for all Greeks everywhere. For all that the Greeks of Old Greece had done to hinder it, the spot whereon their envoys now stood might be a barbarian possession¹. It was only when danger touched themselves that they thought of Gelôn². Yet he would return good for evil; he was ready to help them with a mighty force, two hundred triremes, twenty thousand heavy-armed, two thousand horse, two thousand light horse, two thousand bowmen, and two thousand slingers. He will further provide food for the whole armament as long as the war might last—the ruler of Sicily could make such a promise less rashly than other men. But all must be on one condition; the lord of Syracuse must be commander-in-chief of the whole forces of united Hellas.

His offers
and de-
mands.

A demand like this might be startling; but it was surely in no way unreasonable in one who could offer help on such a scale. The only question is whether any offer of help could then and there have been made at all. In any case we are surely in the land of romance when the Spartan envoy is made to answer, with a scrap of Homer pressed into his service, how the Pelopid Agamemnôn would mourn if the command were taken away from Sparta and given to Gelôn and the Syracusans³. The appeal to

Exclama-
tion of
Syagros.

¹ Herod. vii. 158; τὸ δὲ κατ' ὑμέας, τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι νέμεται.

² Ib.; νῦν δὲ, ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπῖκται ἐς ὑμέας, οὕτω δὴ Γέλανος μῆστις γέγονε.

³ Ib. 159; ἥ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων, πυθόμενος Σπαρτήτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαραιρῆσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλανός τε καὶ Συρηκουσίων. The obvious reference is to Il. i. 255;

ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες

and more directly in words, though with less point, to Il. vii. 125;

ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε γέρον ἱππηλάτα Πηλεΐς.

We may notice the cadence of the hexameter which is clearly aimed at,

CHAP. VI. the Pelopid Agamemnôn in mouth of a Dorian of Sparta speaking to a Dorian of Syracuse or Gela was really about as much to the purpose as an appeal to the shade of British Arthur would be in the mouth of an envoy from England speaking to a President of the United States. Yet the thing is possible; we know how often Greek diplomacy turned, or was expected to turn, on arguments drawn from legendary times, and we know the strange confusions of thought which had come about through the rule of Herakleid princes over a Dorian army. But what follows passes belief in any case, unless the threats of Agamemnôn to Achilles were taken as a model by his votaries. Let Gelôn not talk any more of the command for himself; if he chose to help Greece, he must be under the command of the Lacedæmonians; if he did not choose to be under their command, he had better not send any help¹. The tyrant appears throughout as a miracle of patience. After some moral sentiments and reflexions, he says that, as the other side are so hard to deal with, he will abate somewhat of his demand. He will be satisfied with the command either by land or by sea only, whichever they may think good; if he is refused both, they must go without his help².

Mythical
diplomacy.

Compro-
mise
offered by
Gelôn.

Speech
of the
Athenian
envoy.

At this stage, when the Spartan is silenced, the Athenian is made to chime in with a speech of no less folly than that of his colleague. He too has his quotation from Homer; but he keeps it till the end of his speech, and

though the metre is not perfect, like the "scoffing anapaestic cadence" of the oligarchic oath quoted in p. 135.

Perhaps the confusion of land and folk (kith and kin) was never carried further than in this notion of Agamemnôn caring for Dorian Spartans. Still we must remember the Achaian origin of the kings (cf. Herod. v. 72).

¹ Herod. vii. 159; *εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ δικαιοῖς ἀρχεσθαι, σὺν δὲ μὴ βοηθέειν*.

² Ib. 160; *καὶ ἡ τοῦτοις ὑμέας χρέων ἐστὶ ἀρέσκεσθαι, ἢ ἀπιέναι συμμαχῶν τοιῶνδε ἐρήμους*. Every word in this most curious dialogue is worth notice.

refers to his author by name. Whether in mockery or CHAP. VI.
 from any other cause, he is made to give Gelôn the
 royal title. The King of the Syracusans is told that
 Hellas had sent to ask, not for a general but for an army.
 He, Gelôn, had said nothing about sending an army,
 unless he were to be himself the chief captain of all
 Hellas¹. As long as he had spoken of claiming that
 headship, it was for the Athenian to hold his peace, know-
 ing that the envoy of Lacedæmon could speak for both.
 But now that Gelôn spoke specially of a command by sea,
 he, the Athenian, must tell him that, even if the Spartans
 agreed to yield it to him, his own fellow-citizens would not.
 The command by sea the Athenians would yield to a
 Lacedæmonian, but to none other. It would be in vain
 that they had brought together the greatest naval force in
 Greece, if they, Athenians, were to yield the command of
 it to Syracusans. The Athenians were the most ancient Athenian
 people of Greece; they, alone among the Greeks, had never boasts.
 changed their dwelling-place. They were not ashamed to
 make their boast, for it was an Athenian of whom Homer
 in his verse had spoken as the best of all men to marshal
 and drill an army. The patience of Gelôn at last changed Final
 into wrathful sarcasm. He told the Athenians that they answer of
 seemed to be well off for commanders, but not to be so Gelôn.
 rich in men for them to command². If they still claimed
 all for themselves and would yield nothing, they would do
 well to get them home as fast as they could, and to tell
 Greece that the spring was taken out of her year³.

So outrageous a form of outspoken folly as is here

¹ Herod. vii. 161; ὡς δὲ στρατηγήσεις αὐτῆς [Ἑλλάδος] γλίχεται. On the phrase ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρηκουσίων see Appendix XIX.

² Ib. 162; εἶνε Ἀθηναίε, ὑμεῖς οἰκατε τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρξομένους οὐκ ἔξειν.

³ Ib.; ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαπαί-
 τηται. Herodotus need hardly have spent so many words as he has to
 explain this pithy saying.

CHAP. VI. attributed to the Athenian and Spartan envoys passes all
 Character of the speeches. belief. But one may be inclined to see in these famous speeches a certain element of satire. The speeches are a grotesquely exaggerated expression of certain traditional feelings and habits of the Greeks of the mother-country which could hardly fail to show themselves in a comic light to any Sikeliot of a sarcastic turn. We can well believe that in the cities of Old Greece there was a certain feeling of jealousy towards a colonial power like Syracuse which had just made such a sudden start in the world. To Spartans and to Athenians Syracuse would be simply such an upstart power. Neither of them was its metropolis; they would have none of the kindly home feeling, the feeling of parental pride, which Corinth might still bear to a daughter that had become so great, even under the rule of a stranger. Something of condescension might even unwittingly show itself in the diplomacy of the old states towards the younger. It was a tyrant too to whom they had to make their petition, and both at Sparta and at Athens the hatred of tyrants was still lively. Even the last form of address to Gelôn, the giving him the name of king, might be a sarcastic outburst of this feeling. And we must remember that Athens herself was really somewhat of an upstart power. Her greatness was almost as new as that of Syracuse; her position in Greece was not acknowledged like that of Sparta; she had to be always asserting her antiquity, to be always quoting Homer, sometimes, her enemies said, falsifying him¹. She is well conceived as the power which, by no means with general consent, claims the second place, and whose policy it is to profess for the moment an almost ostentatious submission to the power that holds the first place. In all these ways, though the exaggeration is manifest, the position is well

Feeling between Old Greece and the colonies.

Position of Athens.

¹ See the dispute about Salamis in Strabo, ix. i. 10, and Plutarch, Solon, 10.

caught. The whole reads like a piece of Syracusan satire which was passed off on Herodotus as a report of speeches actually made. He was further told in Sicily that, after all, Gelôn would have given help to Greece, if the Carthaginian invasion had not hindered him. But the certainty that the Carthaginian invasion was coming must have equally hindered him from offering help. Even setting aside exaggeration and satire, the only way in which we could believe the most meagre outline of the speeches to be historical would be if we could fancy Gelôn playing the dangerous game of making demands so great that he felt sure that they must be refused. That was the game which Nikias played just before the Athenian invasion of Syracuse, and with him it was not lucky.

There is another point in which the speeches and the whole account of the dealings of the allied Greeks with Gelôn is highly instructive. The language used illustrates the abiding difficulty of finding a befitting nomenclature between a motherland and its colonies, dependent or independent. We find the difficulty in our own experience. The word "English" has now been for a good while opposed to the word "American"; it has latterly come to be opposed to the word "Australian." Those words at an earlier stage in each case meant the savages of America and Australia, not the English settlers in those lands. Now they are applied to the English of America and the English of Australia to distinguish them from the English of Britain. And yet ever and anon there come times when it is hard to avoid applying the English name to all the sharers in English blood and speech. So in this narrative the word *Hellas* and its derivatives are sometimes used so as to take in the Greeks of Sicily, sometimes so as to shut them out. Envoys of the Greeks come to Gelôn¹. Gelôn is asked to help *Hellas* as something

CHAP. VI.
Probable
origin of
the story.

Nomencla-
ture of
colonial
and parent
states.

Use of the
word
English.

¹ Herod. vii. 157; οἱ ἀγγελοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

CHAP. VI.
Like use
of *Hellas*
and *Hellên*.

Inconsis-
tent use
in the
speeches.

which he himself stands outside of¹. He addresses the envoys as *Hellênes*, as by a name in which he has no share². He bids them go back to *Hellas*, as to a land of which the spot where they are standing forms no part³. Yet *Gelôn* and his power are spoken of as part of *Hellas*, and no mean part⁴. He and his people are *Hellênes*, threatened by the same dangers as other *Hellênes*. If the whole Hellenic folk are to join together, *Gelôn* and his people must join as well as the rest⁵. That is to say, *Hellas* is the land of the *Hellênes* wherever they settle; England is the land of the English wherever they settle. Yet the two names have become so specially attached to that seat of the Hellenic or the English folk where possession is both oldest and most complete, they have gone so far towards putting on a sense purely geographical, that in both cases it needs some effort to extend the name from its geographical to its national use. But, by a happy accident of language, *Hellas* remained an adjective; it was therefore easier to speak of the younger *Naxos* and the younger *Megara* as cities of *Hellas* than it is now to speak of the younger *Boston* and the younger *Melbourne* as cities of *England*. By another happy accident, the Greek tongue could distinguish the *Sikel* and the *Sikeliot*, while we have no such power of coining endings to distinguish the native savage of *America* or *Australia* from the English settlers in his land. And again, *Sikelia* had the good luck not to bear any arbitrary fancy name like *America* and *Australia*, but to be called after the national name of the chief among her elder people. On the other hand, the modern metropolis had, till it cast it away, an advantage in nomenclature over the

¹ Herod. vii. 159; εἰ βούλει βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

² Ib. 158. He begins his speech with ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες.

³ Ib. 162; ἀπαλασσόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

⁴ Ib. 157; μοιρά τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μέτα.

⁵ Ib.; βοηθεῖ δὲ τοῖσι ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συνελευθέρου. ἀλλῆς γὰρ γινομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς, χεῖρ μεγάλη συνάγεται.

elder one. For a long time the word opposed to "America" was not the national name "English," but the geographical name "British." An American Gelôn might have told British envoys to go back to Britain, while asserting himself to be a very important member of the English folk. But the general analogy is a near one; in both cases we see how hard it is to keep nomenclature perfectly accurate and consistent. At all events, none of the disputants looked forward to a day, a day which we shall come across before our Sicilian story is fully told, when the name Hellên had put on a meaning wholly theological, when the name Hellas had put on a meaning wholly geographical, and when men who spoke no tongue but that of Hellas had to distinguish the people of the local Hellas by the newly-coined name of *Helladikoi*¹.

CHAP. VI.

English
and
British.Ἕλληνες
and
Ἕλλαδικοί.

The notion that Gelôn had any serious thought of sending help to the allied Greeks at the Isthmus, either before or after the envoys went away, may be dismissed as inconsistent with the circumstances of the case. If the question had really arisen, he might, as Herodotus suggests, have been disinclined—and perhaps not wholly unreasonably disinclined—to go to Peloponnêsos merely that he, tyrant of Sicily as he is called, should act under Lacedæmonian orders². It may well be that, as the same writer also suggests, he expected that the Greeks would in any case be defeated³. At any rate, what he really did with regard to the Persian invasion of Old Greece was to be ready for the chance of that invasion being successful.

Real action
of Gelôn.

¹ See the revolt of the Orthodox Ἕλλαδικοί against the Iconoclast Emperor Leo, in Theoph. i. 623, ed. Bonn.

² Herod. vii. 163; δεινὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεισθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν Σικελίῃ τύραννος.

³ Ib.; δέισας περὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μὴ οὐ δυνέωνται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι. The witness of Herodotus is of immeasurably greater strength for actual fact than for these surmises and speeches.

CHAP. VI. Had either Carthaginians or Persians succeeded in their immediate share of the enterprise, the victors were to go on to the help of their allies in Old Greece or in Sicily as might happen. It was therefore possible that Gelôn might have to fight, not only against the Carthaginians and their allies in Sicily, but also against the great Persian host or some large detachment of it, flushed with victories in Attica and Peloponnêsos. Against such a joint attack he doubtless felt that he could not bear up. He therefore took means to ward off the attack of one of his foes, the foe who was the more distant and the less certain to come against him. The Persian again, in the case of the greatest success, was not likely to aim at more than a supremacy over Syracuse and all Greek Sicily; the Phœnicians were likely to aim at utter bondage or destruction.

Different positions of Persia and Carthage.

Gelôn sends Kadmos to Delphoi;

When Gelôn therefore heard that Xerxês had really crossed the Hellespont, he sent a trusty agent to Delphoi to watch the course of affairs. This was the righteous man Kadmos, son of Skythês of Kôs, whom we have already seen first lay down the tyranny of his native island and then bear a part in the settlement of very unrighteous men at Zanklê¹. By this time his Samian comrades had been driven out to make room for the mixed multitude planted in Zanklê by Anaxilas², and Kadmos had seemingly, like so many others, entered the service of Gelôn, and had doubtless received the citizenship of Syracuse. He was now sent by Gelôn, with three ships of fifty oars and a great treasure, with orders to wait and see what might happen. If the Greeks were victorious, he was to do nothing and to come back again. If the Great King had the better, he was to offer him the treasure in Gelôn's name, and withal to give earth and water as a sign of the submission of all Gelôn's dominions³.

¹ See above, p. 110.

² See above, p. 115.

³ Herod. vii. 163; πέμπει Κάδμον . . . παραδοκῆσοντα τὴν μάχην ἢ πεσέε-

By that means, if the war with Carthage was still undecided, or decided in favour of Gelôn, the further advance of the Persians would most likely be stayed. Gelôn would have acknowledged the Persian as his lord; but the supremacy of a lord at such a distance was likely to be little more than nominal. But, as all the world knows, things took another turn. Kadmos waited till after the battle of Salamis, and went back to Syracuse to hail his master as victor of Himera. And it was set down as a sign of his exceptional righteousness that he did go back and took the money with him. It seems to have been thought that the more obvious course would have been for Kadmos to go off to some other part of the world with the treasures of Gelôn and to turn them to his own use¹.

CHAP. VI.

Kadmos
goes back
to Gelôn.

Meanwhile Gelôn and his ally Thêrôn were doing their share of the work of Hellas and Europe. Though preparations had long been making at Carthage, the immediate attack was brought about by an event which was its occasion and not its cause. Most of the great wars and revolutions of Sicily—and not of Sicily only—were immediately brought about by the appeal made by some discontented person or party in the island to an enemy who was simply watching his opportunity. So disloyal Christians brought in the Saracen; so disloyal Mussulmans brought in the Norman. In each case all that the immediate petition for help really did was to fix the immediate time and place of an invasion which was already planning. The blow would before long have assuredly fallen in some other time and

Occasions
and causes.

ται, κ.τ.λ. The mission of Kadmos is doubtless a fact, and there seems no reason to question its alleged object.

¹ Gelôn sent him (Herod. vii. 164) διὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν οἱ αὐτὸς ἄλλην συνῆδαι ἐούσαν. (See above, p. 110.) His coming back with the money is thus described; ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δικαίοις τοῖσι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ ἐργασμένοις καὶ τὸδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἐλείπετο. κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων χρημάτων τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπετο, παρεὼν κατασχέσθαι, οὐκ ἤθελησε.

CHAP. VI. place. So it was now. An application from Sicily for Carthaginian help in local warfare brought the fleet of Carthage at the particular moment when it came, and led it to the north side of the island, instead of to the south. It cannot have done more.

Treason of
Têrillos of
Himera.

The immediate traitor to Hellas in this case was Têrillos of Himera, the forerunner alike of Euphêmios and of Ibn-Thimna, the man who plays in the West the part which Hippias of Athens plays in the East. In each case it is a banished tyrant who calls in the barbarian. Têrillos had been driven out of Himera by the lord of Akragas.

Têrillos
driven out
by Thêron.

Whether Thêron had simply annexed Himera to the dominions of Akragas, or whether he had been called in by a Himeraian party as a deliverer from a local master, we have no means of judging¹. But Têrillos had ties of hospitality with the Carthaginian Hamilkar son of Hannôn, who then held the post of Shophet, and, as such, is spoken

His rela-
tions to
Hamilkar.

of by the Greek writers as king². Hamilkar was the son of a Syracusan mother³. This may or may not imply that, in the days when the Phœnician powers were not yet dangerous to eastern Sicily, the right of *connubium* had been established between Syracuse and Carthage. Têrillos was zealously supported by his father-in-law Anaxilas of Rhêgion and Zanklê. The lord of two Greek cities

Hamilkar's
Syracusan
kindred.

Action of
Anaxilas.

¹ Herod. vii. 165; ὑπὸ Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου Ἀκραγαντίνων μονάρχου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐξ Ἰμέρης Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινίππου, τύραννος ἐὼν Ἰμέρης. Grote (v. 295) and Holm (i. 205) both suggest the action of a party in Himera.

² The great host of Carthage had στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Ἀννωνος, Καρχηδονίαν ἔοντα βασιλέα (Herod. vii. 165). He adds (166), βασιλεύσαντα κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίαν.

Should his name be written *Hamilkar* or *Amilkar*? Movers (i. 615) and others make the name חרברכמ, like Obadiah, Obed-edom, Abd-ul-Hamid, like *Gilchrist*, Χριστόδουλος, or the Persian Tahnasp-Kouli Khan. In English transliteration the *ν* is commonly left out, and I have written *Asdrubal* for חרברכמ, like *Azariah*. But I have surely seen the name somewhere connected, not with חרברכמ, but with חנה, like *Hannibal*.

³ Herod. vii. 166; Καρχηδόνιον ἔοντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκόσιον.

earnestly pressed Hamilkar to an expedition against Sicily: CHAP. VI.
 he went so far as to give his children as hostages for
 his own faithfulness to the Phœnician cause¹. We thus Compari-
son with
old Greece.
 find the same kind of division in Sicily which we find
 in Old Greece. The part of Athens and Sparta and the
 other patriotic cities is played by Syracuse and Akra-
 gas, while Anaxilas represents the medizing states of the
 motherland, as Têrillos represents the banished Peisistra-
 tids. There is indeed one difference. Hippias came to
 Marathôn, and Thebes gave active help to Xerxês at
 Plataia; but we hear nothing of any share taken by
 Têrillos or Anaxilas in the campaign of Himera. But
 Selinous, most likely as a dependency of Carthage, was
 either ready or was constrained to give help to the ruling
 city. It was Syracuse and Akragas, Gelôn and Thêrôn, Pre-
eminence
of Gelôn
and
Thêrôn.
 with the other cities over which Gelôn and Thêrôn ruled,
 on whom at this time fell the championship of Hellas in
 the West.

The fleet, with the motley host that it bore, set forth from Numbers
of the
Punic
army.
 Carthage. The figures, no more trustworthy than figures
 in general, speak, besides the three hundred thousand fight-
 ing men, of perhaps two thousand ships of war, and three
 thousand vessels of burthen, carrying the stores of the host,
 and also the horses and the war-chariots². The use of these The war-
chariots.
 last Carthage would seem to have inherited from Jabin
 and the other warriors of the elder Canaan. Their men-
 tion now and in later times is perhaps a little startling;
 but they were seemingly used in the earlier Carthaginian

¹ Herod. vii. 165; *μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλειον . . . προθυμίην, ὅς . . . τὰ ἑωντοῦ τέκνα δοὺς ὁμήρους Ἀμίλκα, ἐπήγέ μιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην, τιμωρέων τῷ πειθερῶ.*

² In Diod. xi. 20, for *δισχιλίων*, as the number of the *μακρὰ νῆες*, most modern writers, as Busolt (ii. 267), seem silently to correct *διακοσίων*. The larger number is clearly exaggerated; but one might have looked for something greater than the smaller. On the chariots see Judges i. 19, iv. 3.

CHAP. VI. campaigns before the elephants had been brought into use, as the chief means of breaking the ranks of the enemy. The suppliant from Himera is not spoken of at this stage, but it was surely he who directed the course of the voyage.

Direction
of the
fleet.

The fleet of Hamilkar did not, as might have been expected, sail straight to the nearest side of Sicily, and at once strike a great blow by an attack on Akragas in company with the Greek allies of Carthage at Selinous. When Selinous was hostile, the grandson of Hamilkar made Lilybaion his landing-place¹; but Selinous itself would seem the most obvious head-quarters for an attack on Akragas with Selinuntine help. But the cry for help had come from the fallen lord of Himera. His city was therefore chosen as the first point of attack. The campaign was to be waged on the northern, not on the southern, coast of Sicily. Thêrôn, and through him Gelôn, could be attacked on either side.

The fleet
at Pan-
ormos.

This point being fixed, the obvious landing-place and centre of warfare was the chief seat of Phœnician power in the island. The fleet set sail for Panormos. On the voyage a storm arose which sank the vessels that carried the horses and chariots². Though weakened in this arm, the main body sailed safely along the western coast of Sicily. It passed under the height of Eryx, and by the shore of inland Segesta. As Hamilkar entered the two-fold haven of Panormos, he is reported to have said that the war was over. His fear had been that the sea, which had thus far fought for the Greeks of Sicily, should altogether decide the struggle in their favour³. After three days spent at Panormos, the host set forth for Himera. The land force marched along the lower ground between the hills and the sea, while the fleet sailed in concert along the coast. Neither force seems to have met with

Saying of
Hamilkar.

¹ Diod. xiii. 54.

² Ib. xi. 20.

³ Ib.; μήποτε ἡ θάλαττα τοὺς Σικελιώτας ἐξέλῃται τῶν κινδύνων.

BATTLE OF HIMERA

Probable Route of Gelon's Army - - - - -

SCALE OF 1 ENGLISH MILE

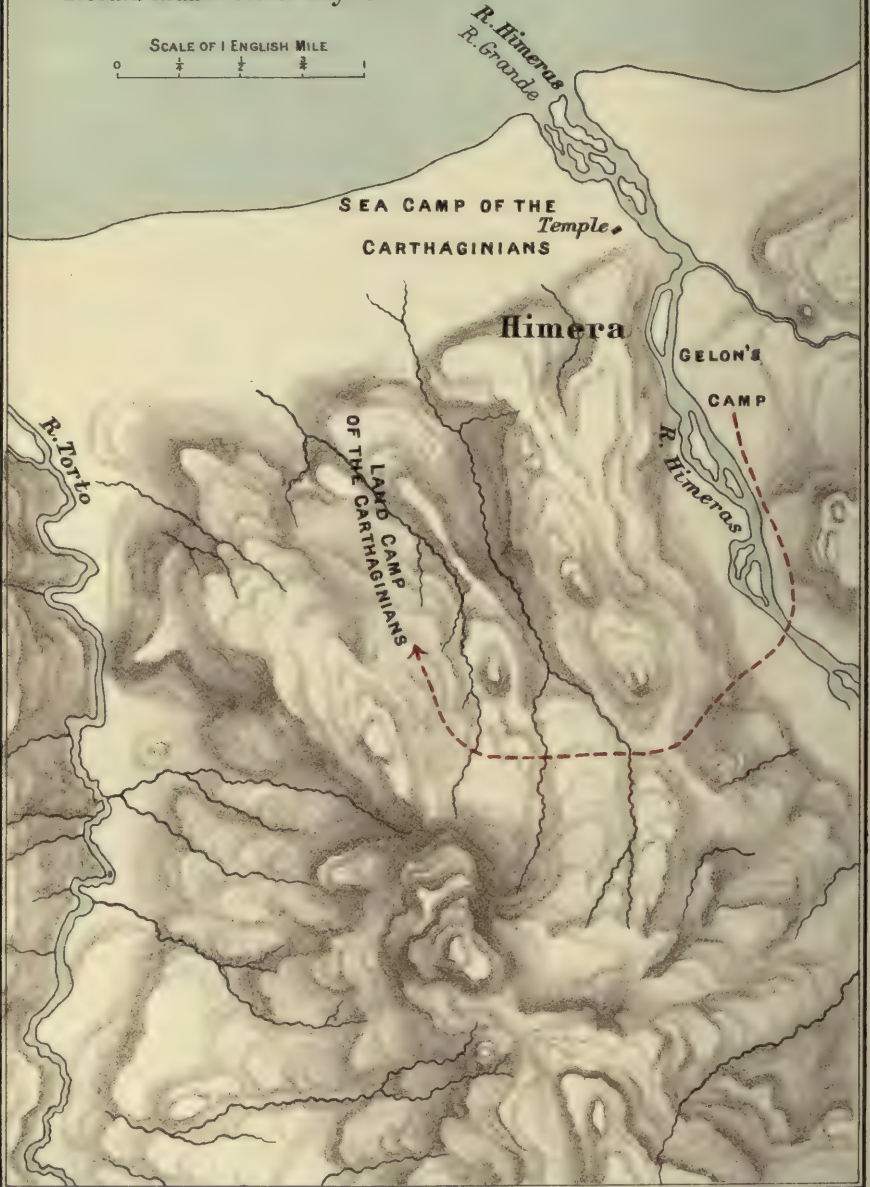


SEA CAMP OF THE
Temple
CARTHAGINIANS

Himera

GELON'S
CAMP

LAND CAMP
OF THE CARTHAGINIANS



any opposition till they came close to the town of Himera, to which they at once laid siege on two sides.

CHAP. VI.
Landing at
Himera.
Position of
Himera.

Himera, as we have already seen ¹, lay on the left bank of the northern river of its own name, the modern *Fiume Grande*, between its mouth and that of the smaller stream of the *Fiume Torto*. It stood on the edge of the higher ground skirted by the present road from Palermo to Cefalù, with about a mile of flat ground between the town and the sea. The town was now, as we have seen, in possession of the lord of Akragas, and Thêrôn in person was within its walls, in command of a large force ². His presence at Himera shows that he knew what was the intended point of Carthaginian attack; yet it may be that at the actual moment of Hamilkar's coming the attack was unexpected. Here was the main difference between the Persian invasion of old Greece and the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily. Xerxes could not strike a sudden blow. All his doings on his long march could not fail to be known to the whole world, and those whom he threatened could be ready for him at every point. But though the Sicilian Greeks had long known that a Punic invasion was coming, they could not tell the exact time and place where the blow would fall. The stroke might be sudden, and it seems to have been so. The Greek allies of Thêrôn do not show themselves till later; the Greek allies of Hamilkar do not show themselves at all. Of Anaxilas we hear never a word; of Selinuntines we do hear that Hamilkar bade them by letter—sent perhaps from Panormos—to send their horse to Himera by a certain day, and that they sent back an answer, pledging themselves to do as he bade them ³. Hamilkar was able to form a double

Thêrôn at
Himera.

Agreement
of Hamil-
kar with
the Seli-
nuntines.

¹ See vol. i. p. 414.

² Diod. xi. 20; Θήρων δ' Ακραγαντίνων δυνάστης ἔχων δύναμιν ἱκανὴν καὶ παραφυλάττων τὴν Ἱμέραν.

³ Ib. 21.

CHAP. VI. camp before Himera without hindrance. He occupied the low ground between the town and the sea by the mouth of the river. Here he drew the mass of his triremes on shore, and fenced them in with a deep ditch and a wall of wood ¹. For his land force he made another camp, which joined the camp by the sea on one side, but which stretched further inland ². While the sea-camp lay wholly between the hills of Himera and the sea, the land-camp spread itself so far that it altogether hemmed in the city on the western side ³. That is to say, it must have stretched over the low hills to the west of the hill of Himera, and over the valley which parts them as far as the high ground to the south. And this is as much as saying that the city had already so far spread over the western part of its own hill as to have fortifications on that side ⁴. On two sides therefore, west and north, Himera was fast shut in; but the language of our story in no way suggests that there was any regular investment of the town on the landward side to the south. Outposts of course there may have been, and the plunderers would doubtless be busy there. But there can hardly have been any greater operations. The hill, as we have seen ⁵, dies away on that side very gradually into the general mass of ground, high and low. The valley to the west and the dale of the Himeras do not actually meet so as to isolate the hill; there is always something of an isthmus between them. The south side was therefore comparatively open; but this was not the side on which anything was likely to approach the city. It was to the east that Himera lay most open, alike

Double camp before Himera.

Extent of the land-camp;

of the city.

The town not fully surrounded.

The landward side open.

¹ Diod. xi. 20; τάφρων βαθεία καὶ τείχει ξυλίνφ.

² Ib.; τὴν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν παρεμβολὴν ἀχύρωσεν, ἀντιπρόσωπον ποιήσας τῇ πόλει, καὶ παρεκτείνας ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παρατειχίσματος μέχρι τῶν ὑπερκειμένων λόφων. These λόφοι I take to be the high points to the south.

³ Ib.; καθόλου πᾶν τὸ πρὸς δυσμὰς μέρος καταλαβόμενος.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 416.

⁵ See vol. i. p. 415.

to Greek friends from Syracuse and to Greek enemies from Zanklê. Hamilkar however does not seem to have spread his lines to the east of the river. The sea-camp was to the north, the land-camp to the west. The ships of burthen had carried a stock of provisions which were brought on shore for immediate use; the vessels that carried it were sent off to Africa and Sardinia to fetch more¹. The Phœnician part of Sicily is not spoken of; its contributions had most likely been already taken in during the stay at Panormos. Twenty triremes were not drawn on shore, but were left afloat to keep watch against any sudden need².

Having thus made his military arrangements for a siege, Hamilkar led out a picked body of men³—we should like to know which of all the nations gathered under his banners were specially chosen for such a service—to an attack on the city, perhaps rather to challenge its defenders to come forth and try their strength. A sally was made from Himera, most likely from its western side. Whether it was led by Thêrôn in person we are not told; but the battle or skirmish was unfavourable to the men of Himera or of Akragas. Not a few were slain, and the hearts of Thêrôn and his followers sank within them⁴. They shrank from any further unassisted attempts at resistance; and Thêrôn sent a message to his ally at Syracuse, praying him to come with all speed to the deliverance of Himera.

Battle
before
Himera;

defeat of
the Greeks.

Message
sent to
Gelôn.

We know not whether Gelôn had been looking for a Carthaginian attack on Syracuse itself. On the one hand, he was fully equipped for immediate action; on the other,

Gelôn's
prepara-
tions.

¹ Diod. xi. 26.

² This appears from Diod. xi. 24; *εἴκοσι ναῦς μακρὰ διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον, ὥς Ἀμίλκας οὐκ ἐνεώληκε πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας*. By this we must correct the words of c. 20, *τὰς μακρὰς ναῦς ἀπάσας ἐνεώληκε*.

³ Ib. 20; *τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀναλαβάν*.

⁴ Ib. 20; *κατεπλήξατο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὁ Θήρων φοβηθείς*.

CHAP. VI.

Gifts of
Damareta
and the
matrons.

Numbers
of the
Syracusan
army.

The
cavalry.

March to
Himera.

the fact that he was at Syracuse and not at Himera seems to show that he had not looked for the blow to fall at the point where it did fall. During the time of waiting, his preparations had been busy and vigorous; but the only detail that we hear of is the sacrifice made by his wife Damareta and the other noble matrons of his dominions. They gave up their ornaments to the public service, and out of them a special coinage was struck for the payment of the troops, which bore the name of the wife of Gelôn¹. His care had prospered so well that he had a host ready to march at the moment when the news came of the distress of Himera². If figures are to be trusted, he set forth at the head of a greater force than he had offered to send to the help of Old Greece. That last was doubtless conceived as only part of the warlike strength of the lord of Syracuse, while the army that marched to Himera might seem to be the whole. The numbers are given as fifty thousand footmen, without distinction between heavy-armed and others, and five thousand horse. The great proportion of this last force, as compared with the armies of Sparta or even of Athens, marks the number of wealthy men in Syracuse and the other cities under Gelôn's rule, and further points to the special advantages of the horse-breeding land of Sicily. He pressed with all speed to Himera;

¹ Busolt (ii. 260) prefers, and I think rightly, this explanation, that of the lexicographers, Julius Pollux (ix. 85) and Hésychios (v. Δημαρέτιον), to the story in Diodôros, xi. 26. This last connects the coinage with the crown voted to Damareta after the victory. It is hard to see how the money could be coined out of that. Pollux mentions that other women had a share. See also the Scholiast on Pindar, Ol. ii. 29 (purporting to quote Timaios); Δημαρέτη, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ Δημαρέτιον νόμισμα ἐν Σικελίᾳ. Bergk has found a reference in Simônides, Ep. 141, as he has corrected it by putting together the extracts in the Scholiast on Pyth. i. 155, and Soudas in Δαρέτιον. He thus gives us two lines;

ἕξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων

Δαμαρέτου χρυσοῦ, τὰς δεκάτας δεκάταν.

But is it not a little harsh to make Δαμάρετος an adjective?

² Diod. xi. 21; ὁ δὲ Γέλων καὶ αὐτὸς ἡτοιμακῶς ἦν τὴν δύναμιν.

we should be glad to hear something of the details of his march. If he took a straight course, he would go right through the heart of the Sikel country and by Henna itself. Unluckily we are told nothing at this time of the elder inhabitants of the land. We are left to guess that they stood aloof during this strife for the dominion of their soil between the two more fortunate nations which had planted themselves among them.

CHAP. VI.

No mention of Sikels.

In the story, as it is told us, a story which of course comes from Syracusan and not from Akragantine sources, there seems a certain disposition to put the energy of Gelôn in contrast with the faint-heartedness of Thêrôn. But we can hardly doubt that Gelôn really was the chief actor in the great deliverance that was coming. He drew near to Himera on the eastern side, doubtless along the broad valley of the winding river, gladdening the hearts of the besieged as they saw the relieving force draw near¹. On the right bank of the river he pitched a camp of his own, defended by a deep ditch and palisade, but keeping up a close communication with the besieged city. Himera was in short hemmed in between two camps, one of friends, the other of enemies². The presence of the friendly army kindled again the spirits of the besieged, and, before risking the decisive struggle with the enemy, Gelôn took every means to keep up the hearts of all on his side. Till his coming, the defenders of Himera had ceased to venture beyond their walls, while marauders from the Punic camp spread freely over the whole country, foraging and plundering. It was a new thing for them when they were hunted down by the Syracusan horsemen and carried off as captives,

Gelôn and Thêrôn.

Gelôn's camp.

¹ Diod. xi. 21; ἐποίησε θαρρεῖν τοὺς πρότερον καταπεπληγμένους τὰς τῶν Καρχηδονίαν δυνάμεις.

² Ib.; αὐτὸς στρατοπεδείαν οἰκείαν βαλόμενος τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν τόπων, ταύτην μὲν ὠχύρωσε, τάφρων βαθεία καὶ χαρακώματι περιλαβών. The site is not mentioned; but it cannot fail to have been where I have put it in the text.

CHAP. VI.
Gelôn
and the
prisoners.

to the number of ten thousand, into the Syracusan camp¹. It must have been now, if ever, that Gelôn practised the device which is attributed to him, as it is to some later Greek generals, of selling his prisoners naked. Men used to the games of Greece were to be shown the difference between themselves and their enemies, above all, between themselves and the swarthy Africans². We are told too that Thêrôn, in his fright, had blocked up all the gates of Himera. Gelôn caused them to be opened again, and even made fresh openings in the walls³. In all these ways Gelôn raised the spirits of the men of Himera; they had found a chief whom they could trust, and they no longer shrank from the enemy⁴.

He opens
the blocked
gates.

The Battle
of HIMERA.
B. C. 480.

Himera
and Sala-
mis.

At last the great day came, the day that was to decide, for a season at least, whether Sicily, or any part of it, was to remain within the bounds of the European world. We would still fain believe that the twofold salvation of Hellas was wrought on the same day in East and West. We would still hope that, on the same morning when the Hellenic pæan was echoed back from the island rock of Salamis⁵,

¹ Diod. xi. 21; οὔτοι [οἱ ἱππεῖς] παραδόξως ἐπιφανέντες διεσπαρμένοις ἀτάκτως κατὰ τὴν χώραν.

² Front. Strat. i. 11. 18; "Gelo, Syracusanorum tyrannus, bello adversus Pœnos suscepto cum multos cepisset, infirmissimum quemque, præcipue ex auxiliariis qui nigerrimi erant, nudatum in conspectum suorum produxit, ut persuaderent contemnendos." The "auxiliares" (ἐγμῆμαχοι) seem to be opposed both to πολιτικοί and to μισθωτοί. The same story is told of Agêsilaos (Xen. Ag. i. 28), only this time the barbarians were not "nigerrimi" but λευκοί, διὰ τὸ μήποτε ἐκδύεσθαι. One begins to think of some later Greeks and Albanians.

³ Diod. xi. 21; ἀπάσας τὰς πύλας, ἃς διὰ φόβον πρότερον ἀνφοκοδόμησαν οἱ περὶ Θήρωνα, ταύτας τοῦναντίον διὰ τὴν καταφρόνησιν ἐξφοκοδόμησε καὶ ἄλλας προσκατεσκεύασε.

⁴ Ib.

⁵ Æsch. Pers. 388;

πρῶτον μὲν ἦχοί κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα
μολπηδὸν εὐφήμῃσεν, ὄρθιον δ' ἄμα
ἀντηγάλαξε νησιώτιδος πέτρας
ἡχώ.

when the Hellenic trireme, be she of Athens or of Aigina CHAP. VI.
 it skills not, dashed hard her brazen prow into the defences
 of the ship of old Phœnicia¹, at that self-same moment
 the horsemen and the spearmen of Syracuse and Akragas
 were pressing forward in the same cause against enemies
 of the self-same stock. Hellas against Canaan, the elder
 Hellas against the elder Canaan, the younger against the
 younger—that was the cause to be judged on that me-
 morable day. Of the work of that day by the shore of
 Himera we have two tales. It is not easy to bring them
 into exact agreement, above all as regards the fate of the
 Phœnician leader. Herodotus gives us one story as the The two
 Carthaginian version, but implies that the Syracusans told stories of
 another tale². That other tale has been handed down to the battle.
 us by the native historian of Sicily. We have the two to
 compare; to reconcile them is a harder task.

From the Carthaginian version we learn no details of The Car-
 the ups and downs of the battle. We hear only that men thaginian
 fought on from morning till evening, and that night version.
 closed on the utter rout of the motley host of Carthage³.
 The Greek of Sicily, fighting for his own soil, was too
 strong for the barbarian of Libya fighting at his master's
 bidding, too strong for the barbarian of Spain or Gaul
 or Italy, selling himself for the hire which he was not to
 handle. Meanwhile, in the Semitic version, a version which
 breathes a truly Semitic spirit in every word, the Shophet
 of Carthage is painted after the likeness of Moses and

¹ Compare the two stories in Herodotus (viii. 84) with the verse in Æschylus which most concerns us (Pers. 409), which leaves it open;

. . . ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικῇ
 ναῦς, ἀποθραύει πάντα Φοινίσσης νεῶς
 κόρυμβ'.

² See Appendix XX.

³ Herodotus, it will be remembered (see above, p. 160), places the fight of Himera on the same day as the fight of Salamis. On that day (vii. 167), οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἡοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δέλης ὀψίης· ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ γὰρ λέγεται ἐλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν.

CHAP. VI. Samuel, rather than after that of Joshua and Saul. While

The sacrifice of Hamilkar.

the fight was waging, Hamilkar abode in his camp by the shore. He had a great sacrifice to do to Baal, a sacrifice which would work more mightily for the cause of the worshippers of Baal than aught that he could do in the fight with his single arm. A huge fire was kindled, and, hour after hour, Hamilkar kept on making his offerings to the gods of Carthage. On such a day as this it was not enough to give to the heavenly powers some small part of the victims' flesh, while their worshippers feasted on the rest. Whole-burnt-offering upon whole-burnt-offering, bodies—were they of man or beast? were they alive or dead?—cast without stint into the flame, were the devout offerings of the Judge of Carthage. And hour after hour the gods of his race seemed to smile on him; lucky omens steadily showed themselves to the inquiring soothsayers¹.

Defeat of the Carthaginians.

But Zeus on the hill of Akragas, Athênê in the island of Syracuse, were that day too strong for Baalim and Ash-taroath. At the moment when Hamilkar, after so many gifts to the flames, was pouring forth his drink-offering, he looked from his camp, and saw his army scattered before the pursuit of victorious Hellas. Then he made

Self-sacrifice of Hamilkar.

yet one more offering, and one more costly than all. The life of the Shophet of Carthage was due to Carthage; Hamilkar threw himself into the fire and was seen no more². Search far and wide was made for him at the bidding of the conqueror, but nowhere on earth was the Punic leader to be found living or dead³. But the gods

¹ There is something wonderfully striking in the picture drawn by Herodotus (vii. 167); ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιέετο, ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων. On the σώματα ὅλα see Grote, v. 297.

² Ib. 166; ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα. See Appendix XX.

³ Ib. 167; ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ γενομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱεροῖσι, ὥσε ἑωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὲ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι.

whom he served gave him his reward. The city which CHAP. VI. might have nailed him to the cross if he had come back to tell the tale of his army's overthrow could honour the man who so strangely gave his life for her. In every colony and dependency of Carthage memorials were raised Honours paid to him. to Hamilkar son of Hannôn; in Carthage itself arose the proudest memorial of all. He who had so bountifully served the gods himself received the offerings due to a hero¹; and seventy years later his grandson offered a richer offering still to avenge Hamilkar's death on the spot where he had died.

The tale of the self-sacrifice of Hamilkar is so overwhelmingly grand in itself that it is a comfort that it suggests no hard questions of topography. It happened, or it did not happen. It might have happened anywhere. If it happened anywhere at Himera, it certainly happened on the low ground between the hills and the sea. The Estimate of the story. tale which was told at Syracuse goes into far greater Syracusan version. detail, and it needs some pains to adapt it to the circumstances of the ground. The Syracusan and the Carthaginian version cannot be reconciled; yet the two have a common element in this, that a great sacrifice offered by Hamilkar forms a leading feature in each. As the tale was told in the Greek tongue, the Shophet of Carthage made ready, on the shore of one of the seas of Hellas, to sacrifice with all pomp and costliness to the Hellenic ruler of the waters. A day was announced for a great Hamilkar's sacrifice to Poseidôn. sacrifice to Poseidôn². In this version the place of offering would seem to be the temple of which the remains still exist on the left bank of the Himeras³. The day fixed

¹ Herod. vii. 167; Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦτο μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλινσι τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι.

² Diod. xi. 21; τοῦ Ἀμίλκα διατρίβοντος μὲν κατὰ τὴν ναυτικὴν στρατοπεδείαν, παρασκευαζομένου δὲ θύειν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι μεγαλοπρεπῶς.

³ See vol. i. pp. 415, 416.

CHAP. VI. for this act of worship to the gods of the enemy was the day on which the horsemen of Selinous had promised to show themselves in the Carthaginian camp. The Greek god could not be worshipped in due order unless men familiar with the Hellenic religion were there to guide his Phœnician worshippers in the unaccustomed rites of Hellas. But that day the teachers were lacking. The letters sent from Selinous to Hamilkar fell into the hands of Gelôn¹. The lord of Syracuse knew how to improve such a chance. He sent out horsemen of his own by night. They were bidden to show themselves before the camp as the expected contingent from Selinous. Once within the wooden wall, they were to slay Hamilkar and to set fire to the ships that had been drawn on shore. Scouts were set on the hills. When they saw the Greek horsemen within the Phœnician camp, they were to raise a concerted signal from the heights. The difficulty in this account is that, though there are neighbouring heights to the south higher than the town, yet there are none from which the ground between the town and the sea can be seen. We must therefore suppose, odd as the phrase sounds, that the heights spoken of are those of the town itself, as compared with the camp of Gelôn pitched below in the dale of the Himeras. When the time came, when the horsemen had made their way into the sea-camp of the enemy, Gelôn himself was to lead the main body of his army to attack their other camp on the low western hills.

The Syracusan horsemen admitted to the Punic camp. The scheme was successfully carried out. The night before the day appointed for the coming of the Selnuntines, Syracusan horsemen, under cover of the darkness, made a roundabout march, most likely by an inland

¹ Diod. xi. 21 (see above, p. 187); ἦγον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἱππεῖς ἄγοντες πρὸς τὸν Γέλωνα βιβλιαφόρον, ἐπιστολὰς κομίζοντα παρὰ Σελινουντίων, ἐν αἷς ἦν γεγραμμένον ὅτι πρὸς ἣν ἔγραφεν ἡμέραν Ἀμίλκας ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς ἱππεῖς, πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκπέμψουσιν.

course south of the city, which brought them to the western side of the Punic sea-camp. The morning came; and, when the sun rose, the horsemen, not of Selinous but of Syracuse, were ready before the gate. None suspected the trick. Dorian Greeks were looked for, and Dorian Greeks were there; the keepers of the gates welcomed the contingent of the faithful dependency. Once within the walls, the work began. Hamilkar was, it would seem, standing ready for the pious duties of the festival, waiting for the coming of his Greek allies to offer his victims to Poseidôn with the dawn of day. But, instead of allies, the destroyer was upon him. The enemy was within the camp; the Shophet himself was slain before the altar; fire was set to the ships; the signal from the hills told Gelôn that one part of the work was done, and that the time was come for him to take that share in it which he had allotted to himself¹.

CHAP. VI.

Death of
Hamilkar
and burn-
ing of the
ships.

Gelôn was waiting for the call, whether in his camp on the right bank of the Himeras or at any point nearer to the expected scene of action. The most obvious path from that camp to the land-camp of the Carthaginians would be by the landward side, over the isthmus, so to speak, which parts the western valley from the dale of the Himeras. At whatever point, Gelôn was ready with his host marshalled for battle; and, by whatever course, he made his way with all the speed in his power to the Punic land-camp. The officers left there in command led out their troops to meet him, and the stout barbarians of Europe and Africa fought manfully from the small vantage-ground which was given them by the low hills on which they were encamped. The great struggle of the day was now come, on the ground westward of the city.

Gelôn
attacks the
land-camp.

¹ Diod. xi. 22; εὐθὺς προσδραμόντες τῷ Ἀμίλκα περὶ τὴν θυσίαν γινομένην τοῦτον μὲν ἀνείλον, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἐνέπρησαν, ἔπειτα τῶν σκοπῶν ἀράντων τὸ σύσσημον, κ.τ.λ.

CHAP. VI.

The battle. The battle is described to us with much life, but only in general terms. The trumpets sounded on both sides; the war-shouts went up; Greek and barbarian strove which should rend the skies with a mightier cry¹. The contending hosts swayed backwards and forwards; victory was long uncertain². This general picture is all that we have; but the fight of Himera must have been one of no small moment in the history of warfare. It must have been a trial of tactics and weapons; it must even have been in some sort a forerunner of the days of Kynoskephalai and Pydna. The men of the Greek phalanx, not yet marshalled with the full skill that was to come in after days in Thebes and Macedon, but already practising the Dorian tactics of shield and spear, had to strive, perhaps against the claymore of Gaul, certainly against the short stabbing-sword whose use the Iberian taught to the Roman. The day was undecided when the flames from the burning ships rose to their height, and when men came from the sea-camp with the news of the death of Hamilkar. The hearts of the Greeks were stirred and quickened. Strong in the hope of victory, they pressed on more fiercely³. The barbarians gave way and took to flight. It was now perhaps that for a moment fortune seemed again to turn to the side of Carthage. The Greeks burst into the camp; it seemed an easy prey; they were scattered after the rich plunder of the Carthaginian tents. But the stoutest of barbarians, the Spanish swordsmen, had either not given way, or had formed again. They fell on the disordered Sikeliots, and

Contrast of weapons.

Success of the Greeks.

The barbarians rally in the camp.

¹ Diod. xi. 22. Wherever Diodōros got his picture, whether from Timaios or from any one earlier, it is at least a vigorous one; ὁμοῦ δὲ ταῖς σάλπιγγιν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐσήμαινον τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ κραυγὴ τῶν δυναμένων ἐναλλάξ ἐγένετο, φιλοτιμουμένων ἀμφοτέρων τῷ μεγέθει τῆς βοῆς ὑπερᾶραι τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους.

² Ib.; τῆς μάχης δεῦρο κάκεισε ταλαντευομένης.

³ Ib.; ἄφνω τῆς κατὰ τὰς ναῦς φλογὸς ἀρθείσης εἰς ὕψος, καὶ τινῶν ἀπαγυελάντων τὸν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φόνον, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἐθάρρησαν.

slew not a few. And now came the turn of Thêrôn and the men of Akragas to play their part in the day's work ¹. Perhaps they had been left to guard the city; at any rate they are spoken of as acting as a separate division of the army. The lord of Akragas fetched a compass to the further west, and came upon the camp behind the spot where Greek and barbarian were still struggling, to the advantage of the barbarian. Thêrôn's men set fire to the tents; even the brave Iberians, attacked on both sides, now lost heart, and sought refuge in the ships which were still afloat ².

CHAP. VI.
The battle
decided by
Thêrôn's
force.

Those who found such a shelter as this were the exceptionally lucky ones in the defeated army. The great mass fled hither and thither; the orders of Gelôn were to spare none. Figures again are dangerous; but the men of Syracuse and Akragas boasted that half the Carthaginian army, a hundred and fifty thousand barbarians of every race, were slaughtered in the flight and in the pursuit. A body of those who escaped sought shelter on a rocky height among the hills, and there for a while strove to defend themselves. The spot has been looked for on the height of Calogero, between the site of Himera and its Baths. Wherever the spot was, the height was waterless; thirst soon drove its defenders to surrender ³. Others were scattered hither and thither, and were gradually brought in by the victors as part of the plunder. The few who reached the ships that were at anchor strove to sail to Africa. It is perhaps a legendary addition which tells how the sea again fought for Sicily—Poseidôn had at least not hearkened to his alien worshipper—how the ships on their voyage were broken by another storm,

Slaughter
and
pursuit.

News
brought to
Carthage.

¹ See Appendix XX.

² This comes out in c. 24; πολλοὺς τῶν φευγόντων ἀναλαβοῦσαι [αἱ νῆες].

³ Diodôros (xi. 21) says only ἐπὶ τινὰ τόπον ἐρυμνόν. Holm (i. 207) suggests Calogero with much likelihood.

CHAP. VI. and how the news of the day of Himera was brought to Carthage by a few men in a small boat¹. That boat is clearly the fellow of that other boat in which Xerxês crossed the Hellespont. Such a tale is hardly needed to swell the greatness of either of the twin victories of that great day. At Himera, as at Salamis, Hellas had won. And in one way Himera was more than Salamis; no Plataia was needed to finish the work. For seventy years from the day of that great deliverance, the Phœnician settlements in Sicily remained, with the slightest exceptions, harmless neighbours of the Greeks.

Salamis
and
Himera.

Rewards
of the
army.

Gifts to
the gods;
at Himera.

Hellas had vanquished Canaan; and Hellas, so much at least of her as had gone to make a new Hellas on Sicilian soil, had now to pay her duty of thanks and offerings to the gods and the men who had fought for her. First and foremost among mortal deliverers were the Syracusan horsemen who had made their way into the camp of Hamilkar, and who had dyed the altar, whether of Moloch or of Poseidôn, with the blood of his chief worshipper. For them, and for all who had done good work in the fight, Gelôn had fitting gifts and badges of military prowess². But all the allied troops received their share of the spoil; the countless captives were meted out as not the least precious part of it³. No small share of the trophies were nailed up in the chief temples of Himera as an offering to

¹ Diod. xi. 24; ὁλίγοι δὲ τινες ἐν μικρῷ σκάφει διασωθέντες εἰς Καρχηδῶνα, διεσάφησαν τοῖς πολίταις, σύντομον ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, ὅτι πάντες οἱ διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπολώλασιν. So in the parallel case (Æsch. Pers. 254) the ἀπόφασις is σύντομος enough;

... ἀνάγκη πᾶν ἀναπτύξαι πάθος,
Πέρσαι, στρατὸς γὰρ πᾶς ὄλωλε βαρβάρων.

² Diod. xi. 25; τοὺς τε ἱππεῖς τοὺς ἀνελόντας τὸν Ἀμίλκαν δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἡνδραγαθηκότας ἀριστείοις ἐκόσμησε. Seemingly all the horsemen and some of the others.

³ Ib.; τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ [τῶν λαφύρων] μετὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων διεμέρισε τοῖς συμμάχοις.

the gods who had kept the walls of their city. But the greatest and most brilliant share of the captive shields and weapons was carried home to Syracuse, to enrich the holy places of the Island and the Olympieion, and of the newer city that was springing up at Gelon's bidding¹. With the spoils of victory, at the head of his victorious army, the lord of Syracuse marched back to his capital. He entered, doubtless by the gate in the wall of his own building, in all the glory of the deliverer of Hellenic Sicily.

CHAP. VI.

at Syracuse.

Return of
Gelon to
Syracuse.

On that solemn day of triumph, the victor of Himera, tyrant as he was, could afford to bear himself as other than a tyrant. At such a moment he could venture to call together the whole folk of Syracuse, doubtless in the wide *agora* between the hill and the harbour, which he had made the meeting-place of the enlarged city. Thither pressed the mixed multitude who owed their citizenship to his gift; thither pressed those older citizens, patrician and plebeian, to each of whom he had at least given freedom from the rule of their immediate rivals. On that day, the Corinthian sprung from a comrade of Archias, the enfranchised Sikel who had helped to drive him forth to Kasmenai, the last mercenary from whatever land whose stout blows dealt at Gelon's bidding had won him a place on the burgher-roll of Syracuse—all would join with one heart and with one soul to welcome the deliverer of all. On that day Gelôn could trust them all. He bade each man come to the assembly girded with his weapons; he alone stood among them unarmed, in no pomp of military or civic command, in the simplest garb of a citizen's daily life². Our thoughts are carried on to that armed assembly

His appeal
to the
people.The armed
assembly;
Gelon un-
armed.

¹ Diod. xi. 25; τῶν δὲ λαφύρων τὰ καλλιστεύοντα παρεφύλαξε βουλόμενος τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις νεῶς κοσμήσαι τοῖς σκύλοις τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν Ἰμέρᾳ προσήλωσε τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν ἱερῶν. We mourn the loss of all the temples of Himera, save our one fragment.

² Ib. 26; συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν προστάξας ἅπαντας ἀπαντᾶν μετὰ τῶν

CHAP. VI. which welcomed returning Godwine beneath the walls of London, or rather to the crowds which, on the day of Lepanto and the day of Vienna, greeted the man sent from God whose name was John. Before that multitude Gelôn, like Sulla, made his full defence, his *apologia pro vita sua*¹. His later days needed no counsel for the defence; but one would have been well pleased to hear him cross-examined either by a son of Hippokratês or by a man of Megara who had escaped from the slave-market. But in that hour of victory and thankfulness there was no accuser. Each action of Gelôn's life, as he described it, was listened to with admiring shouts. The tyrant stood before them, an easy mark for a Syracusan Melanippos or Harmodios; but the tyrant was forgotten in the deliverer. With one shout of joy men greeted Gelôn with the titles which men gave to the immortal gods, titles which in after days were more freely lavished on mortal princes. They hailed him as benefactor, as saviour, and as king².

His defence.

Acclamations of the assembly.

Question of Gelôn's kingship.

Now are we in this last name to see a formal vote of the Syracusan commonwealth bestowing a definite rank and authority on the victorious general of the commonwealth³? There is something to be said on both sides. From this moment the writer whom we have chiefly to follow in these times changes his mode of speech. From henceforth he always speaks of Gelôn and his successors as kings, and of their dominion as a kingdom⁴. Nor can we forget the traces of abiding or restored kingship which we have seen in other Sikeliot cities and elsewhere among the scattered settlements of Greece⁵. Still, on the whole, it

ὅπλων. αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μόνον τῶν ὅπλων γυμνὸς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἦλθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀχίτων ἐν ἱματίῳ προσελθὼν, κ.τ.λ.

¹ Diod. xi. 26; ἀπελογήσατο περὶ παντὸς τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους.

² Ib.; τοσοῦτον ἀπέχετο τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν τιμωρίας ὡς τύραννος, ὥστε μὴ φωνῇ πάντας ἀποκαλεῖν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ βασιλέα.

³ See Appendix XIII. ⁴ See Appendix XIII. ⁵ See Appendix I.

seems safer not to look on Gelôn as clothed with any formal kingship over Syracuse or over any other spot on the earth's surface. We may rather conceive him as for the moment lifted up altogether above mortal men by titles which he shared with Zeus and the other dwellers on Olympus. Men would then hail a victorious chief as *Evergetés*, *Sôtér*, *Basileus*, as in other times they might have hailed him as *Imperator*. There was at least none on earth greater than he. When Belisarius in later days, and when Roger in days later still, came to Syracuse in Gelôn's steps, titles had so far stiffened by usage that to have hailed them as men now hailed Gelôn would have been treason against an absent sovereign or overlord.

CHAP. VI.
Probable meaning of the title.

The somewhat theatrical element in this otherwise striking story, the appearance of Gelôn, unarmed and lightly clad, before the armed multitude, was the part which most struck men's fancies in later times. It has put on more than one variety of legendary shape. In some of the tales no reference at all is made to Gelôn's position as victor at Himera. In one, at which we have already glanced, the appeal becomes the mere trick of a candidate for power by which Gelôn the general is able to turn himself into Gelôn the tyrant¹. Here the circumstances are wholly misunderstood. In another version Gelôn is already tyrant, but a mild tyrant. Hearing of a plot against his power, he calls together the citizens to an armed assembly, and himself comes before them in full armour. He tells them what he has done for them; he tells them also of the plot against him. He then strips off his armour; he stands defenceless before them, and bids them deal with him as they may think good². They

Legendary forms of the story.

¹ See above, p. 137, and Appendix XIII.

² This story comes from Ælian, Var. Hist. xiii. 37. Gelon τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς κατὰστασιν πρῶτα εἶχε; but στρασιῶδεις τινες plotted against him. Then comes the scene in the assembly, winding up with the words, δίδωμι χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλεσθε.

CHAP. VI. confirm his power by a formal act¹. They also give over his enemies to him, and he gives them back to the citizens for their own judgement². In a third version, which comes nearer to the real state of the case, Gelôn, victor at Himera, master of all Sicily, comes unarmed into the assembly, and offers to give up his power³. The citizens refuse the offer; they had found him no monarch, but a popular ruler⁴. In neither of these two latter stories is there any mention of the title of king. But they both seem to point to some tradition of a formal act of some kind following the great victory, an act by which the power of Gelôn was put on a more legal footing than before. And it is said that the appearance of Gelôn in his undress was commemorated by a statue, perhaps that which in Timoleôn's days was picked out for special honour, when the forms of other Syracusan rulers were defaced. For men still knew and revered the name of him who had smitten the Carthaginians at Himera⁵.

Statue of
Gelôn.

Tales of
Gelôn's
designs to
give help
to Greece.

But even that praise did not seem enough for some of the Sicilian admirers of Gelôn. That the lord of Syracuse had no share in the fight of Salamis was no blame to him; yet men felt as if he ought to have been there, that, in his

¹ Ælian, V. H. xiii. 37; *τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδωκαν*.

² Ib.; *τούτους εἶασε τῷ δήμῳ τιμωρῆσασθαι*.

³ This is in the same collection, vi. 11; *Γέλων ἐν Ἰμέρᾳ νικήσας τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἐαυτὸν τὴν Σικελίαν ἐποιήσατο. εἶτα ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν γυμνὸς ἔφατο ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς πολίταις τὴν ἀρχήν*.

⁴ Ib.; *οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελον, δηλονότι πεπειραμένοι αὐτοῦ δημοτικωτέρου ἢ κατὰ τὴν τῶν μονάρχων ἐξουσίαν*.

⁵ The statue is mentioned in both the stories in Ælian. In the one he is *γυμνός*; in the other *ἐν ἀζώστῳ χιτῶνι*. But in Diodôros he is *ἀχίτων ἐν ἱματίῳ*. According to one tale the statue is set up *ἐν τῷ τῆς Σικελίας ἑσπέρῳ* (see Holm, *Topografia di Siracusa*, 186). The story in Plutarch, *Tim.* 23, speaks only of *Γέλωνος ἀνδριάς τοῦ παλαιοῦ τυράννου*. They spared him, *ἀγάμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς νίκης ἣν πρὸς Ἰμέρᾳ Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκησεν*.

On one of his stories Ælian, or the writer whom he copied, makes the comment; *ἦν τοῦτο τῆς δημαγωγίας αὐτοῦ ὑπόμνημα καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνα μέλλουσιν ἀρχειν δίδαγμα*.

own phrase, the year of Hellas was not perfect without its spring. Tales therefore arose that, even after he had sent away the envoys, he was still minded to send help to the Greek allies, if the coming of the host of Hamilkar had not hindered him¹. And this no doubt is true in a sense. Gelôn might likely enough have taken his part at Salamis, if he had not been needed at Himera. Another tale is told how, after Himera, when his own land was safe, he was minded to help the land of his fathers. He was making ready for the new enterprise, his fleet was on the point of sailing, when news came from the mother city of Syracuse that his help was no longer needed². Tales like these do not get beyond the region of surmises; they simply show what men thought that the ideal course of history would have been. The true light in which to look on the victors of Salamis and the victors of Himera is that in which they themselves claimed to stand, that in which the men of their own day placed them. The Eastern and the Western Greeks were fellow-workers in the same cause, working to free Hellas in both her seats from the attacks of barbarian enemies. Well did the verse of Simônîdês, graven on the votive tripod of Gelôn, tell how the four sons of Deinomenês, victorious over barbarian nations, gave a helping hand to the freedom of Hellas³.

CHAP. VI.

Historic position of the victory of Himera.

Verses of Simônîdês and Pindar.

¹ Herod. vii. 165; λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Σικελίῃ οἰκημένων, ὡς ὅμως καὶ μέλλων ἄρχεισθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἂν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, εἰ μὴ, κ.τ.λ. It is in this oddly casual way that Herodotus brings in the whole story of the Carthaginian invasion, beginning with the driving out of Têrîllos by Thêrôn.

² According to those whom Diodôros (xi. 26) followed, Gelôn παρεσκευάζετο πολλῇ δυνάμει πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συμμαχεῖν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν. ἤδη δὲ τούτου μέλλοντος ποιέσθαι τὴν ἀναγωγὴν κατέπλευσάν τινες ἐκ Κορίνθου. The news was of the fight of Salamis and the flight of Xerxês; yet surely the horsemen of Syracuse might have been useful at Plataia.

³ The lines of Simônîdês on the tripod offered by the brothers (Schol. Pyth. i. 155, Bergk, iii. 485) have been already referred to (see p. 190) in their financial aspect. The four brothers, Gelôn, Hierôn, Polyzêlos, and

CHAP. VI. Well did Pindar sing the common praise of all who had rescued Hellas from heavy bondage. Of Athens and her glory he would sing at Salamis; of Sparta he would sing at the foot of Kithairôn, where the Median bowmen fell. And to the sons of Deinomenês the hymn should rise by the well-watered coast of Himera, to tell how by their deeds of arms the foemen perished¹. And we may notice that it is Syracuse and her lord, her lord and all his brethren, who stand forth as the champion princes of the champion city². Akragas and Thêrôn pale before them.

Gelôn and
Thêrôn.

Gelôn is the deliverer; Thêrôn is simply delivered. We have ventured to liken the lord of Syracuse to the prince who delivered Vienna; we are sometimes almost tempted to liken the lord of Akragas to the prince whom he delivered. Such a comparison would be unfair; Thêrôn and his people have clearly received less than their due share of honour. Yet in the one tale which has come down to us to show that the men of Akragas had a real share in the work, though they have their part in the battle, though they even turn the scale, yet their part is distinctly secondary to that of Gelôn and his Syracusans by whom the fight had been begun and kept on. In the laureate

Thrasyloulos, join to record the deliverance of Hellas by their hands. The whole poem, as arranged by Bergk, stands thus;

φημὶ Γέλων, 'Ιέρανα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,
παῖδας Δεινομένους, τὸν τριπόδ' ἀνθέμεναι,
ἕξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων
Δαμαρέτου χρυσοῦ, τὰς δεκάτας δεκάταν,
βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη· πολλὴν δὲ παρασχεῖν
σύμμαχον Ἑλλήσιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

¹ Pind. Pyth. i. 146;

. . . ἀρέομαι

παρ μὲν Σαλαμῖνος Ἀθηναίων χάριν
μισθόν, ἐν Σπάρτῃ δ' ἔρω πρὸ Κιθαιρῶνος μάχαν,
ταῖσι Μήδαιοι κάμον ἀγκυλότοξοι·
παρὰ δὲ τὰν εὐνδρον ἀκτὰν Ἰμέρα παιδεσσιν ὕμνον Δεινομένεος τέλεσσαι,
τὸν ἐδέξαντ' ἀμφ' ἄρετῃ, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν καμόντων.

² Diod. xi. 25.

strains of Pindar all the references to the day of Himera and to other warfare on behalf of Hellas come in the Syracusan odes. Thêrôn is the most bountiful of men, Akragas is the most beautiful of mortal cities¹; in Thêrôn's honour the loftiest notes of poetry and the richest stores of legendary lore are lavishly poured out; but the sons of Ainêsidamos nowhere stand alongside of the sons of Deinomenês as equal fellows with the warriors of Salamis and Plataia. Let Thêrôn have his due; but Gelôn was clearly the master spirit.

CHAP. VI.
Thêrôn's
work at
Himera not
referred to
by Pindar.

The analogy between the champions of Hellas and the later champions of Christendom would be nearer still if we could believe one report as to the nature of the treaty with Carthage which ended the war of Himera. It is hardly needful to accept every detail which we read in Greek writers as to the utter despair into which Carthage was thrown by the crushing defeat of the great host of Hamilkar. It is certain that, within a very few years, Carthage was again looked on as dangerous to Greek Sicily². The picture of all Carthage watching day and night lest the fleet of Gelôn should appear before the harbour is possibly the imagining of one who wrote after the exploits of Agathoklês³. We need not even believe that the envoys of Carthage came to Gelôn with tears in their eyes, praying him to deal with them as a man with men⁴. This appeal to common humanity was, according to one version, answered in a way which could hardly have been looked for. Gelôn,

Gelon's
treaty with
Carthage.

Alarm at
Carthage;
exaggera-
tions.

¹ Pyth. xii. 1. See vol. i. p. 430.

² Cf. Grote, v. 299.

³ Diod. xi. 24; ὥστε τὰς νύκτας ἅπαντας διαγρυπνεῖν φυλάττοντας τὴν πόλιν, ὡς τοῦ Γέλωνος πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει παραχρῆμα διεγρωκότος πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα. And presently, φοβούμενοι μὴ φθάσῃ διαβὰς εἰς Λιβύην Γέλων. Busolt (i. 266, 267) knows that this comes from Timaios, and in this case it is likely enough; but I do not see any evidence for Busolt's "Brand-schätzungen" and "Kapereien" on the part of Syracuse.

⁴ Ib. 26; παραγενομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνας τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων πρεσβέων, καὶ μετὰ δακρύων δεομένων ἀνθρωπίνως αὐτοῖς χρῆσασθαι.

CHAP. VI.
Alleged
forbidding
of human
sacrifices.

Estimate
and import
of the
story.

it was said, made it a condition of peace that the Carthaginians should forswear the special abomination of Semitic idolatry, that they should no longer make either their own children or strangers pass through the fire to Moloch¹. Simply as a poetic conception, the tale, one to which I have already referred², is ennobling. It shows that, already in pagan days, there were men, be it Gelôn in his deeds or his panegyrist in his thoughts, who could forestall, not only the crusader but the missionary. They could deem it the highest duty of the conqueror to use his power for the good of men below and for the honour of the mightier powers above. Gelôn is painted as the Frankish kings calling on the vanquished heathen to accept the faith, but not, as the Frankish kings, calling them to accept it at the sword's point. The victorious Greek, worshipper of the kindlier gods of Hellas, calls on the vanquished barbarian, as the price of his favour, to put away the blackest practice of his own law, and to sin no more against the common humanity shared by Greek and barbarian alike. The tale, true or false, shows a full feeling of all that was meant by the strife of the great day of Himera, how truly it was a strife of light and darkness, of good and evil. Next to the deed of Gelôn, if such a deed he really did, comes the thought of the man to whom it seemed that so to do was the fitting thing for Gelôn in his hour of victory.

Unlikeli-
hood of
the story.

Such a tale we would gladly believe if we could ; but the authority for the story is weak. The same tale which is told of Gelôn is, strangely enough, told also of Darius³ ; and such an interference with the internal laws and the national worship of an independent power would be wholly without precedent or analogy. The tale is hard to believe ; yet it is honourable to Gelôn that it should ever have been

¹ See Appendix XXI.

² See vol. i. pp. 22, 305.

³ See Appendix XXI.

told of him. And some foundation it surely must have. CHAP. VI.
 Could Gelôn, for instance, at a moment when he was Its prob-
 almost entitled to act as the lord of all Sicily, have re- able origin.
 quired, as a condition of peace with the Phœnicians of
 Sicily, that no such deeds should be done on the soil of his
 own island? Could he have required that even in Carthage
 itself Moloch should have no Hellenic victims? Anyhow Story of
 the existence of the tale is remarkable, and that a like Gelôn and
 tale is told of Darius does not go so far to shake its autho- of Darius.
 rity as if the like tale were told of another Greek tyrant.
 How easily the name of one Sicilian prince may be put for
 another we have seen many times and shall see many times
 again; but a Persian king and a lord of Syracuse are not
 persons whose names naturally get confounded. And the The Greek
 position of the Greek and that of the Persian towards the and the
 evil rites of Carthage were utterly unlike one another. Persian
position.
 Each would abhor them, but on wholly different grounds.
 If the Greek stepped in to quench the fires of Moloch, it
 could be from no motive but that of a feeling of the com-
 mon brotherhood of man. If a Carthaginian Shophet gave
 the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul, it mattered not
 to Gelôn in his island; it did no wrong to Athêne in
 Ortygia or to Zeus in the Olympieion. The Persian, on
 the other hand, would step in, not on behalf of the brother-
 hood of man, but on behalf of his own special creed and
 worship. To the votary of Ormuzd the profanation of
 the earthly symbol of Ormuzd would be a sin against the
 heavenly powers than which none could be blacker¹. It
 would be his duty to preserve by every means, by arms or
 by treaty, the pure and holy element from the pollution to
 which it was doomed in the worship of the men of Canaan.
 The story of Gelôn then and the story of Darius, be either

¹ Herod. iii. 16; Πέρσαι θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ . . . Πέρσῃσι . . . θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου. Would a living body have been any better?

CHAP. VI. of them true or false, may well be independent of one another. Each is well conceived as regards the position of the man of whom the tale is told. With Darius we have no further concern; of Gelôn we cannot assert the tale with any confidence; at the same time it is hard to believe that it is sheer invention.

Greek
temples at
Carthage.

It rests on better authority that, if Gelôn did not step in to forbid the national ritual of the Semitic gods, he at least acted as a missionary of the gods of Hellas on Semitic soil. One of the clauses of the treaty bound the Carthaginians to build two temples in which the stones on which the treaty was graven should be laid up¹. These could not fail to be temples to Greek deities; we may say almost with certainty that they were temples to the goddesses of Sicily, the special patronesses of Gelôn and his house, Dê-mêtêr and the Korê. A payment of two thousand talents was further laid upon the Carthaginians for the costs of the war².

Gelôn and
the Greeks
of Sicily.

We are told that they so gladly accepted these terms that they voted a crown of gold to Damareta, who pleaded their cause with her husband³. In all such tales we suspect exaggeration; we remember that, not very long after, Phœnician attack was again dreaded. Still that the treaty between Gelôn and Carthage was a treaty dictated by the conqueror to the conquered there is no manner of doubt.

It is harder to see the exact relations now established between Gelôn and the other Sikeliot powers. We hear of the cities and lords who had opposed Gelôn, how their envoys pressed around him, craving his pardon and promising obedience to his will. All, we are told, were received with favour and were admitted to his alliance⁴. Yet it is not easy to see

¹ Diod. xi. 26; δύο ναοὺς προσέταξεν οἰκοδομῆσαι, καθ' οὓς ἔδει τὰς συνθήκας ἀνατεθῆναι. This surely means at Carthage.

² Ib.

³ Ib.; αὕτη γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀξιοθεῖσα συνήργησε πλείστον εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν τῆς εἰρήνης.

⁴ Ib.; εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν πρότερον ἐναντιουμένων πόλεων τε καὶ δυναστῶν

to what cities and lords this description can apply. Greek CHAP. VI.
 Sicily will supply only Anaxilas in his character of tyrant of Anaxilas.
 Zanklê, and Selinous, whatever was its form of govern-
 ment. No other Greek power that we know of had acted
 against Gelôn in the late war. Anaxilas was held to have
 received some benefit from Gelôn which entitled Gelôn to
 his thanks; and it is hard to see to what this can refer
 except to favourable treatment in the negotiations after
 Himera¹. Selinous, which may likely enough have been an Selinous.
 unwilling enemy, whose horsemen, after all, seem never to
 have come to the Punic camp, was, we may be pretty sure,
 set free from all dependence on Carthage. In the next Car-
 thaginian invasion she is treated by Carthage as an enemy
 indeed. The only other Sikeliot city which is not mentioned
 as coming under the rule of Gelôn, Thêrôn, or Anaxilas, is
 Katanê, of which, oddly enough, we never hear through Katanê.
 the whole history of Gelôn. One can hardly fancy Sikel
 communities referred to; but it is quite possible that some Segesta.
 relations may have been entered into with Segesta. The Carthage
 dominion of Carthage over the Phœnician cities of the and her de-
 north-west was clearly left untouched. Still Gelôn, with pendencies.
 so many cities under his immediate rule, with Thêrôn as Great posi-
 his willing, and Anaxilas most likely as his unwilling, tion of
 ally, held a higher position than any one man had ever Gelôn.
 before held in Sicily, or indeed anywhere in the Greek
 world. It was a pardonable exaggeration to speak of
 him as lord or tyrant of the whole island. But there
 is no reason to think that his dominion extended be-
 yond the strait which was in the keeping of Anaxilas.

*παρεγένοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἡγνοημένοις αἰτούμενοι συγ-
 γνώμην, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι πᾶν ποιήσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον.
 ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐπικεικῶς χρησάμενος, συμμαχίαν συνετίθετο καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν
 ἀνθρωπίνως ἔφερεν.*

¹ Diodōros (xi. 66) makes Hierôn remind the sons of Anaxilas τῆς
 Γέλανος γενομένης πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας. It was now perhaps
 that Hierôn married the daughter of Anaxilas.

CHAP. VI. A single notice which would seem to attribute to him
 No deal- an Italian dominion, or at least Italian possessions, is most
 ings with likely due to the process of which we have seen so many
 Italy. instances, that of putting the name of one Sicilian tyrant
 for another ¹.

Thank- The thankofferings of Gelôn to the gods of Greece in
 offerings whose cause he had fought and conquered were on a lordly
 of Gelôn; scale, alike in his own island and in the common sanctuaries
 at Delphoi; of the whole nation. To Delphoi he sent the golden form
 of Nikê, and the golden tripod which bore the verses which
 told how the sons of Deinomenês fought for the freedom
 at Olym- of Hellas ². At Olympia he had, while still described as a
 pia; man of Gela only, dedicated a chariot ³; he now com-
 memorated his victory by the building of a treasury, called
 in proud scorn the treasury of the Carthaginians. There
 he dedicated three breast-plates of linen as trophies of his
 victory, and a vast statue of Zeus himself as a thank-
 offering to him who gave it ⁴. Rich too was the gift which
 he gave to the Father of Gods and Men in his own Olym-
 pieion by the Syracusan harbour. A mantle of gold, per-
 haps renewed, perhaps enriched ⁵, was Gelôn's tribute, a gift

at the
 Olym-
 pieion.

¹ Athênaios (xii. 59) quotes Douris of Samos for the story that Gelôn made a beautiful garden near Hippônion in Italy; *πλησίον Ἰππωνίου πόλεως ἄλλος τε δείκνυσθαι κάλλει διάφορον καὶ κατάρτυτον ὕδασιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τόπον τινὰ εἶναι καλούμενον Ἀμαλθείας κέρας, ὃ τὸν Γέλωνα κατασκευάσαι.*

² Athênaios (vi. 20) quotes Theopompus for these offerings, coupling the name of Hierôn with that of Gelôn. Diodôros (xi. 26) mentions the tripod as made *ἀπὸ τάλαντων ἑκακάδεκα*. On the verses see above, p. 206.

³ See above, p. 125.

⁴ Paus. vi. 19. 4; *ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Σικωνίῳ ἐστὶν ὁ Καρχηδονίαν θησαυρὸς, Ποθαίου τέχνη καὶ Ἀντιφίλου τε καὶ Μεγακλέους. ἀνάθηματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ζεὺς μεγέθει μέγας καὶ θώρακες λινοῖ τρεῖς ἀριθμὸν, Γέλωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα καὶ Συρακοσίων Φοίνικας ἥτοι τριήρεσιν ἢ καὶ πεζῇ μάχῃ κρατησάντων.* The linen θώρακες are in that case characteristic of barbarian against Greek. Pausanias seems a little in the dark about the fight of Himera. Cf. Athenaios, vi. 20, where the date is given; *καθ' οὗς χρόνους Ξέρξης ἐπεστράτευε τῇ Ἑλλάδι.*

⁵ See above, p. 118.

which a later tyrant took away in mockery, as too hot in summer and too cold in winter¹. But foremost among his gifts, foremost perhaps among all his works, were the twin temples of the patron-goddesses of Sicily, the powers of which he was the special hierophant, temples which arose at his bidding on the mainland of Syracuse. Had the city as yet left the special goddesses of Sicily unhonoured? If so, there was no man by whom the fault could be so well made up as by a lord of Syracuse who was more than a lord of Syracuse, who had some claim to be looked on as a lord of Sicily, and who was truly the deliverer of all the votaries of the goddesses, Sikel and Sikeliot. The house of a worship not locally Syracusan but common to all Sicily was placed by Gelôn outside the bounds of his enlarged city². It stood at the southern foot of the hill on the lower terrace, looking down on the fount and stream of Kyana which had doubtless already found their place in the great Sicilian legend. It stood by the road leading to the Sikel hills, inviting worshippers of the elder stock to make it a place of pilgrimage. And it did in truth draw to itself somewhat of the mysterious holiness which belonged to the twin gods and the twin fountains of the Sikel. The Great Oath, sworn in the precinct of Dêmêtêr and the Korê, with the purple robe of the goddesses thrown around the swearer and the burning torch held in his hand, was as binding in Syracusan eyes as the oath by the Palici themselves. Party-leaders and budding tyrants were taken to the holy place to purge themselves by that oath of all evil purposes. But the oath by the Palici was, we are told, never broken; the

CHAP. VI.

Temple of
Dêmêtêr
and Per-
sephonê.

Its site.

The Great
Oath.

¹ Cic. de Nat. Deor. 33 (83). It was in "fanum Jovis Olympii," doubtless the Olympieion. The robbery comes among other doings of Dionysios. Valerius Maximus (i. i. Ext. 3) tells the story of Hierôn, but later editors have substituted Gelôn. All goes on the great principle that one Sicilian tyrant is as good as another.

² See Appendix XXII.

CHAP. VI. oath by Dêmêtêr and the Korê proved but a slight bond when men used it to fetter the ambition of Kallippos and Agathoklês¹.

But the devotion of Gelôn to the two great goddesses did not stop with the temple outside the gate of Achradina. It was perhaps not even bounded by the limits of his own dominions. Another temple of Dêmêtêr was begun by him at the foot of Ætna, a work which might imply authority over the land of Katanê; but to bring that work to perfection was not granted to him². Gelôn died of dropsy, within two years after his great victory³. His life is so crowded with stirring incidents that we are surprised to find that his whole time of rule, in Gela and in Syracuse, was less than twelve years, and his time of rule in Syracuse less than eight⁴. His last wishes were that his brother Hiêrôn should succeed him in his kingdom, lordship, tyranny, whatever we are to call a dominion which undoubtedly began in wrong, but which seems long before his death to have been willingly accepted by all his subjects⁵. He left a young son, under the personal guardianship of his friends and brothers-in-law, Aristonous and that Chromios of whom we have already heard. Some share in his bringing up may possibly have belonged to his Arkadian friend Phormis⁶. Politically the child was doubtless safer as a subject of his uncle than if he had been left in the position of a prince under the wardship

¹ See Appendix XXII.

² See Appendix XXIII.

³ For his death see Diod. xi. 26. Plutarch (De Pyth. Or. 19) says that ὑδρωπῶν ἐτυράννησεν. So the Scholiast on Pindar, Pyth. i. 89; ὑδέρφ νοσήματι τὸν βίον τελευτήσαι.

⁴ On the exact chronology see Clinton. It is clearly by an odd slip that Diodôros (xi. 23) makes Gelôn ἐγγηράσαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ.

⁵ See Appendix XXIII.

⁶ I cannot help thinking that the Phormos or Phormis of Soudas (Φόρμος), who was οἰκείος Γέλωνι τῷ τυράννῳ Σικελίας καὶ τροφεὺς τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ, is meant for Phormis of Mainalos (see above, p. 133) rather than for the comic poet Phormos. See Lorenz, Epicharmos, 85, 86.

of one who had an interest in his death or dethronement. As it was, it is significant that Damareta, daughter of Thêrôn, widow of Gelôn, entered at Gelôn's bidding into a second marriage with her first husband's brother Polyzêlos. He alone of the Deinomenid brethren shared in the glories of Himera, but had no share in the tyranny of Syracuse. The will of Gelôn moreover, while putting Hierôn in the first place, named Polyzêlos, the more energetic soldier of the two, for the command of the Syracusan armies. We shall presently see what came of this attempted division of power. Great rulers constantly fall into the mistake of thinking that smaller men than themselves will be able to work a system which they have successfully worked by dint of their own personal qualities. Sometimes, when they doubt the power or the will of the smaller man so to do, they strive to control or to strengthen him by checks and props which he has at least energy enough to cast aside. Polyzêlos would seem to have been better fitted than Hierôn to carry on the work of Gelôn. But then it should have been Polyzêlos alone; Polyzêlos, as a check on Hierôn, was worthless.

The will of Gelôn perhaps failed to be carried out in another point through the universal reverence felt for Gelôn himself. The law of Syracuse, a law of his own enacting, forbade all lavish expenditure on funerals, and Gelôn ordered that his own burial should be carried out strictly according to the law¹. This order is said to have been obeyed²; if so, the law must have dealt only with

CHAP. VI.

Position of
Polyzêlos.Burial of
Gelôn.

¹ Diod. xi. 38. The law forbade πολυτελεῖς ἐκφορὰς νόμῳ καταλελυκότων καὶ τὰς εἰσθυσίας δαπάνας εἰς τοὺς τελευτῶντας and παντελῶς τὰς ἐνταφίαν σπουδὰς. Costly tombs are not directly mentioned.

² Ib.; ὁ βασιλεὺς Γέλων . . . τὸν περὶ τῆς ταφῆς νόμον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ βέβαιον ἐτήρησεν. (His motive was τὴν τοῦ δήμου σπουδὴν ἐν ᾧ αἱ διαφυλάττειν.) And directly after; περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ταφῆς ἐνετείλατο, διατελλόμενος ἀκριβῶς τηρῆσαι τὸ νόμιμον. (This looks as if Diodôros were copying two different accounts.) And he adds that Hierôn τὴν ἐκφορὰν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν αὐτοῦ συνετέλεσεν. Yet see Grote, v. 302.

CHAP. VI. the actual ceremonies of burial, and have said nothing as to the amount that might be spent on the monument marking the spot. The burial-place of Gelôn was on some spot not ascertained in the flat land to the west of the Great Harbour, on a piece of ground which was the property of his wife Damareta, and in which she was afterwards buried herself¹. The whole people of Syracuse, pressing to do honour to their late ruler, formed the long funeral procession². A stately tomb was reared for him, surrounded by nine lofty and massive towers³, which in the view from the Island must have grouped with the columns of the great temple as they shone in the morning light. Nor could the tomb of Gelôn have been far from the fountain and shrine of Kyana, famous in the legends of those powers below the earth of whom Gelôn was the chosen minister. There, welcomed as it were to a place among the gods of the land, the victor of Himera, the second founder of Syracuse, the man who had freed Greek Sicily, her people and her temples, from barbarian invasion, the man who had made the city that he had won the greatest city of Sicily and of Hellas, received the worship of a hero⁴.

His tomb.

He is worshipped as a hero.

Career and character of Gelôn.

The first of the tyrants of Syracuse is a man of whom we should gladly know more. There is such a marked contrast between his beginning and his ending. That a man should gain power wrongfully and should yet make a wise

¹ Diod. xi. 38. He was buried *κατὰ τὸν ἀγρὸν τῆς γυναικὸς, ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις Ἐννέα Τύρσεσιν*. He makes it, by some mistake or other, two hundred stadia from the city, which is corrected by Holm, i. 418. His own account (xiv. 63) of the destruction of the tombs of Gelôn and Damareta by the Carthaginians shows that it cannot have been far from the Olympieion.

² Ib.; *ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἅπας συνηκολούθησεν*.

³ Ib.; *οὕσαις τῷ βάρει τῶν ἔργων θαυμασταῖς*.

⁴ Ib.; *ὁ μὲν δῆμος τάφον ἀξιόλογον ἐπιστήσας ἡρωικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησε τὸν Γέλωνα*.

and beneficent use of it when he has gained it, is a contradiction, if contradiction it be, which has many parallels. But in the case of Gelôn, the shortness of time over which his reign is spread makes the feeling towards him more remarkable. The generation which remembered the proscription of the triumvirs had well nigh died out long before the rule of the first Augustus came to an end. In his latter days the great mass of the Roman people had known him from their childhood as a master and a kindly master. But Gelôn's coming to Syracuse could be remembered by all who had passed the age of childhood. The remembrance of his wrong-doings must have been fresh in the memories of the mass of those who followed him to his grave. Those to be sure who had suffered most bitterly and wantonly at his hands, the betrayed and enslaved commons of Megara and Euboia, would not be there to mar the general homage to his memory by the tale of their own wrongs. Of the actual inhabitants of Syracuse at the death of Gelôn, a great number really owed much to him, and the rest might easily have fared far worse at his hands than they did fare. Both classes of the elder inhabitants of Syracuse had been in some sort betrayed by him; still each had something to thank him for. The *Gamoroi* had been restored to their homes, if not to their dominion, and they had not been obliged to submit to the dominion of the hated commons. The commons, on the other hand, would undoubtedly be better pleased with the dominion of Gelôn than with that of their old masters, and they might think themselves well off as compared with their fellows at Megara and Euboia. And the former oligarchs of those cities were well pleased to be as they were, when they had looked for a much worse fate. So it would doubtless be with the men of Kamarina, who might have looked for some far heavier punishment for the death of Glaukos than actually fell to their lot. Even

CHAP. VI.

Shortness
of his reign.Compari-
son with
Augustus.Causes of
his popu-
larity.

CHAP. VI. any men of Gela who had come to Syracuse against their will might have easily become reconciled to their position as citizens of so mighty a city under so renowned a prince of their own stock. To the other classes of settlers, to the men of various kinds whom he had invited to Syracuse or who had chosen Syracuse as their abode, above all to the crowd of mercenaries whom he had raised to Syracusan citizenship, Gelôn was a father and founder in the strictest sense. All classes must have been dazzled by the splendour of his reign; the citizens of such a city as he in so short a time had made Syracuse must have felt themselves lifted up among men. And when to all this was added the glory of his crowning mercy, the thought, still so fresh at the moment of his death, that it was by his hand that the gods of Hellas had brought the great salvation of Himera, every other thought would give way to one overwhelming feeling of admiration and thankfulness. With such a claim as that on men's honour, worse wrongs than any man in Syracuse had suffered at the hands of Gelôn might well have been forgiven¹.

Character
of Gelôn's
dominion.

Whatever was the exact nature of Gelôn's power, as king, tyrant, or general, there is every reason to think that the ordinary forms of the commonwealth, the assemblies and the courts of justice, still went on. It is certain that his dominion was not practically oppressive. We hear of his care to practise the men of Syracuse in military exercises. We hear also of his care that they should not be idle, but should employ themselves

His care
for war and
agricul-
ture.

¹ Plutarch (De Sera Numinis Vindicta, 6) puts Gelôn with Hierôn—could he have been thinking of the second Hieron?—and Peisistratos, as tyrants who gained power badly, but used it well; *πονηρία κτησάμενοι τυραννίδας, ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐταῖς, καὶ παρανόμως ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχειν ἔλθόντες, ἐγένοντο μέτριοι καὶ δημοφελεῖς ἄρχοντες*: οἱ μὲν εὐνομίαν τε πολλὴν καὶ γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν παρασχόντες, αὐτοὺς τε σώφρονας τοῖς πολίτας καὶ φιλεργούς, ἐκ πολυγέλων καὶ λάλων κατασκευάσαντες. What does this last mean? Is there a lurking pun?

in agriculture, to the improvement of the land¹. The fall of the *Gamoroi*, the rise to citizenship of so many of their former subjects, the admission to citizenship of so many men of all kinds by Gelôn himself, the enlargement of the Syracusan territory by the lands of Megara, Kamarina, and perhaps Euboia, must have caused no small change in the disposition of landed property. Many new landowners must have come into possession. Some of them, as the mercenaries admitted to citizenship, may have had no great experience in the tilth of the ground or in any peaceful pursuit. No wonder then that the thoughts of Gelôn were largely given to making his people at once skilful tillers of the soil and gallant defenders of it against any enemy. In another story Gelôn appears as something like a constitutional sovereign. He asks, evidently of an assembly, for money for a war, the great Phœnician war or any other. The people cry out against the demand; he then asks for the money as a loan, and, when the war is over, he repays it². Still, even if the forms of the constitution went on, democratic freedom must, under Gelôn's rule, have become little more than a shadow, though in his day there were many things to fill men's minds and to call their thoughts off from its loss. But the position of Gelôn was after all a difficult and a precarious one. We see by the history of his successors how hard it was for any other man to keep it as he had kept it. Perhaps it was well for his own fame that he died so soon after the greatest day of his life, while the wreath of Himera was still fresh.

CHAP. VI.

Story of his
subsidy
and loan.

Of Gelôn's personal character and habits only a few notices have been preserved. One legend told how he was marked out for great things from his childhood. The

Legend
of his
childhood.

¹ Plut. Apophth., Γέλωνος, 2; ἐξῆγε πολλάκις τοὺς Συρακοσίους ὡς ἐπὶ στρατείαν καὶ φυτείαν, ὅπως ἢ τε χώρα βελτίων γένηται γεωργουμένη καὶ μὴ χεῖρονες αὐτοὶ σχολάζοντες. So we have the γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν in the last extract.

² Ib.; αἰτῶν χρήματα τοὺς πολίτας, ἐπεὶ ἐθορύβησαν, αἰτεῖν εἶπεν ὡς ἀποδώσω καὶ ἀπέδωκε μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

CHAP. VI. boy Gelôn was sitting in a school with his writing-tablet; a wolf came and carried it off; the boy followed the beast, and, before he came back, the school-house fell in, and crushed the master and a crowd of boys¹. This story might seem to belong to a rather later stage of Greek manners than the days of Gelôn. And another tale sets him forth as lacking in the ordinary accomplishments of a polished Greek. One day at a convivial gathering where he was present, the lyre was passed round, and the guests sang and played in turn. Gelôn's skill was of another kind; when his turn for the lyre came, he called for his horse, and showed the company how lightly he could spring on its back². Later tradition contrasted the uncultivated Gelôn, who recked nothing of literature, philosophy, and art, with the brother and successor who gathered all the choicest spirits of the Greek world around his rich and happy hearth³ at Syracuse⁴. It was enough to leave a memory behind him as the model prince in a city which came to have large experience of princes. It was more than the faint praise of being the best of tyrants when it was said that men put trust in Dionysios because Gelôn had reigned⁵. His last days were

Gelôn at the banquet.

His lack of culture.

His memory.

¹ J. Tzetzês, Chil. iv. 270 (just after the story of the dog below);

τούτον ἐξέσωσέ ποτε καὶ λύκος ἐκ θανάτου,

He ends;

τῶν παιδων δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ συγγραφεῖς βοῶσι,

Τίμαιοι, Διονύσιοι, Διόδωροι, καὶ Δίων

πλείω τελοῦντα ἑκατόν· τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς οὐκ οἶδε.

One would have liked a reference to our Diodôros.

² Plut. u. s.; ἐλαφρῶς καὶ βραδίας ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπ' αὐτόν.

³ Pind. Ol. i. 16;

ἐς ἀφνειὰν ἰκομένους

μάκαιραν Ἱέρωνος ἐστίαν.

⁴ He appears in an odd story in Ælian, V. H. iv. 15, as ἄνθρωπος ἄμουςος. He sets the standard of ἀγροικία.

⁵ For Gelôn as a stock subject in Syracusan rhetoricians see Diod. xiii. 22, xiv. 26. There is something more emphatic in the story in Plutarch, Dion, 5, where we get the epigram addressed to Dionysios; καὶ μὴν σὺ

indeed the days, not of a tyrant of Syracuse but rather of a king of Sicily. And if the gods watched over his childhood, they watched over his maturer years. The dumb beasts served him, the tame as well as the wild. The gravest historian of Sicily, who made history as well as wrote it, thought it not scorn to set down the tale of the faithful dog that kept guard over the slumbers of the victor of Himera ¹.

CHAP. VI.

Story of his dog.

One more mention of Gelôn remains. A story was current at Rome of a prince of Syracuse in the early days of the Roman commonwealth giving or selling a great quantity of corn to the hungry Romans in time of famine. The tale has drawn to itself special notice by being brought into connexion with the famous legend of Gaius Marcius of Corioli. To the legend-maker, as to most other people, all Sicilian tyrants were alike, and, in what is likely to be the oldest form of the story, the name brought in was that of the most renowned of Sicilian tyrants, Dionysios. More critical writers, who knew that Dionysios lived after the time assigned to Gaius Marcius, as they knew that Pythagoras lived after the time assigned to Numa Pompilius, changed the name of Dionysios into the more possible name of Gelôn ². It was perhaps a waste of critical

Did Gelôn supply Rome with corn?

Story of Dionysios and Gaius Marcius.

τυραννεις δια Γέλωνα πιστευθεις· δια σέ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος πιστευθήσεται. Yet Agathoklēs came.

¹ Pliny (Nat. Hist. viii. 61) merely tells us that Philistos made mention of Pyrrhos the dog of Gelôn. What he told about him we find in two places of Ælian, Hist. An. vi. 62, Hist. Var. i. 13. So J. Tzetzes, Chil. iv. 266. Gelôn has a dream that he is smitten with a thunderbolt. He screams for fear. The dog wakes, goes round him and gently barks, till he is awake and quieted. The former version adds the fitting remark on a tyrant's dog, ὥστι τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς παθεῖν κινδυνεύοντος. Julius Pollux (v. 42) has the same story, but he confounds dog and man, and tells it of a dog of King Pyrrhos.

² Dionysios of Halikarnassos (vii. 1) rebukes Licinius and Gellius for their chronological blunder. Plutarch (Cor. 16) takes care to be accurate. The corn was πολλὸς μὲν ἄνητος ἐξ Ἰταλίας, οὐκ ἐλάττων δὲ δαρητὸς ἐκ Συρα-

CHAP. VI. power to try to reconcile a poetic legend with the Fasti. That Gelôn may have supplied Rome with corn no one can deny. The fact is possible, and even likely. Those who accept the first treaty between Rome and Carthage will assuredly not dispute the likelihood of commercial dealings between Rome and Syracuse. But there is no such distinct evidence for them as there is for the treaty between Rome and Carthage. The story would most likely arise in days when Sicily was already beginning to be the granary of Italy. If corn was brought from beyond sea, it was in Sicily that it must have been sought, and Dionysios, the best known of Sicilian names, must have been the sender. It is hardly safe to set down the feeding of hungry Rome among the authentic acts of Gelôn.

§ 2. *The Works of Thérôn at Akragas.*

B. C. 480-472.

Later days
of Thérôn. The lord of Syracuse thus went down to his grave with the honours of the greatest day of his life fresh upon him, before he had had the chance or the temptation to do aught to tarnish the fame of the deliverer of Hellas. His fellow-worker, the lord of Akragas, outlived him by six years, and a considerable part of the recorded history of Thérôn follows the day on which he and Gelôn fought side by side. And in the local history of Akragas the effects of the day of Himera make themselves more distinctly seen than they are at Syracuse. We speak of Gelôn as the second founder of Syracuse, as the man who enlarged the bounds of the city itself no less than the bounds of the dominion of which he made her the head. But

Works of
Gelôn and
Thérôn.

κουσῶν, Γέλωνος τοῦ τυράννου πέμψαντος. Livy (ii. 34) does not mention either name.

his great works must have been mainly done before the Carthaginian invasion; it was as the lord of the enlarged Syracuse that he stands forth before the envoys of Old Greece. There is much reason to believe that Thêrôn was in the same sense the second founder of Akragas; but it is clear that his greatest works were done after the victory of Himera and as the direct result of that victory. That the most brilliant season of Akragantine prosperity now began there can be no doubt. The explanation that is given us is doubtless true as far as it goes; but it is surely inadequate. We have already marked the vast number of barbarian slaves which came into the hands of the victors of Himera. They were in fact the most valuable part of the spoil. These bondmen were divided among the cities which had a share in the battle, and were by them employed in the public works which were going on in each¹. The only powers, to use modern language, which had shared in the war were Syracuse and Akragas, Gelôn and Thêrôn. But as Gelôn and Thêrôn had warred with the full force, not only of Syracuse and Akragas, but of their whole dominions, we may suppose that each of their subject or dependent cities received some share of this human booty. But in any case more than full measure fell to the lot of Akragas. Of those soldiers of the defeated army who did not at once fall into the hands of the victors, but wandered about seeking shelter, the greater part strayed into the Akragantine territory which lay open to them to the south, and there fell into the hands of new enemies². Each man of Akragas seems to have caught them as he could, like any other kind of

Prosperity
of Akragas.

Number of
barbarian
captives.

¹ Diod. xi. 25; αἱ δὲ πόλεις εἰς πέδας κατέστησαν τοὺς διαιρεθέντας αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ τὰ δημόσια τῶν ἔργων διὰ τούτων ἐπεσκεύαζον.

² Ib.; ἀνεχώρησαν μάλιστα εἰς τὴν Ἀκραγαντίνων, ὧν ἀπάντων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων ζωγρηθέντων, ἔγεμεν ἡ πόλις τῶν ἐαλωκότων. Later in the chapter he says that the number throughout Sicily was so great ὥστε δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νήσου γεγονέναι τὴν Διβύην ὅλην αἰχμάλωτον.

CHAP. VI. game. The city was full of captives, not a few Akragantine citizens owned as many as five hundred¹. But those who became the property of the state were a yet greater number. And these were presently set to labour at the great public works with which the citizens and their munificent master began to adorn the city.

They work
at the
buildings.

The tem-
ples and
the drains.

Of the works that were now carried out at Akragas several classes are specially mentioned. The prisoners cut the stone for the building of the greater temples, and also for great works of drainage which were now undertaken. At the same time a large artificial fishpond was made². Here is no mention of the building of walls or of any extension of the city; but those works did take place some time, and this time of increased wealth and increased energy under a vigorous chief is the most obvious time

The wall ;

for them. As has been already argued³, we cannot believe that this vast extent of wall was laid out from the first; and the work suits the circumstances of the reign of Thêrôn better than any time before or after. The example of his ally at Syracuse would go for something; what Gelôn had done for his city Thêrôn would do for his, and more also. And again the making of the wall at this time is almost implied in what is said about the building of the temples. The temples here spoken of, the greatest temples of the gods⁴, can mean only the line of temples along the southern wall, as distinguished from earlier temples on the akropolis and elsewhere, among them from that temple of Athênê with which Thêrôn had had something to do in earlier days. The style of architecture shows these temples to belong to the fifth century before Christ. Two of them, those of Hêraklês and of Olympian Zeus, were of great size; that of Zeus was the greatest

its relation
to the
temples.

¹ Diod. xi. 25.

² See below, p. 231.

³ See vol. i. p. 434.

⁴ Diod. u.s.; ἐξ ἧν οὐ μόνον οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν ναοὶ κατεσκευάσθησαν, κ.τ.λ.

temple of Akragas or of Hellas. And they are clearly built with reference to the south wall of the enlarged city. They follow its line; the temples adorn the wall, and the wall protects the temples. Of course the temples might have been built in this relation to an already existing wall; but it seems far more likely that wall and temples both formed part of a great plan for the enlargement and strengthening and beautifying of the city, such plans as we know to have filled the minds of the men of Akragas at this time. CHAP. VI.

Of this plan, it is obvious that the wall was a work which, if it was to be done at all, had to be done all at once, while the building of the temples might be carried on more gradually. The captives of Himera would not last for ever; but the wealth for which Akragas now begins to be famous would find means for the works. That, even with such help, the work was done but slowly we know in the case of the greatest temple of all. The Olympieion of Akragas was still unfinished more than seventy years after the battle of Himera¹. From this we may infer that the like was the case with regard to the other buildings. We may therefore say with some confidence that Thêrôn made the whole wall, but that he only began the temples. Of the temples then in their perfect state, as part of the wealth and splendour of Akragas a generation or two later, we may speak in another chapter; our present business is with the wall. Thêrôn makes the wall.
He begins the temples.

The story of the enlargement of Akragas is the same as that of the enlargement of Syracuse, with the differences needful on each site. Syracuse spread upwards, Akragas downwards; and Akragas seemingly had no outposts to take in. The inhabited area of the city now reached far beyond the original fortified inclosure; dwellings were fast Enlargement of Akragas.

¹ See Diod. xiii. 82.

CHAP. VI. spreading over the whole slope of the hill. It was expedient to make this newly occupied region part of the city in every sense, and to fence it in by an enlarged wall. Thêrôn did at Akragas after a hundred years what Aurelian did at Rome after eight hundred, as in truth Servius had already done before him. In choosing his line of defence he was of course guided by the nature of the ground which he had to defend. And nature had done much for him. He may be said to have found a great part of his wall ready-made. We speak of building the wall, but in a large part of its circuit there was very little building to be done. The foundation was already laid almost everywhere. That is to say, Thêrôn, in carrying out the defences of his enlarged Akragas, simply followed the line of the natural hill. In many parts there was little more to do than to cut the cliff into the needful shape, and, where it was wanted, to raise it to the needful height. In some parts, where the ground was less rocky, the slope was scarped and strengthened by masonry. In many parts it was needful to build on the rock; here and there it was needful to build from the foundations. In the circuit of the wall of Akragas examples of all these different kinds of work will be found. Near the south-eastern corner we see what a strong and lofty defence could be made out of the rock itself; near the south-western corner are the best pieces of scarpment. On both the east and west sides, the cliff in some parts sinks and turns inland. On the west side some grand remains of built wall span the mouth of the inlet, so to speak, which is thus formed ¹.

The
natural
wall.

Shape of
the en-
closure.

As to the direction of the wall on the north, east, and south sides there is no question. It followed the line of

¹ The wall generally cannot be better described than it is by Polybios, ix. 27; ὁ δὲ περίβολος αὐτῆς καὶ φύσει καὶ κατασκευῇ διαφερόντως ἡσφάλισται. κείται γὰρ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου καὶ περιρρῶγος, ἥ μὲν αὐτοφυῶς, ἥ δὲ χειροποιήτου.

the main hill. This is such that there can hardly be said CHAP. VI. to be a north-eastern corner. Where that corner should be, the northern and eastern sides are represented by a single curve. There is no distinctly eastern side till about the point, a point where the hill is specially steep and rocky, which was crowned by the temple which has been sometimes assigned to the goddesses of Sicily and sometimes to the river-god Akragas¹. Below this point there is, as on the western side, a deep inlet in the hill, where the cliff sinks and seems to have had its place supplied by a built wall. Another small inlet further to the south formed the road of approach from Gela; here was the eastern gate of the city, the gate of Gela. The southern wall was The gates. pierced by the sea-gate, the gate that led to the haven, known, in later times at least, as at Constantinople and at Spalato, by the name of *porta aurea*. It is only on the western side that there is room for controversy on any point beyond the naming of the temples. On this side the hill that bears the wall rises above a steep and narrow ravine, most unlike the plain that stretches below the southern wall, and widely differing from the broad dale of the Akragas with its tall hills on the other side. A Gate of Hérakleia. western gate, a gate of Hérakleia, has been placed on this side by some, and has been denied by others². The only place for it would seem to be where, nearly at the same point, near the junction of the Hypsas or Drago with its tributary the brook of Saint Leonard, the main valley widens and the cliff fails. Here it is that the built wall boldly descends the hill to span the mouth of the small tributary valley³. Soon after this point, going northwards, the

¹ See above, p. 80.

² Siefert, 24; Schubring, 19. Its existence is hardly proved by the phrase of Polybios (i. 18) describing the Roman siege; *θατέρῳ δὲ καταστρατοπέδευσαν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἡράκλειαν κεκλιμένοις μέρεσι τῆς πόλεως*. Cavalieri (p. 86) seems to doubt.

³ Another point shown to the north seems less likely.

CHAP. VI. wall forsakes the line of the Hypsas. Or more truly it is here that the Hypsas, flowing from the north-west, joins the wall. Here is a noble fragment of ancient masonry, the remains of a wide bridge spanning the main ravine

The Bridge of the Dead. and connecting the later city with the nekropolis. It still bears the fitting name of the Bridge of the Dead. From that point northwards the line of wall has been variously drawn. Some make it span the ravine and meet the wall of the akropolis at its south-western corner. This would make the later city take in the steep ground immediately below the akropolis¹. Others trace the wall along the west side of the ravine of Saint Leonard to the south-eastern corner of the akropolis, leaving the elder city isolated as before, joined on to the younger only by its eastern gate on the narrow neck². This certainly seems the most likely view. It is hard to see what object could be gained by taking the steep right side of the ravine of Saint Leonard within the city. It would seem far more important to defend its other bank.

Nature of the ground within the wall.

The space taken in by the enclosure thus formed seems a strange one to have been covered by the buildings of a vast city. At Syracuse we are struck, not only by the general desolation of the forsaken parts of the city, but the wildness of look which some parts, say just above the theatre and the *latomia*i throughout, must have kept when houses had grown up thickly on both sides of them. Still, after all, the greater part of Syracuse lies on two nearly flat levels, and, bating the stoniness of the ground, there was no great difficulty in building on either of them. The forsaken hill-side at Akragas is often bare and rocky; yet, cultivated and planted as so much of it is, it is far from having the same general look of desolation as the hill-top at Syracuse. But its broken ground, its hills and ravines,

¹ Pol. ix. 27. See vol. i. p. 434.

² See Cavallari, p. 86, and compare his map with that of Schubring.

must have been far less suitable for the laying out of continuous streets. The outer town of Akragas must have taken the shape of a crowd of hill-villages, each with its steep sides leading up to its own little akropolis. That the whole or the greater part of the ground within the extended walls was fully occupied is abundantly shown by the large remains of ancient roads and ancient buildings of various dates scattered over its whole surface. Here we follow a wheel-track; here we light on a fragment of wall, on a bath, on the foundation and pavement of an ancient house, on a small temple, on a nameless building with a rich cornice¹. Most or all of these are of much later date than the time of Thêrôn. But all help to show how, in the days of Thêrôn and long after, the vast extent of Akragas was covered with all that comes of the crowded occupation of a great city.

The tombs of the dead are in these ages of course to be looked for without the walls, in the nekropolis on the western side. Compared with the vast store of primitive tombs at Syracuse, but few places of burial of the earlier inhabitants are found within the wall of Akragas. But the singular appearances in the southern wall, in the inner face of its eastern half, are among the most remarkable things in the city. Tombs cut in the native face of the rock that forms the wall are in no way wonderful. But here we not only see a number of tombs cut in the ground, and a special group partly cut in the ground and partly hewn in the rock²; for a considerable distance the wall—the wall here being the native rock—has been thoroughly honeycombed by holes of all shapes and sizes, what have been commonly and reasonably thought to be

The nekropolis.

Tombs in the southern wall.

¹ I mean the round building within the precinct of the monastery of Saint Nicolas. Hard by is the small temple which goes by the strange name of the Chapel of Phalaris. See Dennis, 213; Cavallari, 87.

² Those known as the Catacombs of the Frangapani; Cavallari, 88.

CHAP. VI. sepulchral, but about which other opinions have been risked. Specially strange is the effect of this burrowing at those points where the rock which was used as a wall was cut into the shape of a tower. Now these holes cannot be older than the fortification of the enlarged city; they are not cut in the untouched rock but in the wall that was shaped out of the rock. It is past belief that such tampering with the defences of the city could have been allowed in times when these walls still defended it. The unavoidable inference is that all these holes are, what those which are cut in the ground certainly are, Christian, or, if any one pleases, Mussulman, burying-places of later days. By those times Roman Agrigentum had again shrunk up within the old akropolis, and neither Saracen nor Norman Girgenti overleaped that boundary. The walls of the outer city were no longer walls in any military sense; they were open for any one that chose to burrow in them. A village population may well have nestled under the forsaken bulwarks, and more of the temples than one may have been turned into churches or mosques or both in turn. The chances certainly are that these very striking cuttings have nothing to do either with Greek Akragas or with Sikan *præ*-Akragas. They most likely belong to Christian Agrigentum or to Mussulman Girgenti¹.

Their late date.

Water-courses.

Temples and walls moreover were not the only works with which the munificent tyrant of Akragas adorned and strengthened his city. Water was a thing of special need in the great circuit which he laid out. For, unless we count the rivulets which may trickle down some of the ravines, there is none within its bounds. At Akragas then, as at Syracuse, an elaborate system of water-courses was needed; and they can hardly fail to have been made at the time of the extension of the city. And we know for certain that that extension was accompanied by great works of

¹ See Cavallari, p. 89.

drainage. For these too the captives of Himera cut the stone as well as for the temples. Of these great drains, which bore the name of their engineer Phaiax, traces are said still to be seen¹. And we can at least see the site of the great artificial fish-pond, seven stadia round and twenty fathoms deep, with its fish and its swans and its other water-fowl², whose neglect and choking-up the native historian of Sicily laments³. We look down on it at the south-western corner of the wall, from the neighbourhood of the most western of the range of temples. In short Thêrôn designed to make his city one of the greatest cities of the world, and he succeeded. What the tyrant began the democracy that followed him went on with. Akragas became a city hardly inferior to Syracuse, perhaps at the time greater than Syracuse, in extent and splendour, though she always lagged behind Syracuse in point of external dominion. And, if the growth of Greek colonial cities was quick, their life was often short. Rich and mighty doubtless from the beginning, according to the standard of an earlier time, Akragas, at the age of a hundred years,

CHAP. VI.
The fish-pond.

Greatness of Akragas.

¹ Diod. xi. 25; ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκροὰς ὑπὸ νομοῖ κατεσκευάσθησαν. He enlarges on their size, and adds; ἐπιστάτης δὲ γενόμενος τῶν ἔργων ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Φαίαξ, διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ κατασκευάσματος ἐποίησεν ἅψ' ἑαυτοῦ κληθῆναι τοὺς ὑπονόμους φαίακας. I willingly give up the subject of watercourses to Schubring, who discourses in full on the matter at p. 38. He suggests that the φαίακες were not called after Phaiax, but that Phaiax was the *epônymos* of the φαίακες. There is certainly something odd in Diodôros' words ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Φαίαξ. Still Phaiax is a real name, as we shall find somewhat later in our story.

² Diod. xi. 25; εἰς ταύτην ἐπαγομένων ποταμῶν καὶ κρηναίων ὑδάτων, ἰχθυοτροφεῖον ἐγένετο, πολλοὺς παρεχόμενον ἰχθῦς εἰς τρυφήν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν. In the other account (xiii. 82), where he calls it λίμνη ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως χειροποίητος, he says that the fish were εἰς τὰς δημοσίας ἐστιάσεις. Athenaios (xii. 59) oddly quotes Diodôros as making the fishpond a work of Gelôn—can he mean Thêrôn?—and adds that the fish were εἰς τὴν τρυφήν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν τῷ Γέλωνι. The swans are mentioned in both accounts, the other birds in the later one only.

³ Diod. xi. 25; ἀλλ' αὕτη μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἀμεληθεῖσα συνελήσθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ χρόνου κατεφθάρη. Cf. Athenaios, u. s. The site is still plain enough, but it is now a garden without swans or fish.

CHAP. VI. began to wax far richer and mightier. Seventy-four years later she was, for the first but not for the last time, swept with the besom of destruction.

§ 3. *The Reign of Hierôn.*

B. C. 478-467.

Dynasties
of tyrants
grow
worse.

Gelôn,
Hierôn,
and Thra-
syboulos.

Character
of the reign
of Hierôn.

His vic-
tories in
the games.

The rule that a tyranny showed its worse features under the prince who inherited, as distinguished from him who acquired, dominion, did not fail to come true in the case of the dynasty of the Deinomenids. In the case of a son born, as the phrase is, in the purple, it was almost naturally so. But Gelôn was succeeded, not by a son but by a brother, a brother whose fortunes had risen along with his own, and who had been his comrade in the most glorious day of his life. Still there is a marked fall at each succession among the Deinomenid brothers. There is a fall from Gelôn to Hierôn; there is a fall again from Hierôn to Thrasyboulos. Gelôn has nothing of the tyrant about him except the way in which he rose to power. Had he been born to be a lawful king, he would have no need for the crimes of his early career. We should have heard only of his good rule over his people, and of the victory won by him on behalf of a wider world than his own people. Hierôn, who did not seize power for himself, but succeeded to an established dominion, shows in his internal government every characteristic of the tyrant¹. He is not indeed charged with the frightful excesses of some other tyrants; still his rule is the rule of a tyrant, suspicious, greedy, and cruel. He won his chief fame by the same course by which other tyrants in later times have won theirs. He made himself a name by splendid victories in the games of old Greece, and those victories were commemorated in the

¹ See above, p. 218, note.

laureate strains of Pindar and other poets. And he gathered round them all that was brilliant in the opening intellectual world of Sicily and of all Hellas. He has had his reward in the praises of those who best knew how to bestow abiding praise. The Augustan age of Rome, the Medicean age of Florence, were forestalled in the few years' reign of Hierôn over Syracuse and Ætna. The horse-loving king, the father of strangers, holy as being the hereditary hierophant of the awful rites from which he took his name¹, lord of Syracuse, founder of Ætna, defender of Lokroi, victor of Kymê, stands forth in the poetry of Greece with a blaze of glory such as never gathered round the name of Gelôn. When the panegyrist goes on further to speak of the ruler mild to his citizens and envying not the good, we have to make up our minds whether it is the voice of simple flattery or a voice of gentle warning taking its shape².

CHAP. VI.
His
patronage
of poets.

And yet there is another side to him. Whatever we say of the lord of Syracuse and founder of Ætna, the defender of Lokroi, and still more the victor of Kymê, fully deserves all the praises which the songs of the poets have heaped upon him. Hierôn had fought at Himera; he had shared the glory of his brothers; and, little as there is to be said to his honour in his own household, in his own city, or in his own island, when we once step beyond those bounds, the Hierôn of universal history is fully in his place as the comrade and successor of Gelôn. Among the songs of his poets, those where we listen to the clearest ring of truth, those where we are least tempted to suspect some undercurrent of censure or warning, are the strains which tell how through Hierôn's deeds the maidens of Lokroi could

His better
side in
universal
history.

¹ Pind. Ol. i. 35; *Συρακόσιον ἵπποχάρμαν βασιλῆα*. Pyth. iii. 125; *ξεῖνους δὲ θανμαστὸς πατήρ*. This last epithet and some others come together in the Hyporchema of Pindar (Bergk, i. 408) addressed to him as *ζαθέων ἱερῶν ὁμάννυμε πάτερ κτίστορ Αἴτνας*. *Ἱέραν* was clearly called from the ancestral *ἱερά*.

² Ib.; *βασιλεὺς πρᾶς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς*. See Appendix XXVII.

CHAP. VI. dwell safely in their homes¹, or that more stirring voice which sang how the Phœnician and the Etruscan ceased from troubling, when they had once felt the might of the lord of Syracuse, first at Himera and then beside the shore of Kymê². The second son of Deinomenês has, like the first, his place among the champions of Hellas, the champions of Europe. As such, let him enjoy his honours. And we may add that his actual recorded misdeeds do not seem in number or in blackness to have outdone those by which his brother became lord of Gela and of Syracuse. But he had not his brother's gift of making an unworthy rise to power be forgotten in a worthier use of it. In the city which he had made his by force and guile Gelôn was in life honoured as a king, and in death worshipped as a hero. Neither the praises of his poets nor the real merits of one side of his acts can avail to lift Hierôn out of the class of tyrants.

His Hellenic championship.

Comparison of Gelôn and Hierôn.

Suspicious nature of Hierôn's government.

His mercenaries.

The chief characteristic of the government of Hierôn was suspicion. His authority rested on the spears of mercenaries. So in some sort had that of Gelôn; but the mercenaries by whom Gelôn had been served in his rise to power had passed into the ranks of citizens. As such, they no longer answered the purposes of Hierôn, who accordingly gathered fresh hirelings from all parts, as a

¹ Pindar, Pyth. ii. 35;

σὲ δ', ὦ Δεινομένειε παῖ, Ζεφυρία πρὸ δόμων
 Λοκρὶς παρθένος ἀπύει,
 πολεμίων καμάτων ἐξ ἀμαχάνων
 διὰ τεὰν δύναμιν δρακεῖσ' ἀσφαλές.

See below, p. 240, and Appendix IX.

² Ib. i. 136;

λίσσομαι νεῦσον, Κρονίαν, ἄμερον
 ὄφρα κατ' οἶκον ὁ Φοῖνιξ ὁ Τυρσανῶν τ' ἀλαλατὸς
 ἔχῃ, ναυσίστονον ὕβριν ἰδὼν
 τὰν πρὸ Κύμας
 οἷα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῇ δαμασθέντες πάθον,
 ᾠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν ὃ σφιν ἐν πόντῳ βάλεθ' ἀλικίαν
 'Ελλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλίας.

needful support of his power¹. If the dialogue among the writings of Xenophôn which bears his name contains any relics of genuine tradition and is not a mere ideal picture of tyranny, Hierôn could trust none, neither citizen nor friend nor wife nor beloved one. The tyrant could never be certain that any of these served him from love rather than from fear². He was guarded by strangers rather than by citizens, by barbarians rather than by Greeks³. This is, to be sure, a general picture of tyranny; but it proves something that Hierôn should have been picked out as the representative of tyranny; one can hardly fancy such a picture being drawn of Gelôn.

On the purely domestic side of Hierôn's character, there is some ground to think that this picture is exaggerated. There are at least anecdotes which show that he lived on terms of the closest confidence with one at least of his wives. Of these he had three. A daughter of Nikoklês of Syracuse was the mother of his son Deinomenês⁴. She was followed by the daughter of Anaxilas of Rhêgion⁵ and

CHAP. VI.
The Hierôn
of Xeno-
phôn.

His wives.

¹ Diod. xi. 48; αὐτὸς δὲ ξενολογῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν σύστημα ξένων παρασκευάζων, ὑπελάμβανεν ἀσφαλῶς καθέξειν τὴν βασιλείαν. Cf. the proverb preserved by Zênobios (v. 88); Σικελὸς στρατιώτης· παροιμιῶδες ἐπεὶ ξένοις ἐχρῶντο στρατιώταις, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Ἱέρωνι. I suppose this means the first Hierôn; but among these late collectors we cannot expect Σικελὸς and Σικελιώτης to be distinguished.

² The whole of the Dialogue between Hierôn and Simônidês is devoted to setting forth the wretchedness of the tyrant from the confessed experiences of one of the class. The first chapter is largely employed in showing how little the tyrant can enjoy love, friendship, or anything else, because, as nothing can be denied to him, he cannot be sure that anything is given to him willingly. The name of Dailochos in c. 31 must come from some contemporary source. Cf. the fragment in Athen. x. 30 (Bergk, i. 425), with the names of Chimaros and Agathôn.

³ Xen. Hier. vi. 5; ἔτι δὲ ξένοις μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ πολίταις πιστεύειν, βαρβάροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ Ἕλλησιν. He adds, with a clear reference to the changes of population at Syracuse and elsewhere; ἐπιθυμεῖν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους δούλους ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ δούλους ἀναγκάζεσθαι ποιεῖν ἐλευθέρους.

⁴ Schol. Pind. Pyth. i. 112. He quotes Phillistos and Timaios.

⁵ See above, p. 211.

CHAP. VI. by the niece of Thêrôn of Akragas¹. But as regards his
 His spies. specially suspicious character. The Greek tongue in its
 Doric form was enriched by new words to describe the
 spies of both sexes whom the lord of Syracuse employed
 to make their way into every social gathering of his sub-
 jects, and to bring their report to their master². This
 we may believe. It is going too far when a late writer
 tells us that Hierôn forbade the people of Syracuse to open
 their lips at all, and that they therefore took to the lan-
 guage of gestures³. But there is no doubt that Hierôn's
 reign was a reign of violence; the days of Gelôn, with
 his mild rule and frank demeanour, had passed away. It
 was also a reign of heavy exactions. Hierôn, like the
 Conqueror of England, had fallen into covetousness, and
 greediness he loved withal⁴. And his disputes with the
 worthiest of his own kindred form no small part of the
 history of his time.

Hierôn
 and Poly-
 zêlos.

Of the Greek tyrant it is specially to be looked
 for that his foes should be they of his own household.
 The special object of the jealousy of Hierôn was his
 own brother Polyzêlos. Entrusted by Gelôn with the
 charge of his young son, the third son of Deinomenês had
 further won the love which the people of Syracuse refused

¹ This is perhaps the wife of whom Plutarch tells the story, Apophth. 'Ιέρωνος, 3; λοιδορηθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος εἰς τὴν δυσωδίαν τοῦ στόματος, ἡτῆτο τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα μηδέποτε περὶ τούτου φράσασαν· ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· ᾧ μὴν γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἅπαντας τοὺς ἄνδρας ὄζειν. This would seem to be the same wife who asks a question of Simônidês.

² Arist. Pol. v. 9. 3; καὶ τὸ μὴ λανθάνειν πειρᾶσθαι ὅσα τυγχάνει τις λέγων ἢ πράττων τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλ' εἶναι κατασκόπους, οἷον περὶ Συρακουσίους αἱ ποταγωγίδες καλούμεναι καὶ τοὺς ὠτακονστὰς, οὓς ἐξέπεμψεν ὁ 'Ιέρων, ὅπου τις εἴη συνουσία ἢ σύλλογος. The names seem coined for the occasion, like the names coined to describe doings of Tiberius of another kind.

³ See Appendix XXVII.

⁴ Diod. xi. 67; ᾗν καὶ φιλάργυρος καὶ βίαιος, καὶ καθύλου τῆς ἀπλότητος καὶ καλοκαγαθίας τὰ δειλφῶ ἀλλοτριώτατος.

to their actual ruler¹. The friendship too of Thêrôn of Akragas passed on the death of Gelôn, not to Gelôn's successor in the dominion of Syracuse, but to the new husband of his own daughter Damareta. A brother who was dangerous to the tyranny in so many ways needed to be got rid of or to be made harmless. In a distant and dangerous foreign service he might be got rid of easily and quietly. The arts by which the fate of Uriah had been compassed among the kinsmen of the Phœnician were not unknown in the policy which sought to find out what words every man in Syracuse spoke to his fellow. The errand on which Polyzêlos was sent marks a chief difference between the policy of Hierôn and that of Gelôn. Except so far as dealings with the lord of Zanklê were necessarily dealings with the lord of Rhêgion, the warfare and policy of Gelôn do not seem to have reached beyond his own island. He guarded Syracuse and Sicily; but he sought for no dominion beyond their waters. He made no conquests, he planted no colonies, beyond their bounds. He meddled with the affairs of no prince or people out of Sicily except as matter of sheer self-defence. But the policy of Hierôn was that of later lords of Syracuse, with whom one great object was the winning of dominion, or at least of influence, in other lands than Sicily, and above all in the neighbouring land of Italy. In the affairs of that land he had at this moment an honourable opportunity for interfering. The Krotoniats were carrying on a war against that feeble remnant of mighty Sybaris which still kept on a precarious life as an independent state. Hierôn did at least take the side of the weaker party, and Polyzêlos was bidden to lead an army to the defence of the Sybarites. He was sent, so men said, in the hope that he might be slain by the sword of the men of Krotôn. The story is told in various ways. In one

CHAP. VI.

Hierôn's
devices
against
his brother.

Foreign
policy of
Hierôn;
contrast
with
Gelôn.

Hierôn de-
fends the
Sybarites
against
Krotôn.

¹ See Appendix XXIII.

CHAP. VI. version Polyzêlos declines or evades the dangerous command; in another he wages the war with such success as still further to arouse his brother's jealousy. In a third tale the enemies against whom he is sent are not Greeks in Italy, but Sikels in their own island ¹. In all versions the brothers become open enemies, and Polyzêlos seeks shelter at the hands of his father-in-law at Akragas.

War between
Hierôn and
Thêrôn.
B.C. 478-
476.

Mediation
of Simô-
nidês.

Kapys and
Hippo-
kratês.

Thrasy-
daïos at
Himera.

The friendship between the lords of Syracuse and Akragas was now broken for a season, and was perhaps never again restored so firmly as it had stood in the days of Gelôn. Hierôn at once declared war against the protector of his exiled brother. In one version Thêrôn enters the dominions of Hierôn, and marches as far as the river Gelas; but actual warfare is hindered by the mediation of the poet Simônidês ². And this story seems to have got mixed up with a tale of the two kinsmen of Thêrôn, Kapys and Hippokratês, who are said to have revolted against him, and to have joined some enemy of his, perhaps Hierôn, perhaps the Carthaginians ³. In another account Hierôn is made to win back the friendship of Thêrôn by a singular deed of treachery. The lord of Akragas and Himera, who left behind him so honoured a memory at Akragas, could hardly have won much good will at Himera. That city could have gained nothing by driving out its former tyrant Têrillos when Thêrôn entrusted its rule to his son Thrasydaïos. As usual, the worst features of tyranny came out in the second generation. The son of Thêrôn walked not in the ways of his father. His rule at Himera was oppressive, and drew on him general hatred. Under the yoke of Têrillos the men of Himera had called in Thêrôn as a deliverer; under the yoke of Thêrôn's son they held it useless to appeal to his father, deeming that

¹ On all these points see Appendix XXIII.

² See Appendix XXIII.

³ See Appendix XXIII, and above, p. 147.

from him they would have no fair hearing. Was this a general common-place of human nature, or does it point to a weak side in Thêrôn's character, the common weak side in the character of princes? Under the usual delusion that any change of masters must be for the better, the men of Himera betook themselves to the lord of Syracuse. They offered to give up their city into his hands, and to join him in an attack on the lord of Akragas. Hierôn, it would seem, thought that any immediate gain that would come to him from the very distant possession of Himera was of less moment than the common cause of rulers against their subjects. He betrayed his Himeraian suppliants to Thêrôn. Instead of giving them any help, or seemingly any answer, he sent a secret message to the lord of Akragas to say what was going on. Between the two tyrants a peace was easily patched up. Hierôn, widowed of his Syracusan and his Rhegine wife, took Thêrôn's niece in marriage¹, and the present husband of Damareta was restored to his honours at Syracuse. But a frightful vengeance fell on the discontented party in Himera. Thêrôn, so mild at Akragas, sent, perhaps went in person, to the city where he had won his highest fame, and there let slay all who had spoken or acted against him, who were many in number².

CHAP. VI.
The Himeraians offer themselves to Hierôn.

He betrays them to Thêrôn.

Vengeance of Thêrôn.

In another version Thrasydaïos and Polyzêlos are brought more closely together. Thrasydaïos, from what motive is not explained, stirs up Polyzêlos against his brother, and promises him help in any enterprise against him. Simônîdês steps in and, in some way not very clearly described, reconciles the contending princes³. In these accounts Himera seems to be forgotten; but we have other dark notices of disturbances there⁴, and we have one more

Other versions.

¹ See above, p. 236, and Appendix XXVI.

² See Appendix XXIII.

³ See Appendix XXIII.

⁴ The Scholiasts on Pindar, Ol. xii, the one addressed to Ergotêlês of

CHAP. VI. distinct statement as to its affairs. The year after the
Thêrôn's massacre, which seems to have seriously lessened the num-
settlement ber of the citizens of Himera, Thêrôn found it expedient
of Himera. to send fresh colonists thither. Himera had been from
the beginning a city of mixed race, a Dorian element
having been mingled with the Chalkidian majority¹. The
lord of Doric Akragas, in inviting settlers from all parts,
sought specially to strengthen this Doric element in
Himera². It may be that now Ergotelês of Knôssos in
Crete, Ergotelês sung of by Pindar, when driven from his
native city by some civil broil, received the citizenship of
Himera. But the victory which Pindar sang belongs to
a later time when Emmenids no longer ruled in Himera.

Action of The version of this story which makes the quarrel
Hierôn in between Hierôn and Polyzêlos arise out of warfare in Italy
Italy. falls in with the other notices which set Hierôn before us
as playing an active part in Italian affairs. As sometimes
happens with men of mixed character, he plays a far more
honourable part at a distance than he does nearer home.
He steps in both to save Greek Italy—and Sicily too—from
barbarian invasion, and also to save particular Greek cities
from oppression at the hands of their Greek neighbours.
We have seen him step in to save the remnant of Sybaris

Designs of Anaxilas against Lokroi. from overthrow at the hands of Krotôn. He steps in also
to save the Italian Lokroi from overthrow at the hands
of the prince who reigned both in Sicily and in Italy.
About the same time as the affair of Himera, Anaxilas of
Zanklê and Rhêgion and his son Kleophrôn threatened the

Knôssos and Himera, of whom we shall have to speak again, refer vaguely
to disturbances in the latter city. See Appendix XXIII.

¹ See vol. i. p. 412.

² Diod. xi. 49 (it is a comfort to get back to him after the Scholiasts);
Θήρων, μετὰ τὴν Ἱμεραίων σφαγὴν, ὁρῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκητόρων δεομένην,
συνψύκισεν εἰς ταύτην τοὺς τε Δωριεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς βουλομένους ἐπο-
λιτογράφησεν.

independence, perhaps designed the utter overthrow, of Lokroi. Anaxilas, as we have seen, had, since the battle of Himera, acknowledged some kind of superiority on the part of the lord of Syracuse¹. An embassy from the overlord was enough. Chromios, the comrade and brother-in-law of Gelôn and Hierôn, was sent to announce his mighty kinsman's will. Anaxilas ceased from troubling Lokroi, and to this interference Hierôn owed one of the most genuine pieces of praise ever bestowed on him by his poets². This enterprise and humiliation were the last recorded events of the life of Anaxilas. He died the next year. His son Kleophrôn, or Leophrôn, who seems to have acted as his representative in Zanklê, must have died before him³. He left his power to two other sons of tender age under a guardian named Mikythos son of Choiros, a faithful steward, of whom we shall hear again, and who discharged his trust better than Gelôn had discharged his trust towards the sons of Hippokratês⁴.

CHAP. VI.

Mission of Chromios : deliverance of Lokroi. B.C. 477.

Death of Anaxilas. B.C. 476.

His sons succeed under the care of Mikythos.

The wholesale transportation of the inhabitants from one city to another has, under the rule of the tyrants, become as familiar among the Greeks of Sicily as it had always been among the despots of the East. We have seen what Gelôn did in this way in his own birth-place

Transportations of inhabitants.

¹ See above, p. 34.

² The verses of Pindar, Pyth. ii. 34, have been quoted already (see above, p. 231). The story is told by several scholiasts. Anaxilas is at war with Lokroi, and Chromios is sent with the message. In another version (Pyth. i. 98) the designs of Anaxilas seem to go further; *Λόκρους ἠθέλησεν ἄρδην ἀπολέσαι*. (See Appendix X.)

³ See Appendix IX, X.

⁴ Clinton fixes the death of Anaxilas to B.C. 476. Mikythos is mentioned by Herodotus, vii. 170; *ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος, οἰκίτης ἐὼν Ἀναξιλέω, ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου καταλέλειπτο*. Diodôros (xi. 48) is fuller; *τὴν τυραννίδα διεδέξατο Μίκυθος πιστευθεὶς, ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς τέκνοις τοῦ τελευτήσαντος, οὗσι νέοις τὴν ἡλικίαν*. Cf. Justin, iv. 2. 2. See Appendix XXIX.

CHAP. VI.

Hierôn of
Ætna.Eruption
of Ætna.
B.C. 475.

and elsewhere, and we have seen what Thêrôn did at Himera after a deed of blood such as is nowhere laid to the charge of Gelôn. Forced migrations of this kind, helped on by other migrations which were not forced, had caused not a few to exchange the citizenship of their native city for that of some other to which they belonged only by adoption. We have heard Ergotelês of Knôssos described to assembled Hellas as Ergotelês of Himera, and two men more famous than Ergotelês were presently to be described in the like sort by the names of cities which were not theirs by birth. Hierôn himself, by birth of Gela, received the poet's tribute both as Hieron of Syracuse and as Hierôn of Ætna¹. Chromios too, so nearly allied to him in every way, once, like him, of Gela, then of Syracuse, was also proclaimed in the games of Nemea by the same local description². The right of either so to describe himself, the right of Ætna to rank among the cities of Hellas, had been won in a strange fashion. The cloud-capped mountain whose abiding snow struck men from Old Greece as a thing of wonder was busy in Hierôn's day sending forth its rivers of fire to lay waste the fields of fruitful Sicily³. So sang both Pindar and Æschylus, and Pindar's trade laid on him the task of recording, not only the physical revolutions of the mountain, but the political

¹ On the dates, see Appendix XXVII.² See Appendix X.³ See the description of Ætna in Pindar, Pyth. i. 33, beginning

νῦν γε μὰν
ταί θ' ὑπὲρ Κύμας ἀλιερκέες ὄχθαι
Σικελία δ' αὐτοῦ πίζει στέρνα λαχνάεντα,

and mark the skill with which Kymê is brought in here to lead up to the mention of Hierôn's victory at Kymê further on. Compare the kindred passage in Æschylus, Prom. 363, of which see below, p. 279. The reference in both passages is clearly to the great eruption of 475. It is clearly fixed to that date by Thucydides, iii. 116. It was fifty years before B. C. 425. The Parian Chronicle (Müller, i. 550, Flack, 24, 25) places it in the same year as the battle of Plataia (479); τὸ πῦρ ἐρρήη κ[αὶ] ἐν Σικελίᾳ περὶ τὴν Αἴτναιαν or Αἴτνην, or whatever is the right filling up.

revolutions of the city to which it was so dangerous a neighbour. In the days of the Pious Brethren it was the lands of Katanê on which the fire-flood spread itself; they were now the lands of Katanê no longer. CHAP. VI.

It fell in short to the lot of the laureate of tyrants to tell, as gently as a laureate could, the deeds of the man who took to himself the name of a founder on the strength of wiping out the name of a Hellenic city and driving forth its people from their homes. Naxos, eldest of Sikeliot cities, formed part of the dominion which had been won by Hippokratês, and which had passed from him to Gelôn and to Hierôn¹. Of Katanê we have heard nothing during all these changes; but it is now spoken of in a way which implies that it too was among the possessions of the lord of Syracuse. The year before the eruption, Hierôn had, in the full wantonness of despotism, caused all the inhabitants of Naxos and Katanê to transport themselves to Leontinoi². The empty Katanê he peopled afresh with five thousand settlers from Peloponnêsos and five thousand more from Syracuse, making thus a city of a myriad citizens. Among them he parted out both the former land of Katanê and much other land in the neighbourhood, the rich plain between the two cities, once called after Leontinoi and afterwards after Katanê³. The sending forth of colonists from Syracuse is to be noted. Widely as the city had spread beyond its old bounds, the increase in the number of the citizens would seem to have been in still greater proportion. By a kind of fiction—a legal fiction we can hardly call it—Katanê, peopled by new citizens, was held

Hierôn drives out the people of Katanê and founds Ætna. B.C. 476.

¹ See above, p. 106.

² Diod. xi. 49; τοὺς Ναξίους καὶ τοὺς Καταναίους ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων ἀνασταθέντας μετέκισεν εἰς τοὺς Λεοντίνους, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐγγχωρίων προσέταξε κατοικεῖν τὴν πόλιν.

³ Ib.; τὴν χώραν οὐ μόνον τὴν Καταναίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου προσθεῖς κατεκληρούχησε, μυρίου πληρώσας οἰκήτορας.

CHAP. VI. to have become a new city, and to be entitled to a new name. That new name it took from the great mountain, and for a while Katanê was officially named *Ætna*. It was specially placed under the protection of *Ætnæan* Zeus, and an *Ætnæan* feast was held in his honour¹. Of the city thus founded Hierôn was held to be the founder. And both himself and his friend Chromios, once men of Gela, then men of Syracuse, took to themselves yet a new description, and were enrolled on the list of citizens of *Ætna*.

Hierôn
founder of
Ætna.

Policy of
Hierôn
in the
founda-
tion.

Two motives are said to have led Hierôn to this act. One was a plain motive of policy. *Ætna* was to be a bulwark of his dominion over Syracuse, a city of refuge in case his dominion over Syracuse should ever be overthrown. Hierôn knew well enough how liable to overthrow such a power as his always was; nothing would strengthen it better than to have a stronghold at hand peopled by men who were bound to him by other ties than those of simple fear. How wisely he reckoned in this point of view we shall presently see when the evil day did come, not indeed on himself, but on his house and his dominion. With this politic aim was joined a more sentimental feeling. He longed for the honours which had fallen to the lot of his brother in life and death. Founder of a myriad-peopled city, he hoped that he might one day receive the same heroic worship which was paid to Gelôn at Syracuse². But the two cases were wholly different. Whatever we call Gelôn at Megara or Eubœia or his native Gela, at Syracuse he really was a founder. To the new city on the mainland and to its citizens he was well nigh as true a

Gelôn and
Hierôn as
founders.

¹ Schol. Ol. vi. 162; ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ Διὸς Αἰτναίου ἄγαλμα ἴδρυται καὶ ἑορτὴ Αἰτναία καλεῖται. Could this have gone on at Inessa or anywhere in the scholiast's time?

² Diodōros (xi. 49) couples the two motives; τοῦτο δ' ἐπραξε σπεύδων ἅμα μὲν ἔχειν βοήθειαν ἐτοίμην ἀξιόλογον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιούσας χρείας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενομένης μυριάνδρου πόλεως τιμὰς ἔχειν ἡρωϊκάς.

founder as Archias was to the elder city in the island. If CHAP. VI. he had not called Achradina into being, he had welded Achradina and Ortygia into one whole, and had given the enlarged Syracuse the fresh life of a new city. And he had founded the new without disturbing the old, save by bringing back again those who had been already driven from their homes. He had made Syracuse the head of Hellenic Sicily, mightier than any city of the older lands of Hellas. To his new Ætna Hierôn had given nothing but a new name and new inhabitants, planted and enriched at the cost of the old citizens and their neighbours.

Yet it is plain that this so-called foundation of Ætna was looked on by Hierôn as the most glorious exploit of his life¹. His ears were before all things tickled when his poets called him the renowned founder of an illustrious city, a city which bore the name of the fiery mountain which Zeus had chosen as his Sicilian throne. Of that city he was founder and citizen, but he was not to be king or tyrant in his own person. Foreseeing perhaps a firmer rule for his house in his new foundation than in Gela or in Syracuse, he ordained Ætna, as we learn from the strains of his poet, to be the kingdom of his son Deinomenês². The royal title is given to him in so marked a way that one is tempted to believe that there was some formal proclamation of kingship in Ætna. And such proclamation is at least more likely in the new-founded city than in the elder commonwealth of Syracuse. In Ætna Deinomenês king of Ætna. the young Deinomenês was to reign, under the guardianship of his uncle Chromios, as his Mayor of the Palace³. Guardianship of Chromios. But in the eyes of the poet at least, the King of Ætna was to be a constitutional king. Pindar sang of the god-built freedom of the new city, where kings and citizens were to dwell in unity by the banks of Amenanos, where a king

¹ See Appendix XXVII.² See Appendix XXVII.³ See Appendix X and XXVII.

CHAP. VI. of the Hylleïd tribe was to reign according to the laws of Hyllos, like his Hêrakleïd fellows in more ancient Sparta¹. But it would seem that even the flatterer, in looking forward to the glories of the son, could not wholly shut his eyes to the real deeds of the father. Father and son alike needed covert warnings and exhortations to rule justly, to keep their hands from base gain, and to make Croesus the model of their rule rather than Phalaris². Hierôn himself, having set his son on his new throne, falls back on the Syracusan name. But the new creation is not forgotten. It is still the Ætnæan host who welcomes the minstrel to his home by 'the fount of Arethousa'³.

Our notices of Hierôn in his character of founder of Ætna come chiefly from the odes in which Pindar sings the praises whether of Hierôn of Ætna or of Hierôn of Syracuse. To the order of those odes, to the victories of Hierôn at Olympia, Pythô, and elsewhere we shall come presently. But in connexion with the Olympic fame of Hierôn there is a strange story which so oddly forestalls an incident in the life of a later lord of Syracuse that one is tempted to doubt whether the tale has not wandered out of its place, according to the general law that any story of any Syracusan tyrant may be freely told of any other. Yet we are told on fairly decent authority that at one Olympic festival, seemingly the first after the flight of Xerxês and the death of Hamilkar, the tyrant Hierôn sent horses to contend in the games, and caused a costly tent to be set up for those who had come on his errand. But Themistoklês made a speech to the assembled Greeks, bidding them tear down the tent of

Hierôn's
alleged
exclusion
from the
Olympic
games.
B.C. 476.

Speech of
Themis-
toklês.

¹ See Appendix XXVII.

² See Appendix VII and XXVII, and above, p. 72.

³ Pind. Pyth. iii. 120 ;

καί κεν ἐν ναυσὶν μόλον Ἴονίαν τέμνον θάλασσαν
Ἀρέθουσαν ἐπὶ κράναν παρ' Αἰτναίων ξένον,
ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεύς.

the tyrant and hinder his horses from taking their chance in the race¹. Here no special motive is assigned ; it seems to be taken for granted that to be a tyrant is of itself a crime to be punished by being shut out from Hellenic fellowship. A later version makes Themistoklês, amid general applause, give as a reason for the course which he counselled that Hierôn, who had stood aloof from the great struggle of Hellas, was unworthy to take a part in the common Hellenic festival². It is hardly possible that this particular charge could have been brought against a man who had played his part against the Phœnician at Himera, while the fame of that great day was still fresh. But we have seen from various accounts of the embassy to Gelôn that this is exactly the kind of reason which was likely to attach itself to the story a generation or two later³. The suggestion of a modern writer is far more likely, that, if anything of the kind happened at all, the wrath of Themistoklês and the assembled Greeks was stirred up by men from Naxos and Katanê, fresh from their forced migration, who could tell assembled Hellas, above all its Ionian portion, how two Hellenic and Ionian cities, one of them the eldest child of Hellas on Sicilian ground, had fared at the hands of the man who sought after Hellenic honours in so boastful a guise⁴. But the tale is so like a tale of Dionysios told on better witness that it is only with fear and trembling that we can admit

CHAP. VI.

Motives
of Themis-
toklês.

¹ Plut. Themist. 25 ; Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ βασιλείας ἱστορεῖ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα πέμψαντος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν Ἰέρανος ἵππους ἀγωνιστὰς καὶ σκηρὴν τινα κατεσκευασμένην πολυτελῶς στήσαντος, εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι λόγον, ὡς χρὴ τὴν σκηρὴν διαρπάσαι τοῦ τυράννου καὶ καλῦσαι τοὺς ἵππους ἀγωνίσασθαι. This is dangerously like the story of Lysias and Dionysios, Diod. xiv. 109. See more below, p. 270.

² This comes from Ælian, Var. Hist. ix. 5 ; Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἰέρανα ἤκοντα εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγομέων ἵππους ἄγοντα εἶρε τῆς ἀγωνίας, εἰπὼν τὸν μὴ μεταλαμβάνοντα τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν κινδύνων τῶν πανηγυρέων μεταλαμβάνειν μὴ δεῖν· καὶ ἐπηνέθη ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς. This late compiler fancies Hierôn to have come in person, which is most unlikely.

³ See above, p. 243.

⁴ Lloyd, pp. 127-131.

CHAP. VI. the tradition of Hierôn's dishonour at Olympia to even a doubtful place in our history.

Hierôn's
action in
Italy.

Advance of
the native
races.

Growth of
Kymê.

Haven of
Dikai-
archia.
B.C. 528.

But the most honourable field of Hierôn's personal action, as distinguished from the one great day on which he was his brother's comrade, is again to be found in Italy. We have twice seen him stretching forth a hand to help Greek cities there against Greek enemies; he now stands forth as the champion of Hellas against barbarians no less distinctly than Gelôn had stood forth at Himera. We have come to the first mention which at all concerns our Sicilian story of that form of barbarian advance which in the end overcame the Greeks of Italy, and which has to be, partly compared, partly contrasted, with the forms of barbarian advance against which Sicily and Old Greece had to strive. The pressure of the native races of Italy on the Greek settlements in that peninsula, the pressure which led to the mournful holy day of barbarized Poseidônia¹, had now begun. It has not yet taken the shape which it took a little later; and, according to some theories, we ought not to speak of the native races of Italy as the invaders of the Greater Hellas during the struggle of which we have just now to speak. For the enemies of Greece against whom Hierôn stepped in to defend his Italian allies were the sea-faring Etruscans. Kymê, oldest and most advanced outpost of Hellas on Italian soil, though now beginning to draw towards the term of its Hellenic being, was as yet advancing in wealth and power. The lonely hill-city had now won for itself a haven on the gulf, sheltered by the Misenian headland and the islands anchored by its side, as yet Greek Dikaiarchia, to be more famous in after-times as Latin Puteoli². It was the head of a group of Greek

¹ See above, p. 164.

² Strabo, v. 4. 6, calls Dikaiarchia *ἐπίνειον Κυμαίων ὑπ' ὀφρύος ἰδρυμένον*, and it seems to be referred to by Dionysios (vii. 3) when he speaks of Kymê as *λιμένων κρατοῦσα τῶν περὶ Μισσηνὸν ἐπικαιρότατον*. But see Bun-

cities on the Campanian gulf, a centre of Greek influence in that region, which marked it out for the jealousy of its more powerful barbarian neighbours. CHAP. VI.

This brings us to a series of memorable events in the early history of Italy. In the first, of which we have to speak, more strictly Italian nations are said to have taken part, but it was essentially an enterprise of Etruscan Campania against dangerous Greek neighbours. The attack, a land attack of an Etruscan power dominant from the Campanian gulf to the borders of Gaul, was beaten back¹, and the next Etruscan warfare in which Kymê played a part was one in which Greeks and Latins significantly fought as comrades.

Call it as we will, by its old name of the war with Porsena or by the more scientific description of the revolt of Latium against Etruscan rule, there seems no reason to doubt the truth of that fight of Aricia in which the victory of Kymê and her Latin allies broke the Etruscan power asunder, made room for the growth of the Latin city by the Tiber, and gave the Greeks of Italy a breathing-space². Less happy in its results within the walls of Kymê, the fame that Aristodêmos won as leader of the Kymaian force enabled him to rise to the dominion of his native city. He overthrew what seems to have been an oppressive, while a vigorous, oligarchy; and he set up in its stead a tyranny which, unless he be greatly slandered, outdid in crime and bloodshed anything that Sicily ever saw, at all events between Phalaris and Agathoklês³. At the court of Aristodêmos the banished Tarquin was said to have found a

B.C. 524.

Battle of Aricia.
B.C. 503.

Tyranny of Aristodêmos at Kymê.
B.C. 502.

bury (Dict. Geog., Puteoli) on the possible Samian element. "Samii Dicearchiam condiderunt, quam nunc Puteolos vocant," says Eusebius under B.C. 529 or 521. So Steph. Byz. in *Ποτίολοι κτίσμα Σαμίων*. See Beloch, Campanien, p. 89.

¹ The account, largely legendary, is given by Dionysios, vii. 3, 4.

² Ib. 5. Cf. Liv. ii. 14. Anything beyond the merest outline of these matters I must leave to the special historians of Rome.

³ See the whole story of his rise to power and his use of it in Dionysios, vii. 6-9.

CHAP. VI. shelter, when Lars Porsena of Clusium and the Tusculan Mamilius had alike failed to bring him home ¹.

Naval at-
tack of the
Etruscans
on Kymê.
B.C. 474.

The tyranny of Aristodêmos was overpast, and now, in the days of Hierôn, free Kymê was again threatened with an Etruscan attack ². This time, since the day of Aricia, the enemy could no longer march unopposed along the whole southern coast of Italy. The invaders had now to come by sea; and it has been most commonly thought that the fleets of Etruria and Carthage joined their whole

No concert
between
Carthage
and
Etruria.

might for the destruction of the Hellenic city ³. But the few words of prose narrative, the few words of exulting minstrelry, from which we get our whole knowledge of the event do not necessarily imply this alliance, otherwise likely enough in itself, of the two enemies of Hellas in the West. The Phœnician, even after the day of Himera, is still dangerous; the Etruscan is dangerous also; but we cannot infer for certain that they acted in concert ⁴. But there is no doubt that Kymê, hard pressed by the Etruscan enemy, prayed for help from the lord of Syracuse, whose interference on behalf of Lokroi and the remnant of the Sybarites may have gained him the reputation of the general defender of oppressed Italiot cities. If Hierôn stepped in to rescue Greeks from Greeks, how much more should he step in to rescue Greeks from barbarians. The cry was not unheeded; the ships of Syracuse sailed to join the ships of Kymê, and the invading armada was overthrown

Hierôn
sends
help to
Kymê.
Defeat of
the Etrus-
cans.

¹ Dion. vii. 2. 12; Liv. ii. 21, 34.

² For its overthrow see Dion. Hal. vii. 9-11. One is sorry to hear of the un-Hellenic use of torture.

³ See Busolt, ii. 275; Grote, iv. 306.

⁴ It is certain that the short account in Diodôros (xi. 52) has no mention of Carthaginians, neither has the votive helmet of Hierôn. The notion of an union of Carthaginians and Etruscans seems to come from the words of Pindar, Pyth. i. 136 et seqq., as understood by his Scholiast, i. 137. But the poet himself most likely only meant to couple the overthrow of the Phœnicians at Himera and that of the Etruscans at Kymê as deliverances of Hellas from the barbarian. See above, p. 234.

with utter overthrow¹. Not a detail of an event in Hierôn's life second only to his presence at Himera has come down to us. But our own land contains a memorial of it, which would find a more fitting home at Syracuse, at Olympia, or on whatever spot of Campanian ground may best claim to be the heir of Kymê. Among the treasures of the British Museum a strange chance has placed the helmet once dedicated at Olympia, which told, in archaic speech and letters, how Hierôn son of Deinomenês and the Syracusans offered the gift to Zeus as spoil won from the Tyrrhenians before Kymê². CHAP. VI.
Hierôn's helmet.

It marks the wide-reaching character of Hierôn's policy that he was not satisfied with the deliverance of Kymê and with the heavy blow which he had dealt to the Etruscan power. He further designed to plant an outpost, most likely of Syracusan dominion, certainly of Syracusan influence, in the region where he had been warring. The island which has at various times been known as Pithêkousa, Ænaria, and Ischia, seems to guard or to threaten the gulf of Kymê like a vessel anchored at its mouth. Hierôn marked the island as a site for a colony. He was not the first to plant a Greek settlement on the spot. Pithêkousa had been already occupied by an Eretrian colony, which flourished for a while through the fruitfulness of the soil and the gold mines which the island con- His colony at Pithêkousa or Ischia.

¹ The account in Diodôros, xi. 51, is short but emphatic; *οἱ τῶν νεῶν τούτων ἡγεμόνες ἐπειδὴ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Κύμην, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων μὲν ἐνανμάχισαν πρὸς τοὺς Τυρρηνούς, πολλὰς δὲ ναῦς αὐτῶν διαφθείραντες καὶ μεγάλη ναυμαχίᾳ νικήσαντες, τοὺς μὲν Τυρρηνούς ἐταπείνωσαν, τοὺς δὲ Κυμαίους ἡλευθέρωσαν τῶν φόβων καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας.* He does not speak of the colony of Pithêkousa.

² The legend is **HIARONOΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΥΒΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙΤΟΙΔΙΤΥΡΑΝΑΠΟΚΥΜΑΣ**. To one to whom Greek comes most commonly in the form of modern printed books there is something really startling in the look of such an inscription as this, to say nothing of the actual shapes of the letters. One would like to see an autograph of Pindar. The document is useful in another way, as the only instance of the style of a tyrant of those days. Cf. the inscription of Alexander in Arrian, ii. 16.

CHAP. VI.

Nature of
the settle-
ment.

tained. But the frequent earthquakes and the other phenomena of the volcanic regions, the outbursts alike of fire and of water, drove them away. Hierôn now sent colonists to the spot thus left empty. We are led to think of the probable position of such a settlement under a tyranny. Hierôn's colony was not likely to enjoy any higher measure of freedom than the metropolis from which the settlers went forth. It would doubtless take the form of a Hellenic city, but it would be a city which served the lord of Syracuse as an outpost of his dominion. His colony or garrison occupied the island, and built, if not a town, at least a fortress. But the same wonders of nature which drove away the Eretrians drove away the Hieronian settlers also.

Its failure.

The colony was abandoned before it was well set up. Pithêkousa was not fated to be a possession or a daughter of Syracuse; but it was fated to become a Greek city. The Greeks of the Campanian Neapolis, to whom the blazing fires and the boiling waters were less strange and frightful, occupied the island and kept it¹.

Import-
ance of the
victory of
Kymê.

Though Hierôn's victory by Kymê did not lead—and the men of Kymê would hardly regret that it did not lead—to a lasting Syracusan settlement in that region, there is no doubt as to the greatness of the victory and its results. It is held to mark an epoch in Italian history, as leading to another stage of decline in the Etruscan power². There can be little doubt that it did much to extend Greek influence in Campania, and that Hellenic life was fast taking root even in non-Hellenic cities when the blow came which checked Hellenic advance in those regions for ever³. The general pressure of the Opican nations on the Italiots has

¹ The story is told by Strabo, v. 4. 9. The Eretrians are driven out *ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καὶ ἀναφυσημάτων πυρὸς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ θερμῶν ὑδάτων*. In the like case the Hieronian settlers *ἐξέλειπον τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ὑφ' αὐτῶν τεῖχος*. He largely quotes Timaios for the phenomena of the island. See also Beloch, Campanien, p. 204.

² See Holm, i. 215.

³ Busolt, ii. 278.

as yet hardly begun ; but the victory of Hellas over the Etruscans was followed in the very next year by a grievous defeat of the men of two Hellenic cities at the hands of Italian neighbours. And the victors in this case were a people of whom we more commonly hear either as peacefully yielding to Greek influences or as giving way to Greek warlike attack, than as overthrowing the forces of two allied Greek commonwealths in battle. Taras was said to have been planted as a woe to the Iapygians¹, and a woe to the Iapygians the Greek commonwealth had constantly shown itself. Its territory had been steadily advancing at their expense, and Tarantine victory had sometimes at least been marked by every refinement of cruel mockery². But one class at least of Iapygian mercenaries were thought worthy of being sought for service in Greek warfare³; and at the present moment, as sometimes at later times, the inhabitants of the heel of the boot could show themselves dangerous enemies to the Greek intruders. Yet when we hear of warfare arising out of a dispute about boundaries⁴, we seem to be dealing with a people who have made some advances towards equality with those intruders. We hear of such disputes between Greek Selinous and Elymian Segesta. We do not hear of them between Syracuse and her Sikel neighbours. Plunderings on both sides followed, and then open war ; and the Iapygian

CHAP. VI.

Taras and the Iapygians.

¹ So the oracle in Strabo, vi. 3. 4 ;

Σατύριόν τοι δῶκα, Τάραντά τε πόνα δῆμον,
οἰκῆσαι καὶ πῆμα Ἰαπύγεσσι γενέσθαι.

² See the account of the taking of Carbina and its punishment copied from Klearchos in Athenaios, xii. 23. Tarantine offerings for Iapygian victories appear in Pausanias, x. 10. 6, xiii. 9, with a story of an Iapygian king.

³ Thuc. vii. 33, where Iapygians and Messapians are distinguished.

⁴ Diod. xi. 52 ; *περὶ ὁμόρου χώρας ἀμφισβητούντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους*. He goes on to describe the plundering and the guerrilla warfare which went before the great expedition. The words of Herodotus (vii. 170), *τὰς δὲ Ταραντῖνοι . . . ἐξανιστάντες προσέπταισαν μεγάλως*, are not very clear.

CHAP. VI.
Defeat of
Taras and
Rhêgion by
the Iapy-
gians.
B.C. 473.

forces were so threatening that Taras craved help from Mikythos of Rhêgion¹. Help was granted, and the Iapygian host was met by the combined forces of Taras and Rhêgion. The men of Rhêgion, we are told, were forced into the service by Mikythos against their will². The barbarians won the day; in no fight that Herodotus knew of had the slaughter of Greeks been so frightful. Three thousand men of Rhêgion, seemingly the whole force sent, fell in the battle; of the men of Taras more were slaughtered than any man could number³. It is at least harder to believe that the victorious Iapygians chased the flying Rhêgines through the whole length of what then was Italy, and made their way into the city along with the trembling crowd⁴. There is no sign of any foreign occupation of Rhêgion, of any change in the government of Rhêgion, where Mikythos still remains in power.

Mikythos
founds
Pyxous.

The example of Hierôn in his attempted settlement at Pithêkousa did not go without followers. Mikythos also was stirred up to win for his city and for himself—or for the youths in whose name he ruled—the fame which ever followed on the foundation of a new Hellenic city. On the west coast of Italy, about due north of Rhêgion, at the point where the narrow peninsula of which Rhêgion guards the further end begins to widen and turn to the west, Mikythos founded his colony of Pyxous, known in after

¹ Diod. xi. 52; *τούς τε πολιτικούς στρατιώτας ἤθροισαν καὶ Ῥηγίωνων συμμάχων ὄντων πολλοὺς προσελάβοντο*.

² Herod. vii. 170; *οἱ ὑπὸ Μικύθου τοῦ Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀσπῶν καὶ ἀπικόμενοι τιμωροὶ Ταραντίνοισι*.

³ *Ib.*; *φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ Ῥηγίωνων, οἱ . . . ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι ὄντες, αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀριθμῷ*.

⁴ Diod. xi. 52; *οἱ τοὺς Ῥηγίονους διώκοντες ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν ὥστε συνεισπεσεῖν τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον, καὶ τῆς πόλεως κυριεῦσαι*. Has the wild story in Justin, iv. 2. 3, anything to do with this? It seems modelled on much later events. See Grote, vii, 176.

days as the Roman Buxentum. The evidence of coins CHAP. VI. shows that the new settlers were not the first Greeks who had occupied the site¹; but they most likely found the site empty, as they are not spoken of as supplanting any other possessors. The plantation of Mikythos was a little more successful than the plantation of Hierôn, but it was not long-lived. Before long the mass of the settlers forsook the place, leaving only a feeble remnant of whom history has nothing to tell us². At Taras on the other hand the effects of the defeat were politically important. The slaughter of the aristocratic party was so great that, after this battle, democracy, but seemingly of a moderate kind, got the upper hand in the city³.

It is remarkable that Hierôn, who on other occasions Relations
between
Hierôn and
Rhêgion. appears as the champion of endangered Italiot cities, gave no help to Taras against her barbarian enemies, and does not seem even to have been asked for help. The explanation of this fact is perhaps to be found in the relations between the tyrannies of Syracuse and Rhêgion. We have seen that, at one of the times that Hierôn showed himself as a deliverer in Italy, it was to save Lokroi from Rhêgine aggression. Whatever may have been the debt of gratitude which Anaxilas owed to Gelôn⁴, whatever may have

¹ On the earlier coins, see Bunbury, Dict. Geog., art. Buxentum; Head, Hist. Num. 69. They give us an archaic form of the name, ΠΥΞΟΕΣ.

² The foundation of the colony is recorded by Diodôros, xi. 59, without any details. Strabo (vi. i. 1), who describes Mikythos as ὁ Μεσσήνης ἄρχων τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, adds πάλιν δ' ἀπῆραν οἱ ἰδρυθέντες πλὴν ὀλίγων.

³ Arist. Pol. v. 2. 8; ἐν Τάραντι ἡττηθέντων καὶ ἀπολομένων πολλῶν γνωρίμων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰαπύγων μικρὸν ὕστερον τῶν Μηδικῶν δημοκρατία ἐγένετο ἐκ πολιτείας. Πολιτεία, one is to suppose, is to be taken in Aristotle's own special and misleading sense, as meaning what other Greek writers call δημοκρατία, while he applies the name δημοκρατία to something else. But in vi. 3. 5 he gives a picture of the Tarantine constitution at some time, seemingly his own, in which moderate aristocracy and moderate democracy seem to be beautifully blended. But see Grote, v. 320.

⁴ See above, p. 211.

CHAP. VI. been the outward effect of Hierôn's marriage with a daughter of Anaxilas, there could have been little friendly feeling between the two dynasties. Gelôn may have forgotten the conduct of Anaxilas in the war of Himera; but to Hierôn, seeking after Italian power and influence, the power of Rhêgion must have seemed distinctly to stand in his way. An Italiot ruler holding a Sikeliot town was something not to be encouraged. Any jealousy that Hierôn felt towards Anaxilas would assuredly pass on to Mikythos. And, after Hierôn's third marriage, any influence of the domestic connexion would pass away. Or rather, it might, when convenient, be remembered. Under the rule of Mikythos, jealousy of Rhêgion on the part of the lord of Syracuse could be veiled under care for the interests of his young brothers-in-law the sons of Anaxilas.

§ 4. *The Relation of Hierôn to Literature and Philosophy.*

Hierôn and Thêrôn in relation to the games.

The Italian policy of Hierôn and the way in which it was commemorated, the votive helmet at Olympia, and the general relations in which he and others in Sicily stood to the festivals of Old Greece, bring us straight to one memorable side of his reign and age. At the victories of Hierôn and Thêrôn in the games, at the minstrelsy by which those victories were recorded, it has been impossible to keep ourselves from glancing from time to time; for, with our very slender narrative materials for the history of the time, the poetical allusions of Pindar come to rank among our chief authorities. But this whole side of Hierôn's character, his relation to the growing art, literature, and philosophy of his time, call for a fuller and more direct examination, as opening a new side of Sikeliot, and even of Hellenic, life. The two great tyrannies of Sicily

Hierôn's relation to poetry, philosophy, &c.

were now in the fulness of their power and glory, though the end of one of them was fast drawing near. The masters of both took a special pride in encouraging the growing literature and art of the age; they rejoiced in the glory which they won from the songs of poets and from the general spread of their reputation for splendour and bounty. They were not the first tyrants who had won for themselves credit in this way. Periandros of Corinth was not only the friend of minstrels and philosophers, but passed himself for a poet, and, notwithstanding his oppressions, for a philosopher also. Polykratês at Samos, Peisistratos and his sons at Athens, won honour of the same kind. Gelôn, as we have seen, is painted to us as having no tastes of an intellectual kind, as even lacking the ordinary accomplishments of an educated Greek¹. A strange tale, told by a late writer, speaks of Hierôn as being in his early days no better in these matters than his brother. His tastes were changed in some mysterious way as the result of a dangerous sickness, which turned one of the most unlettered of mankind into a character exactly opposite². As the patron of poets, Hierôn came at a lucky time. As has been already pointed out, he belongs essentially to the same class as so many Italian rulers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of our æra, in whom the patronage of art and letters has been held to be full atonement for trampling on every political and moral law. But Hierôn had one great advantage over the Borgias and the Medici with whom he has so much in common. They had to deal only with the artificial works of a *Renaissance*; the art and letters which Hierôn fostered

CHAP. VI.

Like relation of earlier tyrants.

Tale of Hierôn's sickness.

The poets of Hierôn's day.

¹ See above, p. 220.

² Ælian, V. H. iv. 15; Ἱερόνῃ φασι τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον τὰ πρῶτα ἰδιώτην εἶναι καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀμουσότατον, καὶ τὴν ἀγροικίαν ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ κατ' ὀλίγον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαφέρειν τοῦ Γέλωνος· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ συννέχθη νοσήσαι, μουσικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο, τὴν σχολὴν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀββρωστίας εἰς ἀκούσματα πεπαιδευμένα καταθέμενος.

CHAP. VI. were the true offspring of the native genius of Hellas in one of the most fruitful of its seasons of fresh and living outpouring. Next in good luck to the unrecorded heroes who may have heard their own deeds or the deeds of their forefathers sung by the voice of Homer, was the prince at whose court Simônidês, Pindar, and Æschylus came to enjoy his bounty and to sing his praises.

Bounty of
Hierôn and
Thêrôn.

The bounty of tyrants is an easy virtue. Such as it is, it is said to have been displayed by both Thêrôn and Hierôn in the highest measure. Pindar sang of Thêrôn as the most open of hand of all mankind¹. Of Hierôn it was proverbially said that he gave faster than his friends could ask of him². And some at least of those who gathered around him were not slow at asking.

Simônidês.
B. C. 556-
467.

Simônidês of Ioulis in the Ægæan island of Keos stands out among the poets and philosophers of the age as the man to whom gain was most acceptable, and his is the name which is most closely bound up with the name of Hierôn. It was only in his later days that he came to Sicily; but he had already learned the ways of tyrants and their courts in the most renowned city of Old Greece. From his own island, where his father Leôprepês had a name for wisdom before him³, he was tempted to Athens, along with Anakreôn and others, by the gifts of Hipparchos son of Peisistratos⁴. He could write the epitaph of the daughter of his benefactor's brother and the implied praises of her father⁵, as he could speak of descent from

His early
poems.

¹ See above, p. 146, and below, p. 272.

² Ælian, V. H. ix. 1; *Ἱερωνά φασι τὸν Συρακούσιον φιλέλληνα γενέσθαι καὶ τιμῆσαι παιδείαν ἀνδρειότατα. καὶ ὡς ἦν προχειρότατος ἐς τὰς εὐεργεσίας λέγουσι· προθυμότερον γὰρ φασιν αὐτὸν χαρίζεσθαι ἢ τοὺς αἰτοῦντας λαμβάνειν.*

³ A story in Ælian, V. H. iv. 24, shows Leôprepês as at least a searcher after wisdom. On Ioulis, one of the four towns of Keos, see Strabo, x. 5. 6; Himerios, xxix. 3; Steph. Byz. in *Ἰουλίς*; Dict. Geog. art. Ceos.

⁴ Ælian, V. H. viii. 2.

⁵ In the epitaph of Archedikê (Thuc. vi. 59; Bergk, iii. 465), where

other tyrants as a matter of honour¹. And when his patron fell beneath the stroke of the sword wreathed in myrtle, his lyre was ready to tell of the light which had burst upon Athens through the slaying of the tyrant². It may be that love of freedom was stronger in the heart of the poet than gratitude; we may at least give him credit for speaking from the heart in the many poems in which he rejoices at the victories of the Greek over the barbarian at Marathôn, at Salamis, at Plataia, and, where we have already met him, at Himera³. And the very spirit of the opening chapters of Herodotus breathes in the verses in which he tells of the blows which Asia tholed at the hands of Europe in the two fights by the Eurymedôn⁴. He wrote the boastful inscription on the tripod of Pausanias, which the elders of Sparta caused to be struck out⁵. But he also bade the ambitious chief remember that he was

CHAP. VI.

His poems
on the
Persian
wars.

Hippias is *ἀνὴρ ἀριστεύσας ἐν Ἑλλάδι*. Yet the word *τύραννος* is applied to him and his kin, and it is implied that kindred with tyrants was likely to lead to *δρασθαλίη*.

¹ See the epitaph in Bergk, iii. 465, on a certain Xanthippé, a descendant of Periandros.

² Fr. 131 (187); Bergk, iii. 477. Cf. Pausanias, i. 8. 5, and the Parian Chronicle, 70.

³ See above, p. 206. The pieces of Simōnidēs on the victories in Greece and Asia are simply endless. Bergk's collection begins (iii. 383) with the strophe and antistrophe over the dead of Thermopylai. And they go on throughout.

⁴ Fr. 142; Bergk, iii. 487; Diod. xi. 62;

ἐξ οὗ τ' Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας δίχα πόντος ἐνειμεν
καὶ πόλις θνητῶν θούρος Ἀρης ἐφέπει,
οὐδενὶ πω κάλλιον ἐπιχθονίων γένητ' ἀνδρῶν
ἔργον ἐν ἡπείρῳ καὶ κατὰ πόντον ὁμοῦ.
οἶδε γὰρ ἐν γαίῃ Μήδων πολλοὺς ὀλέσαντες,
Φοινίκων ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἔλον ἐν πελάγῃ
ἀνδρῶν πληθούσας μέγα δ' ἔστενεν Ἀοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν
πληγγεῖσ' ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ κράτει πολέμου.

This piece is twice quoted by the rhetorician Aristeidēs, xlvi. 156 and xlix. 380. But in the former of the two orations there is a good deal in the style which Plutarch forbids, Reip. Ger. Præc. 17, where the Eurymedôn is specially barred.

⁵ Thuc. i. 132; Bergk, iii. 483.

CHAP. VI. mortal, a warning which is said to have come back to his memory in his last hour in the brazen house of Athênê¹.

Anecdotes
and
miracles.

But Simônîdês was more than all this. Singer of hymns to the gods, singer of the loveliest and saddest lyric strain that Greek mythology ever called forth², he was a special favourite of the gods, who more than once stepped in with timely warnings for the saving of his life. The discharge on his part of one of the corporal works of mercy, the bestowal of funeral rites on an unburied corpse, was rewarded by an apparition of the grateful ghost, which kept him back from undertaking a voyage in the company of men who were doomed to shipwreck³. The poet of the babe Perseus was also favoured by other sons of Zeus. Simônîdês, like Pindar, sang, for due rewards, the praises of victors in the games; and, like Pindar, he was driven to relieve the natural barrenness of his subject by episodes taken from the national mythology. So when he sang the victory of Skopas of the Thessalian Krannôn, the merits of Skopas himself filled a smaller place in the ode than the exploits of Kastôr and Polydeukês⁴. Skopas wounded Simônîdês in the tenderest point when he said that for such an ode he would pay only half the promised price; for the rest Simônîdês might go to his Tyndarids⁵. The Great Twin Brethren did not fail to pay their votary, if not in gold, yet in something more precious. Notwithstanding the niggardliness of Skopas, Simônîdês did not refuse to

Story of
Skopas.

¹ Ælian, V. H. ix. 41.

² I mean of course the fragment on Danaë (Bergk; iii. 404); but there are others.

³ We get this story in the *στίχοι πολιτικοί* of John Tzetzés (Chil. i. 623), who quotes Aristeidês; see Bergk, iii. 474.

⁴ On this poem see Plat. Prot. c. 26-28, and Bergk, iii. 365. From it comes the well-known phrase of the *τετράγωνος ἀνευ ψόγου*.

⁵ The story is told, among others, by Cicero, De N. D. ii. 86. Soudas gives it from Kallimachos.

be present at his feast of victory. Presently a message CHAP. VI. came to the poet that two young men without wished earnestly to speak with him. He went forth and found no man. The princely pair had done their errand; and no man saw them more. But when Simônidês went back to the hall of Skopas, he found his host and his fellow-guests crushed under the ruins of the building¹. And other poets sang in later times that all the wealth of Skopas and his house, all their flocks and herds that grazed on the rich plain of Krannôn, could never have kept their names from oblivion, had they not been handed down to remembrance in the notes of the Keian lyre².

The ill repute of Simônidês as a man greedy of gain is Avarice of
Simônidês. barely touched in this story. It followed him into our island, and there some of the stories which most strongly illustrate it are laid. He was old when he came to Sicily. The "good old-gentlemanly vice" had grown stronger upon him; it suited, he said, a time of life when pleasure could no longer be sought. Plutarch, who tells the story, thought otherwise. Even in the decay of Greece, the affairs of the community were still the fitting care for the old³; but Simônidês, at the courts of so many tyrants, had left the local interests of Keos behind him. His voyage to Sicily supplied him with a metaphor; there was an insatiable Charybdis into which all things came, virtue

¹ This story brings in Simônidês' remarkable gift of memory, of which he boasted in old age; Bergk, iii. 496; this again is from Aristeidês, xlix. 379. So the Parian Chronicle (70) makes him the inventor of the art of memory; *ὁ τὸ μνημονικὸν εὗρων*. He is also said to have invented the letter Ω and the later use of Η; J. Tzetzês, Chil. v. 836. The story itself has something in common with that of Gelôn in p. 220.

² So says Theokritos to the later Hierôn (xvi. 66).

³ Plut. An Seni sit ger. Resp. 5; *ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας αὐτῷ φιλαργυρίαν, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεστερημένος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἡδονῶν, ὑπὸ μῆσ' ἔτι γηροβοσκέται τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κερδαίνειν*. Plutarch adds, *ἀλλ' ἡ πολιτεία καλλίστας μὲν ἡδονὰς ἔχει καὶ μεγίστας*.

CHAP. VI.

His ode
on the
mules of
Anaxilas.His inter-
course with
Hierôn.

and wealth among them¹. It may have been at the same stage that Anaxilas of Rhêgion and Zanklê bargained for an ode to commemorate the victory of his mules. When the tyrant named only a small price, the poet answered that the successes of mules were a subject unworthy of his minstrelsy. When the offer was raised, the daughters of storm-footed horses were freely greeted in the verse of Simônîdês². At the happy hearth of Hierôn he was loaded with gifts and favours. Scandal added that he sold what he did not himself need, and gave as his reason, that thereby he made the bounty of the giver more widely known³. There must have been a sarcastic turn in his answer, when the wife of Hierôn, his last Akragantine wife, asked of the poet whether wealth or wisdom were the better. Wealth, said Simônîdês, for we see the wise haunting the doors of the rich, but never the rich haunting the doors of the wise⁴. But graver questions were some-

¹ Bergk, iii. 407 ;

πάντα γὰρ μίαν ἰκνέϊται δυσπλήττα Χάρυβδιν,
αἱ μεγάλα τ' ἄρεται καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος.

² The story, with the line

χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων,

is told by Aristotle, Rhet. iii. 2, without the name of ὁ νικήσας τοῖς ὀρεῦσιν. The name of Anaxilas comes from Hêrakleidês of Pontos on the Constitution of Rhêgion (C. Müller, ii. 219), who gives the story rather another turn; νικήσας Ὀλύμπια ἡμίονοις, εἰστίασε τοὺς Ἕλληνας· καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἐπέσκαψεν εἰπών· Οὗτος τί ἂν ἐποίει νικήσας ἵπποις ;

³ Athenaios (xiv. 73) tells the story after Chamaileôn of the Pontic Hêrakleia. Simônîdês was κίμβιξ καὶ αἰσχροκερδής. Of the gifts of Hierôn, πωλὼν τὰ πλείω ὁ Σιμωνίδης τῶν παρ' ἐκείνου πεμπομένων ἑαυτῷ μικρὸν μέρος ἀπετίθετο. His reason was, ὅπως ἤ τε Ἱέρωνος μεγαλοπρέπεια καταφανὴς ᾗ καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ κοσμοῦτης. Just before comes another story about Hierôn at dinner giving the flesh of the hare—still perhaps a Zanklaian delicacy (see Appendix IX)—to everybody else before Simônîdês, and his improvised verse

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' εὐρύς περ ἔων ἐξίκετο δεῦρο.

One catches the cadence of a well-known Homeric line; but why εὐρύς ?

⁴ Arist. Rhet. ii. 16 ; τοὺς σοφοὺς γὰρ ἔφη ὄραν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων θύραις διατρίβοντας.

times put to him. When Hierôn asked what was the nature of God, Simônidès craved for a day to think over his answer¹. He then asked for two days, and then for a longer time², till at last he had to tell the wondering tyrant, that the more he thought over the question, the harder he found it. It was perhaps in dealing with a friend whom he called on to discuss such matters that Hierôn put forth the sentiment, one which sounds hardly akin to the general character of his rule, that he deemed no man out of place who spoke his mind to him³. CHAP. VI.

The intercourse between Hierôn and Simônidès became almost a common-place. The dialogue of Xenophôn of which we have already spoken bears witness to the abiding tradition of the close friendship between the tyrant and the poet⁴. But it is remarkable that, amid the vast stock of his writings, lost and extant, we know of none singing the special praise of Hierôn. The only one in which his name is found is that which commemorates the joint exploit of all the sons of Deinomenês⁵. Pindar would seem to have been preferred to Simônidès for the work of celebrating the Olympic and Pythian victories of their common patron. Of the endless crowd of stories and sayings which have gathered round the name of Simônidès, many have no reference to Hierôn or to Sicily. But it was in Sicily that he spent the later years of his life, a life prolonged at least to his eightieth year, and which saw no failure in his poetic powers down to the last. But Syracuse was not his only dwelling, nor was Hierôn his only patron. We have seen him step in to mediate between

Xenophôn's dialogue.
Simônidès in Sicily.
Patronage of Hierôn and Thérôn.

¹ Cic. N. D. i. 22; "Roges me quid aut quale sit deus; auctore utar Simonide, de quo cum quæsisset hoc idem tyrannus Hiero, deliberandi causa sibi unum diem postulavit."

² Ib.; "Cum sæpius duplicaret numerum dierum."

³ Plut. Apoph. 'Ιέρανος, 1; 'Ιέραν ὁ μετὰ Γέλωνα τύραννος ἔλεγε, μηδένα τῶν παρρησιαζομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄκαιρον εἶναι.

⁴ See above, p. 235.

⁵ See above, p. 206.

CHAP. VI. the lords of Syracuse and Akragas when they were upon the point of warfare¹. Thêrôn's brother Xenokratês, commemorated in an ode of Pindar, was commemorated also in an ode of Simônîdês². And Akragas and not Syracuse was the place of his death and burial, the site of the tomb for which his own hand had written the epitaph. It told how his song had won him fifty victories and fifty-six tripods; how his body lay in Sicilian soil, but how he left his memory to his native Keos, and his glory to all Hellas³. We must picture his resting-place somewhere in the nekropolis beyond the stream of Hypsas. We might not have wondered or complained if his tomb had perished in the general havoc wrought by the soldiers of the elder Hannibal⁴. But the tomb of Simônîdês had either perished already, or was spared to perish, by Greek hands. The story went that, at some unknown time, an Akragantine general, Phoinix by name, destroyed the tomb of Simônîdês to build a tower with the stones. Divine justice did not fail to punish the sacrilege; in one of the takings of Akragas the enemy entered by the tower which had been added to the defences of the city at such a price⁵.

His burial
at Akra-
gas.

Destruc-
tion of his
tomb.

¹ See above, p. 238.

² See Appendix XXIX.

³ For this we again go to J. Tzetzés, Chil. i. 634;

οὗτος ὁ Σιμωνίδης μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ θνήσκει.
ἐπίγραμμα δὲ γέγραπται τόδε τῷ τάφῳ τούτου
ἔξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδῃ, ἥραο νίκας
καὶ τρίποδας. θνήσκεις δ' ἐν Σικελῷ πεδίῳ.
Κεῖν δὲ μνήμην λείπεις, Ἑλλήσι δ' ἔπαινον
εὐχενέτου ψυχῆς σῆς ἐπιγεινομένοις.

⁴ To the Carthaginian siege of Akragas and to its bearings on Akragantine topography we shall come in another volume.

⁵ This comes from Soudas, Σιμωνίδης. Ἀκραγαντίνων στρατηγὸς ἦν ὄνομα Φοῖνιξ· Συρακοσίοις δὲ ἐπολέμουν οὗτοι. οὐκοῦν ᾧδε ὁ Φοῖνιξ διαλύνει τὸν τάφον τοῦ Σιμωνίδου μόλα ἀκηδῶς τε καὶ ἀνοίκτως, καὶ ἐκ τῶν λίθων τῶνδ' ἀνέστησε πύργον· καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον ἐάλω ἡ πόλις. For this he quotes and mismetres a fragment of Kallimachos. This one would greatly like to have in its genuine shape, as Soudas' story is most confused. One almost fancies that he believed that the tomb was at Syracuse, and that the

The long life of Xenophanês of Kolophôn, of whom we have already spoken as a man of another generation¹, brought him again to Syracuse to meet Simônidês at the court of Hierôn. One is tempted to see some reference to questions of bounty and niggardliness in which Simônidês might be concerned, when we find the Kolophonian sage complaining that he had barely wherewithal to keep two slaves. The mythology of Homer was not to the mind of the speculative philosopher; and it passed for wit when the tyrant answered that, if Xenophanês could feed only two slaves, Homer, whom he found fault with, could feed ten thousand². We find also that Xenophanês freely spoke his mind of Simônidês, and of his love of money³.

It was most likely through the interest of Simônidês that his sister's son Bacchylidês, a native, like himself, of Ioulis in the isle of Keos, found a place among the court-poets of Hierôn⁴. If we may believe the scholiasts on Pindar, a bitter enmity reigned between him and their master. Whenever Pindar has a dark saying against any envious rival, it is ever Bacchylidês who is glanced at. He is the ape whom children and only children admire. He is the crow or the jackdaw who chatters in vain against the kingly eagle of Zeus⁵. It is more certain that the subject of the ode of Pindar which stands first in our collection, the Olympic victory of Hierôn's chestnut horse Pherenikos,

Akragantine general destroyed it in a siege of Syracuse. This assuredly no Akragantine general ever had the chance of doing, and the last words must refer to Phoinix' own city. Kallimachos might have helped us to the date of the story. The capture referred to must surely be that by the Carthaginians; but who was Phoinix, and where was his tower?

¹ See above, p. 157.

² Plut. Apophth. *Ἰέρανος*, 4; *πρὸς δὲ Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον εἰπόντα μάλιστα οἰκέτας δύο τρέφειν, ἀλλ' Ὅμηρος, εἶπεν, ὃν σὺ διασύρεις, πλείονας ἢ μυρίους τρέφει τεθνηκώς*. I suppose these *οἰκέται* of Homer are rhapsodists and others who lived by him.

³ See the Scholiast on Aristophanês, *Peace*, 697.

⁴ From Strabo, x. 5. 6; Steph. Byz. in *Ἰουλίς*; *Ælian*, V. H. iv. 15.

⁵ See Appendix XXIV.

CHAP. VI. was sung also by Bacchylidês, from whom we learn his colour¹. This is the only fragment of the songs in which he sang the praises of Hierôn which has come down to us. And in the other fragments of his verse and references to it, a small store indeed by the side of the stores of his uncle, there is not much that bears on Sicily. But one there is which convicts him of heresy against all Sikel and Sikeliot belief, one that must have been sung and paid for at some spot very far from the hall of Hierôn. Bacchylidês dared to say that it was not from Sicily but from Crete that Aïdôneus carried off the Korê². From such a traitor Syracuse and her land were at least entitled to another version of the legend of Kyana³; and it is small compensation to Sicily in general to find that, before Appian, before Timaïos, Bacchylidês had promoted Galateia and Polyphêmos to the rank of arch-parents of the Gauls⁴.

His views
of Perse-
phonê and
Galateia.

PINDAR. But the hospitality and bounty of Hierôn further took in one who, for us at least, bears a greater name than all, and to whom we have to look as being, though in minstrel's guise, our earliest surviving contemporary authority for the history of Sicily. We have already had often to refer to the songs of the Theban Pindar to witness how Chromios

Historic
value of
his odes.

¹ We all know the Pindaric bit about Pherenikos, Ol. i. 18 (26). And it is the Scholiast of Pindar at the very beginning who gives us the fragment of Bacchylidês which Bergk (iii. 571) has set up;

*ξανθότριχα μὲν Φερένικον
'Αλφειὸν παρ' εὐρυδίναν πῶλον ἀελλόδρομον
εἶδε νικάσαντα.*

² Hesiod, as we have seen, knows nothing about Sicily in relation to Persephonê. But his Scholiast quotes Bacchylidês as placing her story in Crete. See vol. i. pp. 532, 533.

³ See vol. i. p. 365.

⁴ I quote Bergk, iii. 588; "Quod exhibet Natalis Com. Mythol. ix. 8. p. 987, 'Dicitur Polyphemus non modo amasse Galateam sed etiam Galatam ex ea suscepisse, ut testatus est Bacchylides' qua fide sit dignum prorsus incertum." See vol. i. p. 190.

fought in the Helorine Tempê¹, how Hierôn installed his son as king of new-founded Ætna², and how the victor from Stymphalos was tempted to leave his native land to seek a new home at Syracuse³. We have been stirred by the panhellenic zeal with which he sings to Hierôn of the fight of Himera and the fight of Kymê⁴, and we have been more gently moved as he paints for Thêrôn his wondrous picture of the happy Island⁵. But an account of the reign of Hierôn, and above all of the court of Hierôn, would hardly be complete without some attempt at a general view of those parts of Pindar's poems which bear directly on the story of Sicily and her lords⁶. It will be equally needful, in speaking of a poet of whom we have such large remains and of whom so much is recorded in one quarter and another, to keep ourselves strictly to that side of him which supplies us with not a few facts and illustrations for Sicilian history.

And, from our Sicilian point of view, it is of special moment to look at the Sicilian odes of Pindar in their right order. There is for the most part something very grievous in disturbing the order of a familiar book, in sending us for instance to wander up and down through the wilderness of some new numbering of the books of Aristotle's Politics. But it would be a real gain to historic truth to print the *Epinikia* of Pindar in chronological order, at all events for the purposes of Sicilian history. It is hard to get rid of the impression which seizes one at the first youthful glance that the praises of

Order of
the odes.

¹ See above, p. 116, and Appendix X.

² See above, p. 245.

³ See above, pp. 133, 134.

⁴ See above, p. 206, 250.

⁵ See above, p. 147.

⁶ Here the Scholiasts on Pindar give much help, if they are used carefully. Among recent writers who have worked at the order of the Pindaric Odes, there is Mr. W. W. Lloyd, *History of Sicily*, pp. 213 et seqq.; Holm, *G. S. i.* 219 et seqq.; Bergk in the *Prolegomena* to his *Poetæ Lyrici Græci*, vol. i.; Mezger, *Pindars Siegeslieder*, and Mr. J. B. Bury in his edition of the *Nemean Odes*.

CHAP. VI. water, of gold, and of Hierôn, which come first in our books, must needs be the beginning of something. It is, on the other hand, an important point to notice that the connexion of Pindar with Sicily was not in its beginning a connexion with Syracuse or with Hierôn, or with any prince or tyrant of any city. In the exercise of his calling as poet of the victors in the public games, Pindar was early called upon to sing the praises of successful competitors from the Sikeliot cities. The passion for these festivals, all of them, it must be remembered, acts of religion, was now at its height. The rich men of the flourishing Greek cities of Sicily sought for fame in the games of Old Greece, and the Sikeliôt cities had games of their own to which competitors from Old Greece sometimes found their way. Syracuse, child of Corinth, had her Isthmia after the pattern of her parent, and Hierôn, founder of Ætna, set up local Nemea in his new city. One citizen of Corinth at least, Xenophôn by name, who at last reached the honours of an Olympic victory and an ode from the Boiotian poet, had already won many prizes in local contests, both in Old Greece and among the rich and fair cities beneath the height of Ætna¹. The special reference must be to the Hieronian Nemea; but a Corinthian athlete, seeking honour in Sicily, would assuredly not leave out the Isthmia of Syracuse.

But thirty years before the Olympic victory of Xenophôn, Pindar had been called on to take the praises of Sicily, her cities and her citizens, into his mouth. His first effort, at the age of twenty, was to do honour to a Thessalian victor². His second, perhaps eight years later, was to celebrate the victory of an Emmenid of Akragas³.

¹ See Appendix XXV.

² The tenth Pythian, placed by Bergk in 490, by Boeckh and Mezger in 502. The difference hardly concerns us.

³ See Appendix XXVI.

His first
Sicilian
odes not
addressed
to tyrants.

Local
Sikeliot
games.

Xenophôn
of Corinth.

Pindar's
early odes.

B.C. 502.
The first
to Xeno-
kratês.

B.C. 494-
490.

But it was before that house had given the city a tyrant, unless Tèlemachos in an earlier generation is to bear that name¹. The wealth of the Emmenids, while still only private men, is shown by the fact that the contest in which Xenokratês, son of Ainêsidamos, had won the prize was nothing short of the chariot-race in the games of Pythô. Four of the renowned horses of Akragas, Akragas between its rivers, had won glory for Xenokratês and the wealthy house of the Emmenids². The young son of Xenokratês, Thrasyboulos, had in some way won honour also. To him the ode is directly addressed, as is a far later poem, when the Emmenid house, then not yet risen to its full greatness, had fallen from it³. Neither poem tells us much directly about the affairs of Akragas or of Sicily. But in the later ode we have a glowing picture of the virtues of the dead Xenokratês. The poet sings of his mildness and courtesy, his bounty to citizens and strangers, his devotion towards the gods, and how he loved to keep horses for the common festivals of Hellas⁴. In the year of his former victory Akragas was lucky, and we are lucky in her good luck. For another of her citizens, Midas, son of a nameless father, won the prize with the flute⁵. He

CHAP. VI.

Thrasy-
boulos.Second ode
on Xeno-
kratês;
C. B.C. 471.

¹ See above, p. 78.

² Pyth. vi. 5;

ὀλβίοισιν Ἑμμενίδαῖς
ποταμῖα τ' Ἀκράγαντι καὶ μὲν Ξενοκράτει.

³ See Appendix XXVI.

⁴ Isthm. ii. 35 or 51;

. . . ὅσον ὀργάν
Ξενοκράτης ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων γλυκεῖαν
ἔσχεν. αἰδοῖος μὲν ἦν ἀστοῖς ὀμιλεῖν,
ἵπποτροφίας τε νομίζων ἐν Πανελλάνων νόμῳ·
καὶ θεῶν δαΐτας προσέπτυκτο πάσας· οὐδέ ποτε ξενίαν
οὖρος ἐμπνεύσας ὑπέστειλ' ἱστίον ἀμφὶ τράπεζαν.

⁵ This is the twelfth Pythian, addressed to Midas of Akragas, victor at Pythô, according to the Scholiast, both in 494 or 490 and in 494 or 496. Mezger (196) places the ode in 494. Both Lloyd and Mezger find a good deal to say about Midas. I am hardly concerned with the Scholiast's story about his breaking his flute.

CHAP. VI. therefore gave Pindar an opening for praise indeed of the goodly city on the height. *La Magnifica* she was even before she came down from her akropolis, and *La Magnifica* she remains now she is again shut up within it¹.

Pindar's odes to princes. It was most likely among the lords of the Sikeliot cities that Pindar began to practise his calling as the laureate of princes. We know not at what time it was that he sang the praises of the Argeian king of Macedonia, that Alexander who was able both to prove his Greek descent and to show his good will to Greece², but whom Pindar congratulated on bearing the same name as a son of Priam³. The Greek kings of Kyrênê he was not called on to celebrate till he had well practised his skill on the lords both of Syracuse and of Akragas⁴. Those two, Hierôn and Thêrôn, he was called on to magnify for the first time in the same year. Thêrôn had won the nobler victory, that in the chariot-race at Olympia. The song in honour of Hierôn, though placed among the Pythian odes, has clearly nothing to do with Pythô. The victory which it commemorates was won in some local contest, very likely at Pindar's own Thebes⁵. One cannot help connecting this fact with the story which we have already heard, how Hierôn was hindered by Themistoklês from contending in the games of Olympia⁶. That event, if it happened at all, must have happened in this year. It suggests the thought that the four colts of Hierôn which were designed to strive at

Alexander of Macedonia.

Arkesilas of Kyrênê.

His first ode to Hieron (Pyth. 2) and Thêrôn (Ol. 2). B.C. 476.

The ode to Hierôn not Pythian.

Possible connexion with the story of Themistoklês.

¹ See vol. i. p. 430, note 1. I had not then noticed the early date of the ode.

² Herod. v. 22, vii. 173, ix. 45, 140.

³ The fragment (Bergk, i. 418) comes from the Scholiast on Nem. vii;

ὀλβίων ὁμῶννυμε Δαρδανιδᾶν
παῖ θρασύμηδες Ἀμύντα.

⁴ The fourth and fifth Pythians addressed to Arkesilas do not come till the year 466 B.C. On the dates of the odes addressed to Hierôn and Thêrôn see Appendix XXVII, XXVIII.

⁵ See Appendix XXVII.

⁶ See above, p. 247.

Olympia, shut out from that nobler field, were taken to display their swiftness at a festival of less account in a city where the charge brought against Hierôn would be less keenly felt. It is certain that it was from Thebes that the ode was sent, and that it was in some way connected with the worship of the Dioskouroi, though their names are not mentioned in the poem. It is this ode which begins with that splendid address to Syracuse one word of which we have already had to refer to more than once already¹. The laureate is able to praise his patron as the deliverer of Lokroi, a reference which enables us to fix the date of the poem and the victory²; keen eyes have been further able to detect in the dark sayings of the poet a further reference to the relations of Hierôn to Polyzêlos and to Thêrôn. Hierôn is hailed as lord and ruler of many fair cities and of a mighty host, but it is only indirectly that he is spoken of as king. It is noteworthy also that we here find perhaps the first classification of the three forms of government on which later Greek writers have so much to say. And it is more noteworthy still that, in speaking to the lord of Syracuse, the word *tyranny* is used in a sense perfectly colourless³.

CHAP. VI.

Character
of the
poem.

Of the two Olympic odes to Thêrôn, the first seems to be strictly the *epinikian* song, while the second was to be sung at the home festival of the Theoxenia. To the former we have had to refer more than once. If nothing else, the picture of the happy island would make the poem

The odes
to Thêrôn.
B.C. 474.

¹ Pyth. ii. 1. Of the word *μεγαλόλιες* and the *ποταμίας* ἔδος Ἀρτέμιδος I have said something in vol. i. p. 352, and above, p. 139. But the whole opening is noteworthy;

μεγαλόλιες ᾧ Συράκοσαι, βαθυπολέμου

τέμενος Ἀρεος, ἀνδρῶν ἵππων τε σιδαροχαρμῶν δαιμόνιοι τροφοί.

Mezger's comment is strange; "Syrakus bestand aus fünf Städten, Ortygia, Achradina, Neapolis, Epipolæ, und Tyche." One would think he had confounded the two Hierôns. But this writer's notions of Syracusan topography are wonderful throughout.

² See above, p. 241.

³ See Appendix XXVII.

CHAP. VI.
Praises of
Thêrôn.

His
enemies.

immortal¹. The earlier history of the forefathers of Thêrôn is glanced at²; and he himself is praised without stint. He is the flower of his house, the bulwark of Akragas; but above all things he is the hospitable man and the bountiful. For a hundred years past there has been no man like him³. His good deeds to others outnumber the sands by the seashore⁴. Yet he has his enemies and slanderers, perhaps his discontented kinsmen, Kapys and Hippokratês, of whose enmity and perhaps revolt we hear vague stories⁵. In the second piece, dedicated specially to a feast of hospitality, the same line is taken up yet more strongly. What water is among the elements, what gold is among the metals⁶, that the virtues of Thêrôn are among men. They reach to the pillars of Hêraklês, and the wise go no further⁷.

Of both these poems the theme is the glory of the Emmenid house and not only the personal glory of Thêrôn. The year was for them at once lucky and unlucky. It

¹ See above, p. 147.

² See above, p. 78, and the 'Εγκώμιον (Bergk, i. 417) preserved by the Scholiast.

³ Ol. ii. 90 (164);

ἐπὶ τοι

Ἀκράγαντι τανύσαις

αὐδάσομαι ἐνὸρκιον λόγον ἀλαθεῖ νόφ,

τεκεῖν μή τιν' ἑκατόν γε ἐτέων πόλιν φίλοις ἄνδρα μᾶλλον

εὐεργέταν πραπίσιν ἀφθονέστερόν τε χέρα

Θήρωνος.

⁴ Ol. ii. 98 (179);

ἐπεὶ ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφενγεν,

καὶ κείνος ὅσα χάρματ' ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν,

τίς ἂν φράσαι δύναίτο;

⁵ See Appendix XXVI.

⁶ Ol. iii. 42 (75);

εἰ δ' ἀριστεύει μὲν ὕδωρ κτεάνων δὲ χρυσὸς αἰδοιέστατον.

⁷ Ol. iii. 43 (76);

νῦν γε πρὸς ἐσχατιὰν Θήρων ἀρεταῖσιν ἱκάνων ἄπτεται

οἴκοθεν Ἡρακλέος σταλᾶν.

A Phœnician of Gades might have smiled at the bounds of Greek navigation.

was now that Xenokratês, brother of Thêrôn, already Pythian victor, won his victory in the chariot-race at the Isthmus, but, as we have seen, his victory was soon followed by his death, and it was not celebrated till the Emmenid house had ceased to be a ruling house¹. The next Sicilian odes of Pindar carry us back to Hierôn, but not altogether in his Syracusan character. An ode of uncertain date, but written about the time of the Theban victory of Hierôn and the Olympic victory of Thêrôn, commemorates an early victory won by Pherenikos at Delphoi when his master was still only Hierôn of Syracuse, as yet tyrant nowhere². By the time the ode was written, Hierôn had, by his new foundation, entitled himself, in his own eyes at least, to be spoken of as Hierôn of Ætna, and so he is called, though not in the formal heading, in the third Pythian³. But the man of Ætna is also a man of Syracuse; it is by the fountain of Arethousa that he dwells, and not only dwells, but reigns as a king, a king displaying every princely virtue towards citizens and strangers⁴, but who, it seems, could also be spoken of without offence by the name of tyrant. The poem contains no further historical matter; but it has a personal interest, as being in fact a letter of condolence addressed to Hierôn in one of the fits of his grievous sickness⁵. Sickness suggests the healers of sickness; to the bodily pains of Hierôn we owe Pindar's tale of the birth of Asklêpios.

CHAP. VI.

The ode
on Xeno-
kratês.

B. C. 474.

The third
Pythian
(c. B. C. 474)
to Hierôn
in sickness.

c. B. C. 481.

In this ode the kingship of Hierôn is distinctly asserted. It is a kingship over Syracuse, vested in Hierôn alike of Syracuse and of Ætna. In the next ode, little, if any

¹ See Appendix XXVII.² See Appendix XXVII.³ It is *Ἱέρωνι Συρακοσίῳ* in the heading.⁴ See Appendix XXVII.⁵ Pyth. iii. 73 (129);

εἰ κατέβαν ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσέαν, κ.τ.λ.

So the Scholiast at the beginning; τὸ δὲ προοίμιον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἱέρωνος νόσον ἐστὶν κατεύχεται γὰρ ἀναβιῶσαι τὸν Χείρωνα καὶ ὑγιάσαι τῆς νόσου τῆς λιθορίας τὸν Ἱέρανα.

CHAP. VI.
The first
Pythian.
B.C. 474.

later, the Syracusan kingship of Hierôn is content to veil itself before the Ætnæan kingship of his son. The so-called first Pythian ode, the price, it would seem, of a golden lyre of Hierôn's gift¹, is, like the third, really Pythian. It commemorates the victory won by Hierôn in the Pythian chariot-race, when he was declared, not as Hierôn of Syracuse, but as Hierôn of Ætna². This ode has already supplied us with not a few references to the main facts of the Sicilian history of the time. Here comes the great picture of Ætna the mountain, suggested by the great outpouring which still was recent³. And here too are the most marked references to the foundation of Ætna the city, and to the kingship of the son of Hierôn within its walls. Deinomenês is distinctly greeted as King of Ætna. He is to be the constitutional king of the new city, according to the laws of the Dorians and the example of Sparta. To the father no special royal title is given; he is a man of Ætna, but seemingly not its king⁴. It is here that we listen to the thrilling references to the work of deliverance wrought by the Deinomenid brothers, to the special work of deliverance which the ruler of the Syracusans had wrought at Kymê⁵. But even among such glories a warning voice is still needed. It is in the last lines of this ode that Hierôn and his son are bidden

Celebrates
Ætna and
the king-
ship of
Deino-
menês.

Notes of
warning.

¹ I do not quite understand the words of one of the Scholiasts at the beginning; γέγραπται μὲν ὁ ἐπίνικος Ἱέρωνι, λέγεται δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος οὕτως ἐπιβεβλήσθαι κατὰ Ἀρτέμονα τὸν ἱστορικὸν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἱέρων χρυσὴν ὑπέσχετο κιθάραν. He surely had some more substantial reward.

² The heading now is Ἱέρωνι Αἰτναίῳ. One Scholiast at the beginning records the foundation of Ætna, and adds, Αἰτναίων ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας νικῶν ἀνεκήρυξεν.

³ See vol. i. p. 71. The description goes on;
τὰς ἐρεύγονται μὲν ἀπλάτου πυρὸς ἀγνόταται
ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί, κ.τ.λ.

On this eruption, see above, p. 212.

⁴ See above, p. 215. The father is simply Ἱέρων where the son is Αἷτνας βασιλεὺς. Afterwards he is Συρακοσίων ἀρχός.

⁵ See above, p. 234.

to take Crœsus and not Phalaris as the model of their rule¹. CHAP. VI.

Lastly we come to odes which are held to have been written by Pindar, not only in honour of Sicilian victors, but when he was himself actually a guest on Sicilian soil. It is said that Pindar for a while refused the pressing invitations of Hierôn to visit him in Sicily. He liked better, Pindar in Sicily.
B. C. 474. he is reported to have said, though hardly to Hierôn himself, to be his own master². In the end he went and made a stay in Sicily of perhaps four years. He saw Hierôn at his own happy hearth at Syracuse, the The first Olympic ode.
B. C. 473. hearth of the king rejoicing in horses³, for whom the swiftness of Pherenikos had won glory in that Olympic contest which stood forth among the games of Greece, like gold among metals or water among the elements⁴. As a king, Hierôn had reached the highest point to which man could reach⁵. He adorned his rank with every virtue⁶; it was his right to have his praises sung at his own table by all the bards who sat around it⁷, but most of all by him who does not shrink from proclaiming himself as the foremost of his craft among the Greeks⁸. In this ode, really the last of the series, but which we are tempted to look on as first, there is no mention of Ætina, no mention of Hierôn's victories in war; there is little that is even

¹ See above, p. 75, and Appendix VII.

² This comes from Πινδάρου Ἀποφθέγματα, Boeckh, ii. 10; ἐρωτηθεὶς πάλιν διὰ τί Σιμωνίδης πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ θέλει· ὅτι βούλομαι, εἶπεν, ἔμνατῶ ζῆν, οὐκ ἄλλα.

³ Holm (i. 420) gives the date of his coming as earlier than the usual date 473, because he holds that he must have seen the eruption of 475. On the passage Ol. i. 11 (16) see above, p. 230.

⁴ Ol. i. 1.

⁵ Ol. i. 112 (181); τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφούται βασιλεῦσι. See Appendix XXVII.

⁶ Ib. 12 (19); see Appendix XXVII.

⁷ See Appendix XXVII.

⁸ Ib. at the end;

ἐμέ τε τοσσάδε νικαφόροις
ὀμιλεῖν πρόφαντον σοφία καθ' Ἑλλανας ἔοντα παντᾶ.

CHAP. VI. distinctively Syracusan, save so far as the poet, by dwelling on the Olympic victory as won by the banks of Alpheios, might seem to suggest those banks as the fitting place for success to be won by him who reigned where Alpheios appeared again¹. But the special reference to Syracuse as the breathing-place of the wearied Alpheios does not come in this ode to Hierôn of Syracuse, but in one of those to Chromios of Ætna². The house of Chromios at Syracuse as well as that in newly-founded Ætna both received the poet as his guest³. The founder of Ætna is again celebrated by that title in an *hyporchêma* of the poet, some of whose allusions we have no means of understanding, but in which we have a distinct allusion to the name of Hierôn, called from the holy things of which he was the hereditary minister, and where Sicily seems to be spoken of as the special land of the chariot⁴. In the Olympic ode itself the poet hopes that his patron will one day win the crowning glory of the chariot-race at Olympia⁵; but Hierôn

Odes to
Chromios.

Fragments
to Hierôn.

¹ παρ' Ἀλφεῖῳ (20 or 32), Ἀλφεοῦ πόρῳ (92 or 149).

² See vol. i. p. 353, and Appendix X.

³ See Appendix X.

⁴ See above, p. 238. I do not profess to expound the lines in Athênaios, i. 28 (Bergk i. 409),

Νομάδεσσι γὰρ ἐν Σκύθαις ἀλᾶται Στράτων,
ὅς ἀμαξοφόρητον οἶκον οὐ πέπαται.

But over the page we find a list of the best things from different places, among which Sicily has its share;

ὅπλα δ' ἀπ' Ἀργεὸς ἄρμα Θηβαίων· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τᾶς ἀγλαοκάρπου
Σικελίας ὄχημα δαιδάλεον ματεύειν.

Bergk quotes from a scholiast on Aristides the saying, very like a scholiast, Βακχυλίδης καὶ Πίνδαρος Ἱέρωνα καὶ Γέλωνα, τοὺς Σικελίας ἄρχοντας, ὑμνήσαντες καὶ πλεῖστα θαυμάσαντες ἐν ἱππηλασίᾳ, πρὸς χάριν αὐτῶν εἶπον, ὡς Σικελιωταὶ πρῶτοι ἄρμα ἐξεύρον. But here ἄρμα is distinguished from ὄχημα, and, if we may only translate ὄχημα δαιδάλεον by "painted cart," the clause is preeminently true in Sicily to this day. See vol. i. p. 94. Directly after there is a reference to the ὄχος Σικελός.

⁵ (108 or 173);

... εἰ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ λίποι,
ἔτι γλυκυτέραν κεν ἔλπομαι
σὺν ἄρματι θεῷ κλειῆειν ἐπικούρον εὐρῶν ὁδὸν λόγαν,
παρ' εὐδείελον ἐλθὼν Κρόνιον.

seems to have had to be satisfied with the success of his chariot at Pythô and of his single horse by the banks of Alpheios. CHAP. VI.

Whether Pindar visited Akragas as well as Syracuse and Ætna does not appear. His stay in Sicily is said, as we have already heard, to have been marred by the enmity of rivals who knew better than he how to win the tyrant's favour¹. He did not, like Simônîdês, find his latest home in the island; but died by what was deemed a specially blissful death at Argos². But another poet, even greater than himself, was to make himself yet more thoroughly at home on Sicilian soil, and to find there, like Simônîdês, a tomb, not in either of the princely seats of Hierôn, but in the native city which he had forsaken. Alleged rivals of Pindar.
His death.
B. C. 442.

It is somewhat hard to fix the exact number of the visits which Æschylus paid to Sicily. One story makes him come early in life, before he had won the name which he prized above all names, that of the man who fought at Marathôn³. In another version he sought the court of Hierôn, because Simônîdês was judged to have better sung the praises of those who fell in the great fight than their countryman and comrade⁴. In another version he left Athens, for a while at least, because, not the ordinary judges, but Kimôn and his colleagues in the glories of Eurymedôn, had declared the veteran warrior and poet less worthy of the prize than the young Sophoklês⁵. Others tell how, later Visits of Æschylus to Sicily.
B. C. 500.
B. C. 469.

¹ See above, p. 265, and Appendix XXIV.

² See the account in his Life in Soudas. To the Theoxenos of Tenedos there mentioned he addresses a passionate skolion, part of which is preserved by Athênaios; Bergk, iii. 421.

³ On the visits of Æschylus to Sicily see Lorenz, *Leben und Schriften des Koers Epicharmos*, 81. This first visit, if it ever happened, hardly concerns us.

⁴ Vit. Æsch. ἐν τῷ εἰς τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τεθνηκότας ἐλεγείῳ ᾗσθηθεις Σιμωνίδῃ. The biographer thinks that Simônîdês was likely to have done better in elegy.

⁵ Plut. Cim. 8. The mention of the archôn Aphepsîôn fixes the date.

CHAP. VI.
B. C. 458.

Two visits,
perhaps
more.

Oresteia
acted.
B. C. 458.

again, after the acting of the great trilogy of the Oresteia, the poet, either wrathful at a charge of impiety¹ or dissatisfied with the general state of things at Athens, betook himself to Sicily, never to go back². It is perfectly possible that Æschylus may have found his way to Sicily once, twice, thrice, or four times. What seems certain is, that he was received at the court of Hierôn, at Syracuse or at Ætna; that plays of his, both on Sicilian and other subjects, were acted in Sicily at Hierôn's bidding; that he died in Sicily, not at Syracuse but at Gela, some years after the death of his patron. These facts imply two sojourns in Sicily; they do not shut out more. He was in Sicily in the days of Hierôn; he ended his days in Sicily some time after the death of Hierôn; but the date of the performance of the Oresteia shows that his stay was not continuous, that he was again at Athens after his first Sicilian visit³. It was his first stay in Sicily which most distinctly connects his works with the history and traditions of the island, which enables us to speak of him as the poet of Ætna, the poet of the Palici, the poet of Hêraklês as winner of the soil which his children Pentathlos and Dôrieus strove in vain to win back as his heritage.

We have already seen something of the effects of his Sicilian sojourns on the poet himself. The land and all that was in it so deeply impressed him that he could be

But Plutarch seems to have thought that he never came back; *εἴτ' οἴχεται δι' ὁργὴν εἰς Σικελίαν, ὅπου καὶ τελευτήσας περὶ Γέλαν τέθαιπται*. Lorenz rejects this journey on the ground that Æschylus brought out the Seven against Thebes at Athens in B. C. 467.

¹ This seems referred to by Aristotle, *Eth.* iii. 1. 15, but he does not connect it with going to Sicily. Cf. the story in the *Life of Æschylus* on the effects of the acting of the Eumenides.

² This was the notion of O. Müller, *Eumenides*, 116 (Eng. Tr.), which made a great impression years ago. But there seems no distinct evidence for it.

³ The Hypothesis to the *Agamemnôn* fixes this date to B. C. 459.

spoken of as having himself become a Sicilian¹, and as filling his verse with Sikeliot, perhaps Sikel, words, which were not clearly understood by his hearers elsewhere². The greatest of all the wonders of the island deeply impressed him, and he, as well as Pindar, has painted for us that great outpouring of the fiery powers which happened in the days of both, perhaps before the eyes of both as sojourners on Sicilian ground³. We have seen how Pindar could turn the eruption of Ætna to the glory of the founder of Ætna. Æschylus could give a nobler turn to the wonders of the fire-flood. Old Ocean warns Promêtheus of the danger of withstanding Zeus by the example of Typhôn crushed beneath the weight of Ætna; he goes on to tell how Hêphaistos keeps his furnace in the highest peak; and he foretells how one day the rivers of fire shall burst forth to lay waste with wild jaws the corn-lands of fruitful Sicily⁴. Some have argued, needlessly perhaps, that this passage, of no special interest, it is said, at Athens, points to a Sicilian representation of the Bound Promêtheus⁵. There are stronger grounds for asserting a Sicilian performance—a repetition and not a first performance—of the intensely Athenian play of the Persians⁶. Such a performance would fall in with the temper alike of Hierôn and of Æschylus. The trilogy of which the Persians

Sicilian
references
in Æschy-
lus.

Ætna.

The
Persians.

¹ "Vir utique Siculus," says Macrobius, v. 18. 17.

² See vol. i. p. 489.

³ See above, p. 242.

⁴ The description (Prom. 366) winds up with Hêphaistos at work;

κορυφαῖς δ' ἐν ἄκραις ἤμενος μυδροκτυπεῖ
Ἡφαίστος, ἐνθεν ἐκραγῆσονται ποτε
ποταμοὶ πρὸς δάπτοντες ἀγρίαις γνάθοις
τῆς καλλικάρπου Σικελίας λευρὸν γῆρας.

⁵ Holm, i. 231.

⁶ The Scholiast on Aristoph. Frogs, 1026, distinctly quotes Eratosthenês for the statement that the Persians were acted at Syracuse at the bidding of Hieron (δεδιδάχθαι ἐν Συρακούσαις σπουδάσαντος Ἱέρωνος). But the representation at Athens in 473 came first; φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἱέρωνος ἀξιοθέντα ἀναδιδάξαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐν Σικελίᾳ λίαν εὐδοκιμεῖν. So says the fragment following the Life. See Appendix XX.

CHAP. VI.
Glaukos.

formed a part had the play of Glaukos as one of its members. It is from that play that we have the fragment which describes Hêraklês as making his way from Eryx to lofty Himera¹. That subject would allow of easy reference to the later glories of Himera. Such a play as this would well fit in with that which told of the victory won on the self-same day in the narrow seas of Attica, and the prince who had fought at Himera might look on from his seat of honour in the theatre of Syracuse or Ætna while the poet who had fought at Salamis told the tale of his own deeds in strains which make us long for the like record of the kindred victory. Let us for a moment fancy to ourselves the sacrifice of Hamilkar told in the verse of Æschylus.

It is with but scant sympathy that we have seen how Hierôn won for himself the honours of a founder and a hero by driving the people of Katanê from their homes. If anything could make one look kindly on the tyrant in his character of lord of Ætna, it would be that the foundation of Ætna was recorded, that blessings were implored on its prince and people, in the tragedy in which we have found our earliest notice of the special gods of the Sikel². The play of the Ætnæan Women, the play which recorded the birth of the Palici, was the choicest gift of Æschylus to Sicily, the choicest fruit of his Sicilian sojourn. Written and acted in Sicily on a subject purely Sicilian, it would be gladness indeed to the historian of Sicily to have the tragedy in its fulness instead of a few small fragments. But one of those fragments is enough to show that, even in singing the praises of Hierôn of Ætna, Æschylus did

The
Ætnæan
Women.

¹ See vol. i. p. 414.

² So distinctly in the Life; ἐλθὼν εἰς Σικελίαν, Ἰέρανος τότε τὴν Αἴτνην κτίζοντος, ἐπεδείξατο τὰς Αἰτναίας, οἰανίζόμενος βίον ἀγαθὸν τοῖς συνοικίζουσι τὴν πόλιν. The Φορκίδες seem to be claimed as Sicilian simply on the strength of the word ἀσχεδωπος. See vol. i. p. 489.

not forget the older folk and the older gods of the land. CHAP. VI.
 Æschylus, in his first Sicilian sojourn, was the guest of
 Hierôn at Ætna; he may, when he came for the last time,
 have been the guest of Ducetius at Menænum.

The only place where we can see Æschylus with any His death
 certainty in his last Sicilian sojourn is the place of his at Gela.
 death, Gela. He would seem to have chosen that city as B.C. 456.
 an abiding dwelling-place, as its name is found in an
 epitaph of his own writing. In that epitaph the only His
 one of his exploits, warlike or poetic, which he deemed epitaph.
 worthy of record was that the short-cropped Mede had
 felt his might at Marathôn¹. He left it to others to tell
 how he built the lofty rime², and to imply that his death
 in another land was caused by the envy of his own citizens³.

¹ It is given in the Life;

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίανος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει
 μνήμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας.
 ἄλκιμν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι
 καὶ βραχυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

Pausanias (i. 14. 5), after mentioning Marathon, adds; φρονήσαι δ' Ἀθη-
 ναίους ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα εἰκάσω· καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰσχύλος, ὥς οἱ τοῦ βίου
 προσεδοκᾶτο ἡ τελευτῇ, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμνημόνευεν οὐδενός, δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτον
 ἦκαν ἐπὶ ποιήσει καὶ πρὸ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσας. ὁ δὲ τό τε
 ὄνομα πατρόθεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψε καὶ ὥς τῆς ἀνδρίας μάρτυρας ἔχοι τὸ
 Μαραθῶνι ἄλσος καὶ Μῆδων τοὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβάντας. Cf. *Frogs*, 1292;

τί τὸ πλαττόθρατ τοῦτ' ἐστίν; ἐκ Μαραθῶνος;

² The epitaph by Antipatros in the Anthology brings us back to an old
 subject and supplies another Aristophanic reference;

ὁ τραγικὸς φώνημα καὶ ὀφρυνέσσαν ἀοιδῶν
 πυργώσας στιβαρῇ πρῶτος ἐν εὐεπία,
 Αἰσχύλος Εὐφορίανος Ἐλευσινίας ἐκὰς αἶψα
 κείται κυδαίων σήματι Τρινακίην.

Some commentators have troubled themselves to read Τρινακίην. The
 second line of course comes from the *Frogs*, 1002;

ἀλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πύργωσας βήματα σεμνά.

³ The other epitaph is used by O. Müller for his purposes;

Αἰσχύλον ἥδε λέγει ταφίῃ λίθος ἐνθάδε κεῖσθαι
 τὸν μέγαν οἰκείας τῇδ' ἀπὸ Κεκροπίης.
 λευκὰ Γέλα Σικελῶν παρ' ὕδατα· τίς φθόνος ἀστῶν
 Θησείδας ἀγαθῶν ἐγκοτος αἰὲν ἔχει;

One can almost forgive this last bit of spite in return for the doubtless

CHAP. VI.
Story of
the eagle.

Of the manner of his death a strange tale was told. As he sat, perhaps writing, in an open place outside the walls of Gela, an eagle, taking the poet's shining bald head for a stone, let fall a tortoise which he held in his claws in order to break its shell¹. One is not bound either to believe or to disbelieve. We may even, if we please, hold that a tale which brings in the bird of Zeus and the reptile out of whose shell Hermês carved the lyre points in some dark way to the apotheosis of one who played so skilfully on its strings. One might be more inclined to ask what led Æschylus to Gela as his chosen Sicilian home. His princely friends had passed away². If it be true that he left Athens through dislike of democratic changes, the state of free Syracuse may have been no more to his liking than the state of his own city. But we know too little of the internal politics of Gela at this time to risk any answer to the question.

Epicharmos, B.C.
540-450,
inventor
of Sicilian
comedy.

If Sicily had to borrow her lyric and tragic poetry from Keos, Thebes, and Athens, her comedy at least was her own. Epicharmos passes with some for the inventor of comedy³; at all events we may accept him as the inventor of its special Sicilian type. The Sikeliots were reckoned, both now and in much later times, as a people given to gibes and merriment of every kind⁴; and this temper found

accidental phrase λευκά Γέλα Σικελῶν παρ' ὕδατα, waters so preeminently Sikel.

¹ John of Stoboi, xcviii. 9, quotes a string of remarkable deaths from Sôtaðês, one of which is

Δισχύλῳ γράφοντι ἐπιπέτωκε χελώνη.

(Cf. Soudas in χελώνη μυίων.) Valerius Maximus (ix. 12. Ext. 2) tells the story more fully. The eagle was "elusa splendore capitis; erat enim capillis vacuum." The Li'è tells the story with the addition that Æschylus had an oracle οὐράνιον σε βέλος κατακτενεί.

² The Biographer confuses the dates when he says, σφόδρα τῷ τυράνῳ Ἰέρωνι καὶ τοῖς Γελῶσις τιμηθεῖς, ἐπιζήσας τρίτον ἔτος ὧν γηραιὸς ἐτελεύτα.

³ On some points in the life of Epicharmos, see Appendix XXIX.

⁴ On this head I shall have more to say presently; but it is worth

its special exponent in one whom some make out to have been a native of the island, others to have been brought there at so early a stage of life that he must have looked on Sicily as his country. The version which makes him a native gives him a birth-place where we should certainly not have looked for him, in the Sikan town of Krastos. This account has been perhaps a little too unceremoniously cast aside; still the balance of authority is in favour of the belief which brings Epicharmos the son of Elothalês of Kôs to the Sicilian Megara at the age of three months¹. His father passes for an Asklepiad practising the art of Asklepîos. His son seems to have been one of those lucky inhabitants of Megara whom Gelôn did not sell, but promoted to Syracusan citizenship. And this would seem to imply that Elothalês had been received into the ranks of the Megarian oligarchy². Syracuse was certainly his dwelling-place in his later life; it was the place of his burial; but his epitaph skilfully avoids any claim to his birth on the part of the city³. One side of him brings him across the formidable name of Pythagoras. He was said to have been a disciple of the Samian sage, and on the strength of this connexion a short Life has been devoted to him among the Lives of the Philosophers⁴. It is darkly hinted that he spoke of his master as having been received to the citizenship of Rome, and that, it would

CHAP. VI.

His birth-place
Krastos.Brought
from Kôs
as a child;

at Megara;

at Syracuse.

His relations to
Pythagoras.

noticing that the *κομψὸς ἀνὴρ*, ὥσως *Σικελός τις ἢ Ἰταλικός*, whom Plato (*Gorgias*, 47) brings in to make etymological jokes, ought to be in strictness, not a Greek, but a native. And may there not have been a Sikel element in the Sikeliot comedy?

¹ See Appendix XXIX.

² See above, pp. 131, 132.

³ *Diog. Laert.*, viii. 3;

εἴ τι παρὰλλάσσει φάεθ' ὄντος ἄλ' ἰσχυρὸν ἄστρον
καὶ πόντος ποταμῶν μείζον' ἔχει δύναιεν,
φαμὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ σοφίᾳ προέχειν Ἐπίχαρμον
ὃν πατρὶς ἐστεφάνωσ' ἄδε Συρακοσίαν.

⁴ *Diog. Laert.* viii. 3. He follows Empedoklēs. The epitaph comes from the Life.

CHAP. VI. seem, in the reign of his own school-fellow Numa¹. He is said, in his philosophic character, to have left physical and moral writings, and, as became an Asklepiad of Kôs, treatises on medicine. And he was not above the fancy of beginning the successive divisions of a treatise with letters which, when read together, made up his own name².

His philosophical and medical writings.
The philosopher and the comedian the same man.
His long life.

Some indeed have doubted whether Epicharmos the philosopher and Epicharmos the comic poet were the same person; but there seems no good reason for dividing the only recorded man of the name into two³. A man, like so many others whom we come across, of unusually long life⁴, he, like Pindar and Æschylus, outlived the tyranny by a good many years, and some sides of him may be better spoken of when we come to paint Sicily in the later days of his life. We may speak of him now as one of those who gathered round the hearth of Hierôn.

Epicharmos and Aristophanês.

The thought of Greek comedy at once suggests the name of Aristophanês; and his name at once makes us thankful for the light which his writings throw on the political history of Athens in his day. It does not appear from the many, but mostly short, fragments of Epicharmos which have come down to us that his comedies, if we had as great a number of them as we have of those of Aristophanês, would have thrown anything like the same light on the politics of Syracuse either under the Deinomenid dynasty or after its fall. Some references to contemporary affairs they did contain. In one play of Epicharmos the embassy of Chromios to Anaxilas on behalf of Lokroi was spoken of⁵. And if the play was written in the time of Hierôn,

Historical references in Epicharmos' poems.

¹ Plutarch, Numa, 8, quotes it among the arguments for a connexion between Numa and Pythagoras that Πυθαγόραν τῇ πολιτείᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι προσέγραψαν, ὡς ἱστοροῦκεν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν τινὶ λόγῳ πρὸς Ἀντήνορα γεγραμμένῳ, παλαιὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς διατριβῆς μετεσχηκός.

² See Appendix XXIX.

³ See Appendix XXIX.

⁴ Ninety years (B.C. 540-450) according to Diogenês. Lucian (Macrob. 25) gives him seven years longer.

⁵ Schol. Pind. Pyth. i. 98, where the designs of Anaxilas (see above,

it could hardly have been spoken of jestingly. But on the whole, though we have drawn from the fragments some valuable notices as to the forms of Sikeliot language¹, we learn very little from them as to Sikeliot history. It is for the details of Sikeliot cookery that Epicharmos seems to have been more quoted than for anything else. Many of his plays dealt with the received mythology treated in a comic shape. The conception of Hêraklês as a lover of good cheer is familiar to us from one of the most pathetic tragedies of Euripidês. It seems to have reached its highest point in the comedy of Epicharmos which bore the name of the Wedding of Hêbê. The details of the feast supplied collectors for ever with the names of Sicilian fish and other dainties². Nearer to us in geography is a fragment of another play which bore the name of Hêraklês. We may be loth to believe that the wrestler of Eryx, the canonized guest of Agyrnum³, one day to be the special patron of Syracuse in her hour of need, was ever brought on a Sicilian stage as a captain of pygmies riding, after the fashion of Trygaios, on beetles. The beetles, to be sure, were of a large size, and they came from somewhere in the neighbourhood of Ætna. The name of another play, the *Persians*, suggests an unpleasant thought. Did Epicharmos venture to make Æschylus a subject of mockery⁴?

CHAP. VI.

His comic treatment of mythology.

p. 241) against Lokroi are recorded on his authority, *ιστορεῖ καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Νάσοις*. It is also *Ἑορτὰ καὶ Νάσοι*. There may have been another historical reference in the *Ἀρπαγαί*; ἀ δὲ Σικελία πέπσοχε. (Etym. Mag. in *πέπσοχε*.) May one hope that the play of Bousiris had any reference to Phalaris?

¹ See vol. i. p. 489.² See the fragments in Lorenz, 230.³ See vol. i. p. 182.⁴ Aristoph. Peace, 73;

εἰσήγαγ' Αἰτναῖον μέγιστον κάνθαρον,
κάπειτα τοῦτον ἵπποκομῆν μ' ἠνάγκασεν.

On this the Scholiast has preserved a precious fragment of Epicharmos (see Lorenz, 241);

Πυγμαρίων λοχαγὸς ἐκ τῶν κανθάρων
τῶν μεζόνων, οὓς φαντι τὸν Αἷτναν ἔχειν.

CHAP. VI.
Epichar-
mos and
Hierôn.

Of the personal relations between Epicharmos and the founder of Ætna we have one or two anecdotes. It must have been the comic poet, not the Pythagorean philosopher, who made some unseemly remark in the presence of Hierôn's wife, which her husband punished with a fine¹. Another story can hardly be told in any tongue but the original; the point of it turns on the different meanings which a cunning modulation of the voice may give to the same words. It falls in with that side of Hierôn's character at which Pindar but darkly hints; for the tyrant appears as putting several of their common friends to death and presently inviting Epicharmos to supper. The poet's answer matches that of the bishop who was consulted as to the fitness of putting Edward the Second to death. His evasion did not commend itself to the honest soul of Plutarch².

Phormos.

It seems clear that at the same time with Epicharmos there flourished at Syracuse a comic poet named Phormos or Phormis, who is even spoken of as joint inventor of comedy with Epicharmos himself³. But it is hard to believe that he can be the same as the Arkadian Phormis, the friend and soldier of Gelôn, of whom we have already heard⁴. Another comic poet, Deinolochos, whom we have had already to thank for a fragment of language⁵, appears in different accounts as the pupil, the son, and the rival of Epicharmos⁶. Of the rhetorician Korax, who, according

Deino-
lochos.

¹ Plut. Apophth., 'Ιέρωνος, 5; 'Επίχαρμον δὲ τὸν κωμωδιοποιὸν, ὅτι τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας εἶπε τι τῶν ἀπρεπῶν, ἐζημίωσε.

² Plut. Adul. et Am. 27; 'Επίχαρμος δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς, τοῦ 'Ιέρωνος ἀνελόντος ἐνίους τῶν συνήθων, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας κατέσαντος ἐπὶ δεῖπνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτην, ἔφη, θύων τοὺς φίλους οὐκ ἐκάλεσας. This is like Adam Orleton's "Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est."

³ Soudas in 'Επίχαρμος; Arist. Poet. 5. See Appendix XXXIX.

⁴ See above, p. 133, and Lorenz, 84, 85.

⁵ See vol. i. p. 489.

⁶ Son or scholar is the choice in Soudas; Δεινόλοχος, ἀνταγωνιστής. See Lorenz, 87.

to some accounts, was great at the court of Hierôn, and who has been looked on as one of the enemies of Pindar¹, we shall find more to say when we come to the history of the democracy. CHAP. VI.

To men of all these classes the hearth of Hierôn stood open. It doubtless stood open to guests of many other kinds. But it can only be by a confusion of the wildest kind that Hierôn has been made to receive at Syracuse the man who was said to have hindered his horses from contending for the prize at Olympia. When we are told that Themistoklês, banished from Athens, fled to Syracuse, that he asked for a daughter of Hierôn in marriage, and promised to put all Greece under Hierôn's power, it would seem as if, not only Themistoklês and Pausanias, but the lord of Syracuse and the Great King, had got jumbled together in the narrator's brain². It is perhaps hardly worth while to point out that Hierôn died before the flight of Themistoklês to Asia³. Story of Themistoklês and Hierôn.

The mention of the poetry of this age brings us back to the topography of Syracuse. There, among the princes of the Deinomenid house, it is Gelôn, not Hierôn, who has left his works behind him. The love of Hierôn went forth rather to his own Ætna, where, after all that later Catania has undergone, it might be hard to find any traces of his hand. But in one of the great monuments of

¹ See Appendix XXIV.

² Plut. Them. 24; εἴτ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπιλαθόμενος τούτων ἢ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ποιῶν ἐπιλαθόμενον πλεῦσαι φησιν [Στησίμβροτος] εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ παρ' Ἰέρωνος αἰτεῖν τοῦ τυράννου τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον ὑπισχνούμενον αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπηκόους ποιῆσειν, ἀποστρεψαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπᾶραι. Plutarch adds very discreetly, ταῦτα δ' οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐστὶν οὕτω γενέσθαι, and goes on to tell the story of Themistoklês at the Olympic Games (see above, p. 247). The offer is clearly modelled on the letter of Pausanias to Xerxes in Thuc. i. 128.

³ The flight of Themistoklês to Admêtos and thence to Asia is fixed in B.C. 466, the year after Hierôn's death.

CHAP. VI.
The
theatre of
Syracuse,
whether
at all a
work of
the first
Hierôn.

Story of
Dêmoko-
pos.

Position
of the
theatre.

Syracuse the hand of the first Hierôn has been traced, and perhaps with good reason. The famous theatre, as it stands, suggests the second Hierôn rather than the first; but it is not unlikely that the work of the second was a work of restoration rather than of original building¹. And truly no man is more likely than the patron both of Æschylus and of Epicharmos to have been its first founder. Its architect, if that is the right word, is said to have been a certain Dêmokopos, who received the odd surname of Myrilla from the gifts of ointment which he made to the citizens on the completion of his work². That work, like the wall of Thêrôn at Akragas, like the western wall of Achradina, was but partly a work of the building art. Hewn in the rock, with the winding street of tombs above it, no object in Syracuse has a more striking site. Few have a nobler outlook, though we must remember that buildings sometimes gain by partial destruction, and that a perfect *scena* would go some way to shut out the view³. The theatre has become the head of a group of objects of various dates, among which the great altar and the amphitheatre mark stages in the later history. As yet the neighbouring *latomia* and the deep holes in the rock above the theatre concern us more. We must remember that we are here, in Hierôn's day, still outside the walls even of the enlarged city; but we can see that here too, in what presently took the name of *Neapolis*, the *Newtown* of Syracuse, the same process was going on which we have

¹ See Holm, *Topografia*, 188; Lupus, 106.

² I hardly know what value to set on the strange story of Eustathios, *Od.* iii. 68 (see Lorenz, 91). He is speaking of masculine names ending in *a*; καὶ Συρακούσιον τὸ ὁ Μύριλλα· οὐ μεμνήσθαι λέγει τὸν Σώφρονα· ἱστορῶν καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Συρακούσιου τούτου κύριον, Δημόκοπος, ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων, ἐπεὶ δὲ τελεσιουργήσας τὸ θέατρον, μύρον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις διένειμε, Μύριλλα ἐπεκλήθη. The tale certainly proves nothing as to date.

³ I write, or copy, this with fear and trembling, as there seem to be theories afloat, though not yet fully developed, according to which the true Greek theatre had no stage, and perhaps no *scena*.

marked on the hill-side of Achradina. The dwellings of men and the public buildings of a great city were fast spreading themselves among the traces of earlier times and races. The contrast which we spoke of above ¹ never comes to us more forcibly than when we look up from the regular and finished work of the theatre to the rude burrowings in the hill just above. We would fain see the acting of that play of Æschylus in which he brought in the tale of the native gods of Sicily, and the small living fragments of which show how deeply his mind has been struck by the worship of the awful yet kindly Palici ². We would fain see the play of the Ætnæan Women acted, as it may well have been, in Hierôn's presence, with the rude monuments of the native worshippers of the deities of the piece looking down on the works of conquerors of the Sikel who still held the gods of the Sikel in honour.

CHAP. VI.

The
Sicilian
plays of
Æschylus.

¹ See above, p. 141.

² See vol. i. p. 527.

CHAPTER VII.

SICILY FREE AND INDEPENDENT ¹.

B. C. 472-433.

Divisions
of the
story.

WE have now reached a time when it is singularly hard to mass our story in satisfactory chronological divisions. We have felt the difficulty already. From some points of view it would have been easier to make the time of the domination of the Deinomenid house a single period by itself. But in the general history of the world, the joint attack on Hellas by Persia and Carthage holds so great a place that we have been driven to split the reign of Gelôn asunder, and to treat the first Carthaginian invasion, the invasion when the barbarian was beaten back from Himera by Syracuse and Akragas, as one of the great landmarks of our story. And after that there is in truth no other such till we come to that second Carthaginian invasion when the fate of Himera, Syracuse, and Akragas, was so different from what it was in the first. But between these two comes the best known event in Sicilian history, the event which in many minds makes up the whole of Sicilian history, the Athenian invasion of Syracuse. The tale of that invasion has been told as no other tale ever was told; and it would be

Position
of the
Athenian
invasion.

¹ For this whole period we have the continuous narrative of Diodôros, in his eleventh and twelfth books. Herodotus does not touch this period, and Thucydides does not begin till the next. We have the usual illustrative sources, perhaps not quite so rich just now as at some other times. For the earlier events of the time we still have some notices in Pindar, and for the career of Empedoklês of Akragas we have his Life by Diogenês Laertius and some quotations from Empedoklês' own poems. And we now begin to feel the full value of the most direct sources of history, contemporary documents, in this case graven on stone.

hard to exaggerate its importance in the history of Athens, and thereby in the general history of Greece. But in the history of Sicily, even in the history of Syracuse, it is little more than a wonderful episode. Had it been successful, it would doubtless have altogether changed the destinies of Sicily; it might have changed the destinies of the world. But as things actually were, it is only a wonderful episode. Its real importance to Sicily lay in its giving a wider field to a tendency which had been busily at work for some years already. This is the increasing connexion between Sicily and Old Greece. The interest of the great invasion recorded as a nearly continuous tale in the sixth and seventh books of Thucydides is so overwhelming that we are apt to forget the earlier action of Athens in Sicilian affairs, the record of which is scattered up and down several of his earlier books. But it is this earlier action of Old Greece, of Old Greece practically embodied in Athens, in Sicilian matters, which really marks off a period. The great invasion is simply the crowning event of that period, the highest carrying-out of its tendencies. We are thus able to set up two lesser landmarks between the two great ones, between the unsuccessful invasion of the earlier and lesser Hamilkar and the fearfully successful invasion of the earlier and lesser Hannibal. There is the fall of the tyrants; there is the beginning of Athenian interference in Sicily. These two landmarks will make three periods of Sicilian history between the first and the second Carthaginian invasion. Of the first, taking in the great events of the reign of Hierôn, above all his defeat of the Etruscans at Kymê, we have already treated. As a victory of Hellas over barbarian powers, the day of Kymê follows naturally on the day of Himera. Then comes the fall of the tyrants itself, a period rather than an event, taking in the various steps by which, first the Emmenid dynasty at Akragas, and then the Deinomenid dynasty at Syracuse,

CHAP. VII.
Its importance
Athenian
rather than
Sicilian.

Increased
connexion
between
Sicily
and Old
Greece.

Land-
marks;

the fall
of the
tyrants;
the begin-
ning of
Athenian
inter-
ference.

Three
periods.
1. Hierôn
(already
dealt with);

2. The
cities free
and inde-
pendent;

CHAP. VII. were swept away. Then comes the result of the struggle, the time of the highest freedom and independence of Greek Sicily. No city is ruled by a tyrant; none is subject to any outside dominion, Greek or barbarian. This central time, the fall of the tyrants and the years which followed their fall till the beginning of Athenian interference, is the subject of our present chapter. The third period, the time when Sicily was largely mixed up in the affairs of Old Greece, till the second Carthaginian invasion brought back all thoughts to Sicily itself, must be kept for another volume.

3. The
Athenian
interven-
tion.

§ 1. *The Fall of the Tyrants.*

B.C. 472-466.

Tyrannies commonly short-lived. The tyrannies of Greece were never long-lived¹. Here and there a tyrant might be found whose power rested on some other foundation than that of simple fear. So it assuredly was both with Gelôn at Syracuse and with Thêrôn at Akragas. If they were not loved by a whole people as either a lawful king or a popular leader has often been loved, they were much more than endured by a whole people, and they were actively loved by particular classes. Each had in some sort succeeded—Thêrôn had directly overthrown—an oligarchy after whose rule the dominion of the single lord was felt as a relief. Each had in every sense made his city great; Gelôn had raised Syracuse to a place among the foremost cities of the earth. And in Gelôn's case at least a large

Special
position of
Gelôn.

¹ See the discussion of this point by Aristotle, *Politics*, v. 12. 1. He notices three exceptions, the Orthagorids at Sikyôn, the Kypselids at Corinth, and the Peisistratids at Athens; and he gives special reasons for the long duration of each. (*Ælian*, V. H. vi. 13, for the Peisistratids substitutes τὴν τῶν Λευκαίων παρὰ Βόσπορον.) The longest-lived, that of the Orthagorids, lasted a hundred years, a time quite exceptional among tyrants, though certainly not long among lawful kings.

part of the citizens owed to him their citizenship, their place in the commonwealth, and what, under the rule of a tyrant, was more precious than a place in the commonwealth, the lots of land with which such citizenship was commonly accompanied. Add to this that the tyrant's temptations to oppression were so great that in him mere abstinence from oppression seemed meritorious. A government even moderately just, a government under which the lives, property, and honour of the citizens were not flagrantly outraged, won for him the reputation of a benefactor. A tyrant was so likely to do evil that to a tyrant who did some good all the evil that he might have done but did not was reckoned as a kind of positive merit. But this toleration or acquiescence in the tyrant's position was purely personal; it might last for his own lifetime; it might enable his power to pass quietly to his son or to some other kinsman. But it could do no more. Among lawful kings, the sentiment attaching to the kingly line, the grateful memory of the reign of some beneficent and beloved prince, has often secured a kingdom to some generations of unworthy successors. With the tyrant this could never be. The merit of the father could at most hand on his dominion to his son; the son could keep his father's dominion only by merit of his own¹. And such merit was commonly lacking. The man who rises to power, if he has not virtue, must at least have vigour; the man who simply succeeds to power is often lacking in both. The temptations which beset those who are born to wealth and power have commonly a worse effect on those whose wealth and power are new than on those with whom wealth and power are of long standing.

CHAP. VII.

Failure of
hereditary
succession
among
tyrants.Sons of
tyrants.

¹ Aristotle (Pol. v. 12. 4) notices as the cause of the duration of the Kypselid power at Corinth that ὁ μὲν Κύψελος δημαγωγὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν ἀδορυφόρητος, Περίανδρος δ' ἐγένετο μὲν τυραννικὸς ἀλλὰ πολεμικός. Cf. Nic. Dam. vii. 58; C. Müller, iii. 392.

CHAP. VII. The son of the upstart is a character almost proverbial. Every tyrant in the second generation was the son of an upstart, and he commonly displayed the characteristics of his class in their worst form. His power therefore, having no foundation in either traditional or personal sentiment, was hardly ever lasting. It could endure only by brute force ; it commonly gave way at the first touch of ill success. The tyranny is overthrown ; the tyrant is lucky if he escapes with his life. All traces of the reign of unlaw are, as far as may be, wiped out from the memory of the commonwealth. The image of Gelôn is allowed to survive. The images of other tyrants are broken in pieces.

Yet it not uncommonly happened that the effects of the tyranny could not be wholly swept away ; the state of things that was before the tyranny could not be brought back in its fulness. And, contrary to the poet's rule, it was often the good that the tyrant had done that lived after him. When he had risen to power on the ruins of an oligarchy, that oligarchy could seldom be brought back again. When he had risen to power with the good will of a part of the people, his rule had commonly wiped out earlier distinctions, or at least had made it impossible to restore them in their fulness. His rule had brought with it equality, if only equality in submission ; his fall brought with it equality in freedom. In other words, his fall led to the establishment of democracy. The case was more difficult where the question was not simply between different classes of fellow-citizens, but where the rule of the tyrant had been established or supported by foreign mercenaries, above all, where those mercenaries had been rewarded with citizenship and grants of land. Even in this case the old citizens commonly prevailed. But their struggle to win back their own had sometimes to be carried on for some while after the tyrant was gone against those whom he had brought in as the bulwarks of his power.

Tyrannies
often
upset in
the second
generation.

Levelling
effect of
a tyranny.

Effects of
the pre-
sence of
mercen-
aries.

All this is now to be illustrated in the fall of the powerful and splendid tyrannies of Akragas and Syracuse. We are not surprised to hear that both Thêrôn and Hierôn kept their power for life; we are as little surprised to hear that those who came after them failed to keep the place to which they had succeeded. There is indeed this difference, that Deinomenid rule in Syracuse lasted through two undisturbed reigns, while Emmenid rule in Akragas fell as soon as power passed out of the hands of the man who had first won it. On the other hand, Emmenid rule fell in the second generation, while Deinomenid rule can hardly be said to have reached a second generation. That Hierôn kept his power for life is not wonderful. He was a brother and not a son. He had not been born in the purple; he had been Gelôn's partner and fellow-worker in the course by which he rose to power. And with all its heavy faults, his rule had much about it, not only of dazzling brilliancy, but even of solid merit. When his power passed to another brother whose only claim to endurance was that he had followed his elders to Himera, the power of the dynasty gave way. The tyranny at Akragas gave way yet sooner, because the man on whose personal position it rested died sooner at Akragas than at Syracuse. The tyranny was safe as long as Thêrôn lived, and no longer. Whatever men thought of him at Himera, at Akragas the memory that he left behind him was a good one. He died eight years after the great victory of Hellas in which he had shared. The remembrance of a rule which had done so much for the greatness of his city won for Thêrôn the honours of a hero¹. His real tomb, destined to a strange fate, stood in the burying-place of Akragas, on the hill beyond the western ravine, approached by the

CHAP. VII.
Continuation of the
Deinomenid and
Emmenid
dynasties.

Their fall
on the
deaths of
Thêrôn
and
Hierôn.

Death of
Thêrôn.
B.C. 472.

¹ Diod. xi. 53; ὁ μὲν οὖν Θήρων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιεικῶς διαφεκῶς καὶ ζῶν μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τελευτήσας ἡρωικῶν ἐτυχε τιμῶν.

CHAP. VII. Bridge of the Dead¹. But his name has been handed down to modern memory by the accident of being attached to another tomb outside the southern wall of his building. But that tomb belongs to a later age than his, and doubtless covers the ashes of some man of far less renown.

Succession
of Thrasy-
daïos at
Akragas.
B.C. 472.

Tyranny
of Thrasy-
daïos.
B.C. 472.

His oppres-
sion.

In such a case as that of Thêrôn it followed as a matter of course that his power passed to his son. It followed, almost equally as a matter of course, that his son's power presently passed away from him. Thrasydaïos son of Thêron had already in his father's life-time shown, in his government of Himera², what his rule at home was likely to be. Once in possession of his father's power, he ruled as a tyrant in the worst sense. He trampled under foot the laws of the commonwealth, which Thêrôn had respected, at least when they did not interfere with his own power³. He soon felt that side of tyranny which the Hierôn of Xenophôn so feelingly sets forth to Simônides. No man trusted him; all hated him; many formed conspiracies against his power and his life⁴. To strengthen himself against his domestic enemies, Thrasydaïos took a large force of mercenaries into pay, a fact which looks as if Thêrôn had not needed to rely on support of that kind. And, perhaps to call off the thoughts of the citizens from his oppressions and to give them employment of another kind, he aimed, like his father and his Syracusan contem-

His mer-
cenaries;

¹ See vol. i. p. 434. His own tomb suggests his dealing with the tomb and relics of another. I know not at what stage of Thêrôn's reign we can place the restoration of the bones of Minôs to the Cretans. Diod. iv. 79; *συνέβη τὸν μὲν τάφον καθαιρεθῆναι, τὰ δὲ ὅσα τοῖς Κρησὶν ὑποδοθῆναι, Θήρωνος δυναστεύοντος τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων.*

² See above, p. 238.

³ The description of him in Diodôros as reigning *παρόνομος καὶ τυραννικῶς* seems to point to observance of the laws on the part of Thêrôn, who is called *δυνάστης* and his dominion *ἀρχή*—colourless words.

⁴ Diod. xi. 53; *ταχέως ἀπιστηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων διετέλεσεν ἐπιβουλευόμενος καὶ βίον ἔχων μισούμενον.* These words might pass as an abridgement of Xenophôn's dialogue.

poraries, at conquest and military glory. He levied a large citizen force from the two cities under his rule, a force over whom his mercenaries might act as watchers and spies¹. The host thus formed is said, between horse and foot, to have numbered twenty thousand. What ground of quarrel Thrasydaios had against Hierôn we are not told; but the first enterprise which the new lord of Akragas undertook with his army was an expedition against Syracuse. But the movements of Hierôn were the swifter². He marched against Akragas, and met its tyrant in a pitched battle at a place whose name has not been handed down to us. We heard not long ago of a fight in which more Greek blood was shed than in any earlier fight³; but that was a fight between Greeks and barbarians. We are now told that never before had so many men fallen in any fight of Greeks against Greeks⁴. With the loss of two thousand men of their own force, the Syracusans—so the motley host of Hierôn is called by our historian—kept possession of the place of slaughter. They had more than four thousand dead bodies of the soldiers of Thrasydaios to give back to the herald of the defeated army. We should be glad to learn on what part of that army the loss had fallen most heavily, on the hirelings or on the citizens of Akragas and Himera.

CHAP. VII.

His war
with
Hierôn.Defeat of
Thrasy-
daios.

Such an issue as this to his schemes of conquest might have shaken a throne more firmly fixed than that of Thrasydaios. A power like his could not outlive such a defeat for a moment. We should gladly have more details, especially as to the part played by the mercenaries of the

Fall of
Thrasy-
daios.

¹ Diod. xi. 53; πολλοὺς μισθοφόρους ἀθροίσας καὶ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων καὶ Ἱμεραίων προσκαταλέξας.

² Ib.; μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ πολεμεῖν τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, Ἰέρων ὁ βασιλεὺς παρασκευασάμενος δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκράγαντα.

³ See above, p. 254.

⁴ Ib.; γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρὰς πλείστοι τῶν παραταξαμένων Ἑλλήνων πρὸς Ἑλλήνας ἔπεσον.

CHAP. VII. tyrant. Men of their class did not commonly remain untouched by revolutions such as that which now happened. But we hear only that Thrasydaïos was driven from Akragas and from all Sicily, and that he sought shelter in Old Greece. Of the fate of the Emmenid house generally we have no distinct mention. Thêrôn's brother Xenokratês was dead; he had died seemingly about the same time as Thêrôn himself. The son of Xenokratês, Thrasyboulos, lived, and an ode of Pindar was addressed to him after the death of his father and the fall of his house¹. But its language is vague and dim, and we cannot see distinctly whether Thrasyboulos was still at Akragas, possibly looking for a revival of power in his house, or whether the whole Emmenid house was banished, leaving others behind them to plot such schemes². But we know the end of Thrasydaïos himself, and a strange end it was. On what ground or by what process we know not, he was condemned and put to death at the elder Megara³.

Xenokratês and Thrasydaïos.

Thrasydaïos put to death at Old Megara.

Commonwealth of Akragas;

Such a notice as this raises curiosity. The words used imply some kind of trial, and a trial at Megara could have been only by a Megarian court. Was the justice of Megara set at work by instances from Akragas, or was Megarian feeling against tyrants so strong that Thrasydaïos was looked on as an enemy of mankind who might be brought to justice anywhere? To these questions we can give no answer. We read only that a free constitution was now established at Akragas, and that the new government asked for peace of Hierôn, and obtained it⁴. Akragas was thus the first among those Sikeliot cities

¹ See Appendix XXVI.

² See below, p. 345.

³ Diod. xi. 53; Θρασυδαῖος μὲν ταπεινωθεὶς ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ φυγὼν εἰς Μεγαρεῖς τοὺς Νισαίους καλουμένους, ἐκεῖ θανάτου καταγνωσθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν. It needs a moment's thought to see that by these Nisaian Megarians are meant the people of the old Megara on the Isthmus, as opposed to the Hyblaian Megara in Sicily.

⁴ Ib; οἱ δ' Ἀκραγαντῖνοι κομσάμενοι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, διαπρεσβενσάμενοι πρὸς Ἱέρωνα τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχον.

which had been under tyrants to win back its freedom. CHAP. VII.
 There seems no reason to think that that freedom was qualified by any superiority on the part of Syracuse¹. We may perhaps wonder that Hierôn, after such a victory, did not attempt either to establish his own dominion over Akragas and Himera, or at least to put them under the rule of some tyrant or tyrants in his own interest. But such an attempt would have been hazardous; and, however dangerous to the general interests of tyranny the late revolution at Akragas might be, there was no fear of the new commonwealth marching to attack the ruler of Syracuse.

A revolution like that of Akragas happened, we may be of Himera; sure, in Himera also. Its connexion with Akragas depended on nothing but subjection to a common master. Two distant cities could not form a single commonwealth, nor were the Akragantine people likely, at such a moment, to claim any dominion over Himera. We hear no details of anything that happened at Himera immediately after the downfall of Thrasydaïos. A few years later we find the city acting as an independent power. And an ode of Pindar introduces us to one of its adopted citizens. We have seen how Ergotelês of Knôssos in Crete, driven from his native city by some civil broil, received the citizenship of Himera².

Ergote ês
 of Knôssos
 and
 Himera.

¹ See Grote, v. 309. But there seems no ground for this belief beyond the words of Diodôros in xi. 76, where he says that, after the deliverance of Syracuse and the restoration of Katanê, all who had been subject to Hierôn recovered their freedom and restored their constitutions; *τούτων δ' ἦσαν Γελφοὶ καὶ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι καὶ Ἱμεραῖοι* (xi. 76). This must surely be a mere confusion, not at all unlikely in Diodôros when giving a list of names. It is not to be set against his distinct statement that Akragas, and by implication Himera, recovered its freedom on the fall of Thrasydaïos.

² See above, p. 240. The scholiasts on Pindar, Ol. xii (the one addressed to Ergotelês of Knôssos and Himera), refer to something in the latter city; but it is hard to make out what. One says that Ergotelês, driven from Crete to Himera, *καταλαβὼν πάλιν τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ πράγματα στασιαζόμενα πρὸς Γέλωνος καὶ Ἱέρωνος, ἐκδεξάμενος εἰρήνην ἐνίκησε*. The other says that Ergotelês *τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ Κνωσοῦ στασιαζομένης ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἱμέραν πόλιν Σικελίας, ἔνθα καὶ ἑτέραν στάσιν εὐρὼν Γέλωνος καὶ Ἱέρωνος ἐπιπεπαυμένων τῆς μάχης εἰρήνην*

CHAP. VII. He won fame for his new home, his delivered home, by victories at the Isthmus, at Pythô, and at last at Olympia itself. Proclaimed as a citizen, no longer of Knôssos, but of Himera, Himera on whose new freedom he invokes the blessing of Eleutherian Zeus¹, Himera rejoicing in the warm fountains of the nymphs², the poet likens him to the bird of day, the badge on the coinage of Himera, city of the day. It is hardly in the poet's highest strain—it may perhaps teach us how hard it was for Pindar himself to find wherewithal to sing the praises of every runner or boxer—when Ergotelês is told that, owing to his happy banishment, instead of being merely cock of the walk in obscure Knôssos, the victories that he had won as a man of Himera have made him known as a true gamecock to all the world³.

Five years later we find Hierôn, by what seems to have been the last act of his life, playing a part in the

ἐγένετο. And in the scholion on Pyth. i. 91 we read also, *φασὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰέρωνα καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐστασιακέναι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕνεκα*. When did Gelôn and Hierôn ever dispute for power? One is inclined to think that the scholiast, according to the great law that one Sicilian tyrant is as good as another, wrote Thêrôn when he meant Gelôn.

¹ Ol. xii. 1;

*Δίσσομαι, παῖ Ζηγὸς Ἑλευθερίου,
Ἰμέραν εὐρυθενέ' ἀμφιπόλει, σῴτειρα Τύχα.*

² Ib. 19 or 27;

θερμὰ Νυμφᾶν λουτρὰ βαστάξεις, ὁμιλέων παρ' οἰκείαις ἀρούραις.

³ Ib. 13 or 19;

*νιὲ Φιλάνορος, ἦτοι καὶ τεά κεν
ἐνδομάχας ἄτ' ἀλέκτωρ, συγγόνῃ παρ' ἐστίῃ
ἀκλειῆς τιμὰ κατεφυλλορόησε ποδῶν,
εἰ μὴ στάσις ἀντιάνειρα Κνωσίας σ' ἄμερσε πάτρας.*

He goes on to give the list of Ergotelês' victories, two at Pythô and at the Isthmos. Pausanias (vi. 4. 11) adds Nemea. He tells the same story as Pindar of his banishment from Knôssos and reception at Himera. Mr. Lloyd (349) puts them in chronological order. Ergotelês comes to Himera in 478 and wins his Olympic victory in 472. Others (Mezger, 192) put his coming as early as 490. That does not greatly concern us. The point is that the ode supposes the freedom of Himera.

The parable of the cock surely refers to the coinage of Himera, and the choice of the badge surely shows that even the *Ἰμέρα* and *ἡμέρα* had much the same sound.

affairs of another tyranny which, like that of Thêrôn, bore rule over two cities. His young brothers-in-law, the sons of Anaxilas of Rhêgion and Zanklê, were now growing up. He sent for them; he gave them great gifts; he reminded them of the good deeds of Gelôn towards their father¹, and counselled them to demand of Mikythos an account of his stewardship. One hardly knows what to make of this action on Hierôn's part. Personal jealousy of Mikythos is likely enough; but personal jealousy of Mikythos would only be part of a general jealousy of the Rhegine power, and it is hard to credit Hierôn with any unselfish zeal for the interests of the sons of Anaxilas. As an attempt to discredit the administration of Mikythos, Hierôn's dealings failed. As an attempt to break his power, and in the end the power of the Rhegine state, they certainly succeeded, though their final results did not come in Hierôn's day.

CHAP. VII.
Hierôn
and the
sons of
Anaxilas.
B.C. 467.

His policy
towards
Zanklê
and
Rhêgion.

The immediate result of Hierôn's scheme is singular, and is in any case most honourable to Mikythos. It marks the difference between his rule and that of Thrasydaïos that the power of Mikythos still remained unshaken six years after the great defeat at the hands of the Iapygians. The young tyrants went back to Rhêgion, and made the demand which Hierôn had suggested. Mikythos was ready to meet them. He got together the friends of the house of Anaxilas, and was able to give such an account of his stewardship as satisfied all who heard it of his strict integrity. Splendid gifts at Olympia, thank-offerings for the recovery of a son from sickness, were clearly not looked on as any misapplication of the wealth which had passed through his hands. Statues not a few, in which the names of Mikythos and his father Choiros were coupled with the names of the two cities which had been under his vicarious rule, abode in the holy place of Zeus till the days of Pausanias². The sons of Anaxilas were sorry that they had made any demand

Mikythos
clears
himself.

His gifts
at Olym-
pia.

¹ See above, p. 211.

² See Appendix XXIX.

CHAP. VII. on one so faithful. They prayed him still to keep the government of Rhêgion and Zanklê in his hands, and to manage all things as though he were their father¹. But Mikythos would no longer hold an office in which he had once been suspected. He carefully handed over to the sons of Anaxilas all that he held in trust. His own goods he put on ship-board, and sailed away from Sicily and Italy amid the loudly expressed good will of the people. He crossed to Old Greece, and spent the rest of his days in honour at Tegea².

He goes away and dies at Tegea.

Death of Hierôn.
B. C. 467.

The sons of Anaxilas now entered on the government of his two cities, but for no great length of time. Before the year was out, the great stay of tyranny in Sicily was taken away. Hierôn, ever sickly, died, after a reign of eleven years. He could hardly have been mourned at Syracuse; but on the spot where he died his name was honoured. For the life of Hierôn came to an end in the city where he had so strangely won the honours of a founder, the city of which his son was called the king, and of which he himself had been proclaimed as a citizen in the national games of Greece. Hierôn of Ætna was honoured in Ætna with a splendid tomb and with the worship of a hero³. His wish was thus fulfilled; there was one place where he was, for a while at least, deemed the peer of Gelôn.

His tomb and honours at Ætna.

No law of succession in tyrannies.

The one writer who distinctly gives the rulers of the house of Deinomenês the kingly title not only bestows it on Hierôn himself, but extends it in a marked way to his successor in the dominion of Syracuse⁴. But whether they

¹ See Appendix XXIX. ² κατεβίωσεν ἐπαινούμενος, says Diodôros.

³ Diod. xi. 66; Ἱέρων ὁ Συρακοσίων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ Κατάνῃ καὶ τιμῶν ἡρωικῶν ἐτυχεν, ὡς ἂν κτίστης γεγονὼς τῆς πόλεως. The use of Κατάνη is like the use of Μεσσήνη in Pausanias' report of the gifts of Mikythos. See Appendix XXIX.

⁴ Diod. u. s.; οὗτος μὲν ἄρξας ἔτη ἑνδεκα, κατέλιπε τὴν βασιλείαν Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

were kings or tyrants, there had been no time for any definite law of succession to grow up in their house. So far as there was any, it would seem to be the rule of the Ottoman Sultans which gives the crown to the eldest male of the royal house. But the sons of Deinomenês had at least kept themselves from the open murder of brothers; if Polyzêlos was doomed to death, it was to a death at the hands of foreign enemies¹. He would seem to have died before this time by some more peaceful end; but the prophecy which gave so little pleasure to the elder Deinomenês was to be fulfilled. Three of his sons were to be tyrants². Gelôn had left a nameless son; of Deinomenês son of Hierôn we have heard already; we have heard of Chromios as the guardian of both³. It seems clear that Deinomenês kept on that kingship or tyranny of Ætna which his father had bestowed on him. It was he who dedicated the rich offerings at Olympia which his father had been unable to dedicate in his lifetime⁴. The Olympic victories of Hierôn were commemorated by a brazen chariot, and two horses with boys mounted on their backs; but it was not by Hierôn but by Deinomenês that they were set up⁵.

CHAP. VII.
Death of
Polyzêlos.

Gelon's
son.

Deinomenês at
Ætna.

His offerings of his
father's
gifts.

¹ See above, p. 237.

² See above, p. 122.

³ See above, pp. 214, 245.

⁴ These gifts are twice mentioned by Pausanias. He mentions them first in the proper place (vi. 12. 1). They were ἄρμα χαλκοῦν καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐπ' αὐτὸ, κέλῃτες δὲ ἵπποι παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα, εἰς ἑκατέρωθεν ἕστηκε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων καθέζονται παῖδες. He adds, τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα οὐχ Ἱέρων ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀποδοὺς τῷ θεῷ Δεινομένης ἐστὶν ὁ Ἱέρωνος. In viii. 42. 9 he gives the inscription;

ὅν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἀγῶνα,
τεθρίππων μὲν ἅπαξ, μονοκέλητι δὲ δις,
δῶρ' Ἱέρων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσατο· παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε
Δεινομένης πατρὸς μνῆμα Συρακοσίου.

Does the King of Ætna speak in the last word?

⁵ This way of dealing with a position which, unless we accept the kingship, was altogether irregular, reminds one of the means taken for prolonging the power or influence of the Medici during the non-age of Lorenzo and Giovanni. The administration of Mikythos is not quite the same.

CHAP. VII. But Deinomenês reigned at Ætna only; the dominion of Syracuse and of the other cities which had been ruled by Hierôn did not pass to him. Neither did it, unless

Tyranny of Thrasy-
boulos at
Syracuse.
B. C. 467-
466. in some purely nominal way, pass to Gelon's son. The real successor of Hieron was, according to most accounts, his youngest brother Thrasyboulos, the last of those three sons of the elder Deinomenês whom he could not save from the tyrant's lot. But Aristotle has preserved another account, which we could wish that he had told us at greater length. His story suggests that the tyranny formally passed—so far as anything under a tyranny could be said to be formal—to the nameless son of Gelôn. Him, we are told, his uncle Thrasyboulos strove to corrupt, by leading him into excesses of pleasure, in order that he might himself reign in his name¹. What is more certain is that, whether exercised in his own name or in that of his nephew, the rule of Thrasyboulos was a tyranny in the worst sense of the word. It was the rule of an oppressor defended by mercenaries against the citizens whom he plundered, slew, banished, and outraged at pleasure². His career of evil lasted only eleven months. By that time the tyranny was overpast, and, when we come to reckon up the seasons, we are surprised to find how few years the mighty and splendid dynasty of the Deinomenids had lasted³.

His op-
pression.

Short dura-
tion of the
dynasty.

B. C. 485-
466.

The immediate occasion of the fall of Thrasyboulos is

¹ Arist. Pol. v. 10. 31; *Θρασυβούλου τοῦ Ἰέρανος ἀδελφοῦ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Γέλωνος δημαγωγούντος καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ὀρμῶντος, ἢν' αὐτὸς ἀρχῇ.*

² Diodōros (xi. 67) describes his evil deeds at length; *καθόλου δὲ μισῶν καὶ μισούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδικουμένων μισθοφόρων πλῆθος ξυνολογήσεν, ἀντίταγμα κατασκευάζον ταῖς πολιτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν.*

³ This is the remark of Aristotle (Pol. v. 12. 6). Having named the more lasting tyrannies (see above, p. 292), he adds; *τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἡ περὶ Ἰέρανα καὶ Γέλωνα περὶ Συρακούσας· ἔτη δ' οὐδ' αὕτη πολλὰ διέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ σύμβαντα δυοῖν δέοντα εἴκοσι.* Eighteen years then was a rather long time for a dynasty.

told us but darkly. The partisans of the house of Gelôn strove in some way to save the tyranny while sacrificing the tyrant; but the friends of freedom found their opportunity to get rid of the tyrant and the tyranny together¹. The native population of Syracuse rose as one man, under leaders who are unluckily nameless². Thrasyboulos strove in vain to win them over by fair words, and then made great efforts to defend his power by force. And in such force he was not lacking. He had the mercenaries of his predecessor at his command; the citizens also of Hieron's Ætna, the subjects of his son, proved the wisdom of their foundation by coming gladly at the call of Thrasyboulos to fight for the house of their founder. At the head of fifteen thousand men the tyrant occupied the fortified parts of Syracuse. A few years before we might have said that he occupied the whole of Syracuse; but the city had now grown even beyond the bounds given to it by Gelôn. The fortified quarters of Ortygia and Achradina, each with its separate wall—the old wall of Ortygia, the wall of Achradina, carried down by Gelôn to the Great Harbour—are spoken of as no longer forming the whole of Syracuse. They are now only its strong places. In this way of speaking there may be a certain carrying back of the language of later times to earlier; but it is clear that Thrasyboulos occupied Ortygia and Achradina, and that there was still something outside for his enemies to occupy. Ortygia and Achradina were the only continuously fortified quarters; Temenitês was a detached outpost; over the rest houses were doubtless spreading, but there were as yet no

CHAP. VII.
Revolt of
the Syra-
cusans.
B.C. 466.

Thrasy-
boulos de-
fended by
the mercen-
aries.

He occu-
pies Orty-
gia and
Achradina.

¹ Arist. Pol. v. 10. 31; τῶν οἰκείων συστάνταν ἵνα μὴ τυραννὶς ὅλως καταλυθῇ ἀλλὰ Θρασύβουλος· οἱ δὲ συστάντες αὐτῶν, ὡς καιρὸν ἔχοντες, ἐξέβαλον ἅπαντας αὐτούς. The words are difficult, but this seems their meaning.

² Diod. xi. 67; οἱ Συρακόσιοι προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἡγησομένους ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος πανδημεῖ, καὶ συνταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀντείχοντο τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

CHAP. VII. defences. It is not wonderful if the Syracusans, driven
 The
 citizens
 occupy
 Tycha. outside their own walls and compelled to besiege their own
 city, seized upon one part of the undefended area, and
 made it a permanent addition to the fortified enclosure.

Extent of
 Tycha. This was the quarter called Tycha or Tyca, which the
 Syracusans are now said to have occupied, and which we
 shall see that before long they not only occupied but
 fortified¹. The name is of uncertain origin, and the extent
 of the quarter so called is no less uncertain. But it seems
 well marked to the north as taking in that part of the brow
 of the hill which reaches from the combe of the Panagia
 to the point where the coast turns away from the hill to
 form the low ground by the bay of Trôgilon. It may
 very possibly have gone further to the west; its extent
 southward is very doubtful. But its general position,
 west of the north-western corner of Achradina, is plain
 enough. This, like other places outside the wall, was most
 likely already inhabited. At all events they now became
 so. For they were the only dwelling-places left to the
 native people of Syracuse, while the tyrant and his mer-
 cenaries held the elder quarters of the city. The Syra-
 cusans had, in short to besiege their enemy in their own
 city, and for that work they fixed their head-quarters on
 Tycha.

Greek and
 Sikel help
 to Syra-
 cuse. The next step of the Syracusans occupying Tycha was
 to send messengers to all parts of Sicily, alike to Greeks
 and to Sikels, to ask for help. The universal good will
 with which their prayer was answered shows with what
 dread the Deinomenid dynasty was looked on throughout
 the island. The deliverance of Syracuse implied the de-
 liverance of Gela. The Geloans clearly had no love for
 the men of Gela who had made Gela secondary to Syra-
 cuse. Gela, again a free commonwealth, sent help to the
 patriots of Syracuse against the son of Geloan Deinomenês.

¹. See below, p. 312, and Appendix XXXI.

So did the new commonwealths of Akragas and Himera. CHAP. VII.
 So did distant Selinous, freed from its Phœnician overlords.
 And so did the Sikel towns of the inland country; the
 Syracusan commonwealth seemed to them a less dangerous
 neighbour than the Syracusan tyrant¹. This notice of the
 Sikel allies has a special interest. Hellenic influences had Advancing
helleniza-
tion of the
Sikels.
 so far spread among the elder races of the island that they
 were now for a while able to play a part in the affairs of
 their Greek neighbours. But it is for one man's life only
 that Sikels as Sikels stand out among the powers of Sicily;
 and we may be sure that the career of that man had
 already begun. The name of Ducetius is not mentioned
 at this stage; but we may feel sure that he was the
 guiding spirit of the Sikel share in this general movement
 of Greek and barbarian to get rid of an enemy who
 threatened both.

Meanwhile no allies flocked to the support of Thrasy- Thrasy-
boulos
besieged.
 boulos. He was left to rely on his mercenaries, together,
 we must suppose, with the men of Ætna². But with their
 help he held what, though only part of the vast Syracuse
 of later days, was a great and strong city, strong by land
 and sea, commanding at once the Great Harbour and the
 open sea. To dislodge him from such a post needed
 forces of all kinds, and forces of all kinds were forth-
 coming. The general zeal of the allies sent horsemen
 and footmen and ships of war³. The force of free Syra- Vicories
of the Syra-
cusans.
 cuse and her allies was stronger than the force of the
 tyrant. The first encounter was by sea; on what point

¹ Diod. xi. 68; *πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Γέλαν καὶ Ἀκράγαντα καὶ Σελινοῦντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰς Ἰμέραν καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν Σικελῶν πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῷ μεσογαίῳ κειμένας, ἀξιούντες κατὰ τάχος συνελθεῖν καὶ συνελυθεῖναι τὰς Συρακούσας.*

² *Ib.*; *Θρασύβουλος ἐγκαταλειπόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχων τοῖς μισθοφόροις.*

³ *Ib.*; *πάντων προθύμως ὑπακούοντων καὶ συντόμως ἀποσπειλάντων, τῶν μὲν πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππεῖς στρατιώτας, τῶν δὲ ναῦς μακρὰς κεκοσμημένας εἰς ναυμαχίαν.*

CHAP. VII. among the waters of Syracuse we are not told. We would fain know whether the liberating fleets had been able to make their way into the Great Harbour, and whether the fight was fought on the same waves which were ennobled by the more famous struggles of fifty years later. In the sea-fight the allied fleet had the better, and Thrasyboulos was driven to flee to the Island, the centre of his naval power. He fared no better by land. The head-quarters of his land-force were naturally in Achradina. Thence he marched forth and met the besiegers in the suburbs. He was again defeated with great loss and driven back into Achradina¹. Are we to understand this of a sally from the famous gate of Achradina on the lower ground, or from some opening in the elder wall far to the north? The latter would agree better with the chief position of the patriots on Tyche. The mention of a suburb on the other hand suggests the lower ground, the neighbourhood of the temple of Dêmêtêr and the Korê². Whatever was the exact place of his defeat, Thrasyboulos had had enough of fighting, and he had no mind to undergo a blockade. After his second defeat, he offered terms of capitulation. Did the terms require that he should leave Sicily, or would his presence have been unwelcome to his nephew at Ætna? At all events it was not in the last possession of his house that he found shelter. He was allowed to withdraw under truce to Lokroi, a city where the name of Hierôn was doubtless still honoured. The line of the tyrants of Syracuse, so far at least as Syracuse was concerned, was now at an end. Thrasyboulos himself, by a marked contrast to the fate of Thrasydaïos, spent the rest of his days, few or

Thrasybou-
los with-
draws to
Lokroi.
B. C. 466.

¹ Diod. xi. 68; *προαγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς . . . ἡναγκάσθη πάλιν ἐς τὴν Ἀχραδινὴν ἀποχωρῆσαι*. This is opposed to the sea-fight when *κατέφυγεν εἰς τὴν Νῆσον*.

² See above, p. 213.

many, in the Italiot city which he had chosen as his place of shelter¹. CHAP. VII.

Syracuse was thus, to all seeming, free under her newly restored democracy. The other cities which had been under the rule or influence of the tyrant of Syracuse established democracies also². Of Ætna we know that, a little later, it was still held by its Hieronian citizens as an independent power, and a power hostile to Syracuse. Of its internal government we hear nothing; but the natural inference is that Deinomenês still reigned there. In any case all the cities became independent; and, if Ætna did not become free as well as independent, it stood alone as the one seat of tyranny or kingship. Deinomenês at Ætna.

A time of renewed prosperity for Syracuse and for the whole body of the Sikeliot cities now began. Yet materials for civil disputes were not lacking, either at Syracuse or elsewhere. In the first burst of delight at newly-won freedom, an assembly, the same, it would seem, which decreed the democratic constitution³, decreed all kinds of thankofferings to the gods who had granted such a boon. Zeus Eleutherios was to be honoured with a colossal statue. The Feast of Freedom, the Eleutheria, was to be kept yearly on the day on which the tyrant's power had been broken. On that day four hundred and fifty bulls were to be slaughtered to provide at once an offering for the gods and a feast for their thankful worshippers. It B. C. 466-433.
Decrees of the Syracusan commonwealth.
The Eleutheria.

¹ Diod. xi. 68; *φυγῶν εἰς Λοκροὺς ἐνταῦθα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ιδιωτεύων κατεβίωσεν*. In one of these battles Agêsias of Stymphalos seems to have been slain. See Appendix XIV.

² Ib. xi. 72; *ἄρτι καταλελυμένης τῆς ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις τυραννίδος καὶ πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον πόλεων ἡλευθερωμένων, πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἐλάμβανεν ἢ συμπᾶσα Σικελία*.

³ Ib.; *καταλύσαντες τὴν Θρασυβούλου τυραννίδα συνήγαγον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δημοκρατίας βουλευσάμενοι πάντες ὁμογυνόμενος ἐψηφίσαντο Διὸς μὲν ἡλευθερίου κολοτταῖον ἀνδριάντα κατασκέυασαι, κ.τ.λ.* This should surely be in 466; yet it is placed in 463. On the chronology see Busolt, ii. 292.

CHAP. VII.
The great
altar.

was for the better celebration of this more than fourfold hecatomb that the Hierôn of a later day, king rather than tyrant, reared that mighty altar whose remains still speak for themselves among the wonders of Syracuse¹. The feast now ordained, or its remembrance, must have lived through all later tyrannies. But even this impressive rite failed to bring perfect unity within the state.

Position of
the new
citizens.

The newly-won freedom did not necessarily carry with it perfect equality of rights among all the inhabitants of Syracuse. According to Greek notions it was not likely that it should. The tyranny must have wiped out all distinctions older than the tyranny. We hear no more of the *Gamoroi* or of the *Démos* which welcomed Gelôn. They have become one body in opposition to those citizens of Syracuse who had been brought from various parts by the tyrants, and whose citizenship was the gift of the tyrants. Ten thousand such citizens had been enrolled by Gelôn, of whom seven thousand, we are told, still remained². What was the position of these men in the first stage of the new democracy? Our one informant tells his story with a good deal of chronological confusion. As his dates go, we have to choose between two suppositions either of which is a little hard to believe. Either the proclamation of the democracy and the vows of thanksgiving to the gods did not happen till three years after the fall of Thrasyboulos, or else the new citizens were at first admitted to the full privileges of the new commonwealth, and were deprived of them three years later. Of these two alternatives the second is certainly the less difficult. In the first gush of delight measures were taken which later feelings would not look on with the same eyes. At some stage therefore of the

B. C. 466-
463.

¹ Diod. xi. 72; *θύειν δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς θεοῖς ταύρους τετρακοσίους καὶ πενήκοντα, καὶ τούτους δαπανᾶν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν εὐαχίαν*. The previous baiting, enforced by municipal law in many English towns, was not thought of. Syracuse had not yet an amphitheatre.

² The number comes from Diodôros.

process of change, the new democracy decreed that the Gelonian citizens should not be eligible to magistracies, but that all offices of honour and trust should be confined to those whose citizenship was older than the tyranny¹.

CHAP. VII.
The new
citizens
shut out
from office.

In this seeming exclusiveness there was nothing wonderful. The excluded class was not like a body of newer citizens who had gradually grown into a plebeian order alongside of the older patrician body. Such was the old Syracusan *Démos* before the tyranny, a body of men who had become in all habits and feelings as truly Syracusan as the *Gamoroi* sprung from the comrades of Archias. But the new citizens who had now to be dealt with were men whose presence at Syracuse was a badge of humiliation and something more. Brought together from all parts, strangers to Syracusan feelings and traditions, many perhaps not even Greeks, the largest class among them consisted of the actual mercenaries of the tyrants. They were the men whom the patriotic Syracusans and their allies had overcome in those battles by land and sea which had sealed the fate of the tyranny. Such men could not be trusted. They might any day conspire to bring back the power to which they owed everything². They might, according to Greek notions, think themselves well off that they were not driven out, perhaps sold into slavery. It was high favour indeed to let them keep land and citizenship; office and honour should surely be confined to men

Estimate
of the act
of exclu-
sion.

¹ The account in Diodóros (xi. 72) is distinctly placed in 463; but it forms part of the same story, without the slightest break, as the proclamation of democracy and the institution of the Eleutheria; and the formal decree, τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις ἀπένεμον, τοὺς δὲ ξένους τοὺς ἐπὶ Γέλωνος πολιτευθέντας οὐκ ἤξιον μετέχειν ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς, reads like part of the same vote as the four hundred and fifty bulls.

² Diodóros (xi. 72) gives as the reason for this exclusion; εἴτε οὐκ ἀξίους κρίναντες εἴτε καὶ ἀπιστοῦντες μὴ ποτε συντεθραμμένοι τυραννίδι καὶ μονάρχῃ συνεστρατευμένοι νεωτερίζειν ἐπιχειρήσωσιν ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. Nothing else could have been expected. He adds; οὗτοι τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν τιμῆς ἀπελαυνόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον.

CHAP. VII. who were true-born children of Syracuse, and who had helped to win freedom for their parent. The old citizens only, the men who were citizens, *Gamoroi* or *Démos*, on the day when Gelôn entered Syracuse, were to enjoy all the honours and powers that Syracuse had to bestow¹.

Resistance
of the new
citizens.

The tyranny then had at least wiped out all older distinctions, however needful it might be thought to set up new ones. But the new rule, however sound in principle, was one which it was easier to put forth in the shape of a decree than to carry out in practice. The native Syracusans were the more in number, and could vote what they thought good. But the new citizens, so largely made up of the old soldiers of Gelôn and Hierôn, were not likely to sit down quietly under a vote of exclusion. And they were very likely to have the better, if it came to a trial of physical force. The state of things that had been during the last days of Thrasyboulos came back again. The new

They
occupy
Ortygia
and Achra-
dina.

citizens—it is easier to call them the mercenaries—again drove the native Syracusans out of the fortified quarters of the city, out of the Island and Achradina, and again kept those strongholds against the people of Syracuse. This state of things, following on what had happened during the war with Thrasyboulos, led to a further extension of the defences of the city. The citizens, shut out of the elder quarter, fortified for themselves a new quarter to the west of Achradina, in the direction of Epipolai. That last name, afterwards to be so famous, is now heard for the first time². That is to say, the suburb of Tycha, whose advantages had been shown during its occupation by the patriots in the former siege³, was now permanently added to the fortified enclosure of Syracuse. It remained a distinct

The old
citizens
fortify
Tycha.

¹ Diodôros' words might imply that all the new citizens were mercenaries. But Gelôn had brought inhabitants of other classes from several cities to Syracuse. It is possible however that the exclusion applied to the mercenaries only.

² See vol. i. pp. 350, 578.

³ See above, p. 306.

enclosure of itself, parted from Achradina by the ancient wall, and stretching, it is hard to say how far, to the south, but clearly not so far as to join the detached outpost of Temenîtês. Another step was taken in the growth of the great city made up of many cities. To Ortygia, to Achradina, upper and lower, must now be added Tycha¹. CHAP. VII.

From this starting-point, now made into a defensive post, the men of Syracuse began again to besiege their own city held against them by an enemy. If we can trust the chronology of our single informant, the struggle must have been spread over a whole year and more². We are told that for a while the strength of the defences of Ortygia and Achradina, and the greater military skill of their defenders, baffled all attempts on the part of the Syracusans to win back their city. On the other hand, the besieged were cut off from all communications by land, and so were brought to great straits³. Yet the sea was open to them, and they even had ships of war. We hear again of a sea-fight, recorded in the same disappointing way as before, without a single detail. On the sea the Syracusans were victorious; the mercenaries of the tyrants would be land soldiers, not seamen. The citizens were still unable to drive the enemy from their strongholds⁴. But practice gave them military experience, and, when the mercenaries risked a battle without the walls, the Syracusans, after a hard struggle and the slaughter of

The mercenaries besieged in Achradina. B.C. 461.

Victory of the Syracusans.

¹ See Appendix XXX.

² All that we have so far been speaking of is placed by Diodôros (xi. 73) in the archonship of Tlepolemos, B.C. 461. The whole chronology is puzzling; but we have no better authority to set it right.

³ Diod. xi. 73; *εὐθὺς τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξόδου τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας εὐχερῶς εἶργον καὶ ταχὺ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐποίησαν ἀπορεῖν*. He remarks that the mercenaries, though smaller in number, were better soldiers, and had the advantage in all encounters. He adds; *εἰργόμενοι δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐλείποντο ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ τροφῆς ἐσπάνισον*. All this is in 461.

⁴ Diod. xi. 76; *ναυμαχία μὲν ἐνίκησαν τοὺς ἀποστάντας, περὶ δ' οὐκ ἴσχυον ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τῶν τόπων*.

CHAP. VII.
The mer-
cenaries
got rid of.

many on both sides, had the victory¹. The course of events implies that the mercenaries were now in some way got rid of. It is less likely that they were driven out by force than that, like their master five years before, they found it prudent to go away on favourable terms. But, instead of the political results of the battle, all that we actually hear of is the rewards decreed to the victors. A chosen band of six hundred, to whose valour the success of the patriotic cause was held to be mainly owing, received the honorary reward of crowns and the more substantial gift of a *mina* of silver to each man². Syracuse was now free alike from tyrants and from those whom the tyrants had brought with them. The city was cleared of strangers, and was in the hands of its own citizens. Now for the first time it entered on the full career of a Greek democracy, its first attempt at which had been so rudely cut short by Gelôn. But so swift is the march of events in Greek history that men who had helped to overthrow the power of the Deinomenids lived to see the beginnings of a stronger and more abiding tyranny. Yet Syracuse became for a while the greatest democracy of Doric speech, the greatest democracy of colonial Greece. And it was destined, by a strange fate, to strive for life and death with the greatest democracy of Ionic speech, the greatest democracy of the elder Hellas.

The Syra-
cusan
democracy.
B.C. 461-
405.

Position
of free
Syracuse.

Syracuse came out of her struggle for freedom with a lessened position in Sicily, but with a position really more honourable. If Syracuse under the democracy was less powerful than Syracuse under the tyrants, it was only

¹ Diod. xi. 76. The victory comes *παράξτως γενομένης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ*. There was now a battle, as distinguished from sallies and attacks on the walls.

² Diodôros (ib.) records the reward to the six hundred, and with the same breath goes on to the affairs of Katanê, leaving us to guess at the real end of things at Syracuse.

because the other Sikeliot cities were now as free as herself. CHAP. VII.
 In the process of her deliverance, she had, as a fortified Enlarge-
 city, enlarged her borders. Tycha, surrounded by walls ment of
 and bulwarks for the attack on Achradina, kept them the city.
 as a new quarter of an again enlarged Syracuse. Thus
 democratic Syracuse, smaller as a power, was greater as a
 city, than the Syracuse of Gelôn and Hierôn. We must The other
 now look to the other Greek cities of Sicily. It should Sikeliot
 here be noticed that our chronology, which seems to be cities.
 minutely set down, year by year, is in truth exceedingly c. B.C. 466-
 confused, as regards both Syracuse and other cities. In 461.
 Syracuse itself it is hard to say how long a time passed
 between the fall of the tyranny and the final driving out
 of the instruments of tyranny. It is equally hard to
 say what events in other parts of Sicily accompanied
 the several stages of Syracusan deliverance. The fall of
 Thrasyboulos would give a strong impulse to freedom in
 every part of the island. If any traces of tyranny or its
 results escaped that impulse, a second movement would
 doubtless follow on the complete deliverance of Syracuse
 which would sweep away whatever was left. The details
 in each case it is hard to fix. Of some cities we can say
 nothing whatever; there are others of whose fortunes at
 this point we hear a little more.

It is clear for instance that, at one or the other stage, Libera-
 the power of the sons of Anaxilas was swept away from tion and
 the two cities which he had ruled. Zanklê and Rhêgion separation
 became independent and separate commonwealths; no spot of Zanklê
 of Sicilian soil looked up to a ruler on the Italian side of and Rhê-
 the strait¹. And there may be some ground for fixing gion.
c. B.C. 461?

¹ Immediately after the account of Katanê, to which we shall come directly, Diodôros (xi. 76) adds; *τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων, οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰέρωνος δυναστείαν ἐκπεπωκότες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόλεων ἔχοντες τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους κατήλθον ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, καὶ τοὺς ἀδίκως τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πόλεις ἀφηρεμένους ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων· τούτων δ' ἦσαν Γελῶοι καὶ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι* [see above, p. 299] *καὶ Ἱμεραῖοι. παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ῥηγῖνοι μετὰ Ζαγκλαίων τοὺς*

CHAP. VII. that event to the later stage—in whatever year we place that stage—as it was clearly connected with a general movement for getting rid of the new citizens everywhere. Of this the expulsion of the Gelonian and Hieronian citizens from Syracuse was in some way a part. But we cannot rule whether it was strictly part of a common movement or whether the action of Syracuse merely suggested the like action in other cities. At Syracuse, where things came to actual warfare, the recovery of the city for its own citizens was doubtless a longer business than elsewhere. In other cities it would seem that an agreement was come to with the intruders, by which they left the several towns where the tyrants had placed them, and were settled, by a common decree of the Sikeliot commonwealths, in the one territory of Messana¹. That name is now heard for the first time in Sicily; it henceforth displaces Zanklê as the name of the city on the strait².

General agreement. The new citizens translated to Messana.

Name of Messana.

Possibility of a Sikeliot Federation.

This settlement in the territory of a particular city by the common vote of all the Sikeliot cities opens more than one line of thought. Commonwealths which could so easily act in concert for a common end might almost have been expected to take a further step. We seem to have come nearer than we often do at this stage of Greek history to the establishment of a real federal system. Sicily might surely have forestalled Achaia, and Syracuse, instead of being mighty under tyrants, might have been mightier as the Megalopolis of a free and confederate

Ἀναξίλου παῖδας δυναστεύοντας ἐκβαλόντες ἡλευθέρωσαν τὰς πατρίδας. A great deal of this must have happened already; but we cannot be sure that all had.

¹ Diod. xi. 76. The change is made by a common act; αἱ πόλεις σχεδὸν ἅπασαι . . . κοινὸν δόγμα ποιησάμεναι, πρὸς τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ξένους διελύθησαν, . . . τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις τὰς πόλεις ἀπέδωσαν· τοῖς δὲ ξένοις τοῖς διὰ τὰς δυναστείας ἀλλοτρίας τὰς πόλεις ἔχουσι, κατοικεῖν ἅπαντας ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ.

² The change is made in the chapter of Diodōros just quoted. The words Ῥηγῖνοι μετὰ Ζαγκλαίων are followed within a sentence or two by ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ.

island. Our interest too is raised as to the state of the city on which the common voice of Greek Sicily bestowed a plantation of citizens so many and so motley. Citizens it is to be supposed they were to be, though it is to be noticed that the words of our informant speak of them as settled in the Messanian territory, but not necessarily in the Messanian city. We must remember that the present inhabitants of that city, the Zanklaians who had helped with the men of Rhêgion to drive out the tyrants, were neither the old citizens of Zanklê nor yet the Samians who had taken their place. They were the mixed multitude whom Anaxilas himself had brought in¹. We know absolutely nothing of their relations to one another, or to any one else except to the masters whom they drove out. But the story shows that the city, already used to such settlements, needed new citizens. And we cannot help connecting these new settlements with the change of name, which is more likely to have taken place now than at an earlier time². From this time Zanklê becomes *Messana*, in the various forms of that name. It practically does so for all time, though for several centuries the Messanian name was shrouded under the formal style of *Mamertina civitas*. The last Messenian war in Peloponnesos, which sent so many of the old Messenians into banishment, would seem to have supplied the city with settlers who were many enough to give it a new name. The legendary Messenian settlement at Zanklê in the time of the older Messenian wars seems to be this settlement carried back by poetic licence to an earlier time³.

CHAP. VII.
Position of
Zanklê or
Messana.

Cause of
the change
of name.

Of the course of events in two other Sikeliot cities, both of them closely connected with the late state of things in Syracuse, we hear a little more fully. It will be remem-

¹ See above, p. 115.

² See Appendix IX.

³ See Appendix IX.

- CHAP. VII. bered that Gelôn, among his other changes, had swept away the colony planted by his predecessor Hippokratês at Kamarina and had removed its inhabitants to Syracuse¹. The events with which we have been dealing had passed so quickly that it was now only twenty-four years since the destruction of the town by Gelôn, only thirty-four since its restoration by Hippokratês. Kamarina now began its third life. The city already twice founded and twice destroyed was again founded under the auspices of Gela. The words of our one informant taken alone might have led us to think that its third life was to be that of a mere dependency of Gela, as its first life had been that of a mere dependency of Syracuse. But other evidence shows that Kamarina now rose again as an independent city, a colony of Gela, but not more than a colony². We shall presently find the restored city playing an independent part in the affairs of Sicily. The point to notice is that it was as a colony of Gela that Kamarina now arose; Syracuse seems to have laid no claim to the site on which her hand had once pressed so heavily³. In later times Kamarina seems to have no special love for Syracuse, but we see no sign of any claim of Syracusan supremacy.
- Restoration of Kamarina. B.C. 461?
- A colony of Gela.
- No claim made by Syracuse.
- By whom was Kamarina settled?
- It is less easy to say who were the colonists of the new Kamarina. The time is so short that some of the settlers in the

¹ See above, p. 130.

² Diod. xi. 76; μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Καμάριναν μὲν Γελῶφι κατοικίσαντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεκληροούχησαν. This would in strictness imply that Kamarina was a mere κληρουχία of Gela, a Roman *colonia*, not a true ἀποικία; but we very soon come across Kamarina as an independent commonwealth. On the strength of this passage and of Thucydides, vi. 51, it seems safe to read Γελῶν for Γέλωνος in the blundering scholiast on Pindar (Ol. v. 19), who, after recording (in his way) the earlier fate of Kamarina, adds, εἴτα ὑπὸ Γέλωνος συνφοκίσθη ἡ Καμάρινα κατὰ τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος. The date is of course wrong.

³ Very wonderful is the scholiast's comment on the doubtful (see Bergk, i. 78; Mezger, 140, 149) ode, Ol. v. 1; Ἀρτέμων δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν τὸν λόγον εἰναί φησιν· αὕτη δὲ ἐν Συρακούσαις κρήνη, ὑποτέτακται δὲ ἡ Καμάρινα ταῖς Συρακούσαις.

third foundation of Kamarina may have before been settlers CHAP. VII.
 in the second. They had moved from Gela to Kamarina and
 from Kamarina to Syracuse. At Syracuse they must, like
 those who were moved from Gela and other cities, have
 formed an element of quite a different kind from the mere
 mercenaries. Those among them who did not care to help
 to repeople Kamarina might well have been allowed to keep
 their full Syracusan franchise¹. There are only two of their
 number of whom we can say anything. We know of one Praxitelês.
 man who must have moved at this time from Syracuse to
 Kamarina; but he, like some others of whom we have already
 heard², had before that moved from Akradina to Syracuse.
 Praxitelês, son of Krinis of Mantinea, made an offering
 at Olympia, and inscribed on it the names of all the three
 towns of which he had successively been a citizen³. Of
 the other colonist we learn the name from Pindar. The Psaumis
 Olympic victory of Psaumis son of Akrôn of Kamarina of Kama-
 must, like the victories of Hierôn of Ætna, have come rina; his
 opportunely to win Hellenic renown for the restored city Olympic
 in its first days. But the victory of Psaumis was not the victory.
 victory of a tyrant but of a free citizen, and it was with B.C. 452?
 a more honest heart than could have gone with some of his
 laureate strains that Pindar could speak of the well-being Pindar's
 of the new-born city by the lake and by the stream of ode.
 Hipparis, of the buildings that were rising on the restored
 ground, of the hopes of the commonwealth which had

¹ I do not quite see the evidence for saying (Hicks, Greek Historical Inscriptions, p. 17) that "the Geloans restored peace by providing for the banished friends of the fallen dynasty a home in the newly constituted city of Kamarina."

² See above, p. 133, and Appendix XIV.

³ Hicks, Greek Historical Inscriptions, 17;

Πραξιτέλης ἀνέθηκε Συρακόσιος τόδ' ἄγαλμα
 καὶ Καμαριναῖος· πρόσθ' ἄρ' ἔ Μαντινέα
 Κρίνιος υἱὸς ἔναεν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πολυμήλῳ
 ἑσλὸς ἐὼν, καὶ φοι μῶμα τόδ' ἔστ' ἀρετᾶς.

CHAP. VII. sprung into light out of the days of helplessness¹. The
 Coins of Kamarina. coins of restored Kamarina, so many of them with the
 head of the river god and the swan of the lake bearing the
 nymph as his rider, set the local allusions of Pindar before
 us in a clear light. And some have seen in the many
 representations of a chariot crowned by Nikê the victorious
 chariot of Psaumis himself².

First mention of DUCETIUS. Another event of this time, if not the new-building of
 a city, yet its restoration to its old name and its old
 people, has a higher interest than even the third birth
 of Kamarina. For it brings before us for the first time
 one of those men of whom we would indeed gladly know
 more. A man now stands forth of whose person and
 character we should be well pleased to have a fuller
 picture, and whose recorded acts we should be well pleased
 to tell in fuller detail. But, more than this, he is one
 of those men who tempt us into the regions of speculation
 as to what might have been. Ducetius the Sikel, one of
 the few men of his folk of whom we know even the name,
 one of the still fewer men of his folk of whose acts we can
 form anything like a clear idea, sets us a-thinking as to
 what the history of Sicily might have been if the destinies
 of him and his folk had been other than what they
 were. If we are right in holding that the Sikels were
 undeveloped Latins, we may see in Ducetius a Scipio or a
 Cæsar condemned to spend his life in a time and place

His character.

¹ See the two odes to Psaumis of Kamarina, Ol. iv and v. The victor (vi. 16),

ὃν πατέρ' Ἀκρων' ἐκάρυξε καὶ τὰν νέουκον ἔδραν.

He goes on to describe the place (see above, p. 29), ending with the words,

ἀπ' ἀμαχανίας ἄγων ἐς φάος τόνδε δᾶμον ἀστών.

It shows how Ætna had impressed Pindar's mind that the allusions to the mountains, Typhôs, and the rest, in their place at Katanê, are brought in here also (iv. 5). But one Sicilian place must have been the same as another to the scholiast who wrote (iv. 1), *Αἴτνην ὅρος Σικελίας οικειότατα δέ Σικελιώτης γὰρ ὁ νικηφόρος, ὅτι καὶ ἡ Καμάρινα πόλις Σικελίας καὶ ἡ Κατάνη ὕστερον Αἴτνη ἐκλήθη.*

² Coins of Sicily, 42, 43; Head, 112.

which denied him any full field for the display of his CHAP. VII. energies. He clearly had in him the powers needed for the art of Themistoklēs, the making of a small power into a great one. An enterprising, organizing genius, able to work on men's minds, to impress, not only his own people, but strangers and enemies, had he been born a Greek, he might well have raised one of the lesser cities of Greece to a place alongside of the greater. As it was, he strove, and he failed. But he strove and failed in an undertaking which entitles his name to honour; and some of his personal adventures are of such a kind as to throw an almost romantic interest over his story.

We have seen that Sikel allies played their part in the overthrow of the tyranny of Thrasyboulos, and we may be sure that Ducetius was among them. But we first hear his name among the movements which, if our chronology Action of the Sikels in Greek affairs. B. C. 466-461. is to be trusted, followed the final settlement of the Syracusan commonwealth five years later, and he might then almost pass for an abetter of Hellenic interests against those of his own people.

Most of the Sikeliot cities were now free; all were independent. That we have to make this distinction comes from the fact that one monument of the days of the tyrants still remained. Katanê was still the Ætna of Katanê still Ætna. Hierôn, dwelled in by the settlers on whose behoof Hierôn had driven out the old inhabitants of Katanê. There Hierôn still received the worship of a hero. There the Seilênos of the coins of his Ætna still took the place of the man-headed bull of the elder Katanê¹. There, in all Deinomenês most likely still reigning. likelihood, a grandson of Deinomenês, a son of Hierôn, still reigned, by this time perhaps set free from the guardianship of Chromios². The Syracusan democracy deemed that its work was not done, that the work of the tyrants was not undone, till Katanê was given back to its own

¹ Coins of Sicily, 46, 47; Head, 114.

² See above, pp. 245, 274.

CHAP. VII.

Ducetius
and the
Syracusan
attack
Ætna.

The Hieronians
withdraw
to Inêssa;

it becomes
Ætna.

people as well as Syracuse. Ducetius also had his natural grudge against that foundation of Hierôn which had been largely made or extended by annexation of Sikel territory. How far his own power reached at this time we have no means of judging. He is now spoken of as chief of the Sikels; at a later stage he bears the title of king¹. Ducetius and the Syracusans, so far as we can make out from a not very clear narrative, made a joint expedition against Ætna. They defeated the people of Hierôn in several battles, and shut them up in the town. They then made a division of lands—seemingly among Sikels and Syracusans alike—in some part of the territory which thus came into their power². It is plain that the Hieronian citizens presently agreed to surrender on terms. They left the Ætna of Hierôn by the sea, and were allowed to occupy in its stead the inland town of Inêssa on the ledge of lower hills immediately below the great mountain³. We ask at once whether they went under the leadership of Hierôn's son; but we get no answer. We only know that they transferred the name of Ætna to their new home, and that there they continued to reverence Hierôn as their founder⁴.

¹ He is now (Diod. xi. 75) ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἡγεμὼν; in c. 78 he has advanced to ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν βασιλεὺς ὢν; in c. 88 he falls back to ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἀφηγούμενος; and in 91, ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἔχων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν; in xii. 8 he is δυνάστης τῶν Σικελῶν; and again in xii. 29, ὁ γεγονὼς τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων ἡγεμὼν. One is reminded of the difficulties which the writers of the fifth century A.D. had in describing barbarian kings, till the happy distinction of βασιλεὺς and ῥῆξ was fully established.

² Diod. xi. 76; Δουκέτιος . . . χαλεπῶς ἔχων τοῖς τὴν Κατάνην οἰκοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τῆς τῶν Σικελῶν χώρας, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατευσάντων ἐπὶ τὴν Κατάνην, οὗτοι μὲν κοινῇ κατεκληρούχρησαν τὴν χώραν, καὶ κατοικισθέντας ὑφ' Ἰέρανος τοῦ δυνάστου ἐπολέμουν. This is rather strongly put; but it reads like concert between Ducetius and the Syracusans.

³ See vol. i. p. 149.

⁴ Diod. u. s.; Strabo, vi. 2; οἱ δὲ Αἰτναῖοι παραχωρήσαντες τὴν Ἰννησαν καλουμένην τῆς Αἰτνῆς ὀρεινὴν ῥῆκσαν, καὶ προσηγόρευσαν τὸ χωρίον Αἰτνῆν, διέχον τῆς Κατάνης σταδίου ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ τὸν Ἰέρανα οἰκιστὴν ἀπέφηναν.

This story is anything but clear. Inêssa was or had been a Sikel town, and it is strange to find Ducetius, joint-conqueror, it would seem, with Syracuse, consenting to the transfer of Sikel territory into Greek hands. It is plain that the meagre narrative of our historian does not explain all the circumstances of the case. It is hard, for instance, to see what, at the final settlement of things in Katanê, became of the lands which Sikels and Syracusans had just parted out among them. For when the Hieronian citizens left Ætna, when the old citizens of Katanê came back from their banishment at Leontinoi to their own homes, they must have again occupied at least such lands as belonged to Katanê before the innovations of Hierôn. They may even have occupied any lands that Hierôn had annexed to his Ætna at the expense of Leontinoi. Of their fellows in exile, the men of Naxos, we hear nothing; but the eldest of Sikeliot cities presently shows itself again as an independent commonwealth. The natural inference is that it was now, as part of the general restoration, that the Naxians too went back from Leontinoi to the homes which they had forsaken against their wills. If Naxos stood empty, it was again peopled by its own folk; if Hierôn had planted new settlers there, they had to make way for those who had an older right. Of the city that for a while had been his Ætna we hear more. It took back its old name; the memory of Hierôn was blotted out; his honours came to an end; his stately tomb was destroyed¹. Katanê was Katanê once more, with the name of the Katanaïans ready to be again inscribed, still in archaic forms, on the beautiful coinage of the recovered city. The moneys of restored Katanê are marked with the heads of Apollôn and the local river-god; the man-headed bull dies out; the forms of the Pious Brethren of the ancient

CHAP. VII.
Difficulties
of the
story.

Restora-
tion of
Katanê.

Hieron's
tomb
destroyed.

Coins of
Katanê.

¹ Diod. xi. 76; Strabo, vi. 2; κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ Ἱέρανος κατελθόντες οἱ Καταναῖοι τοὺς τε ἐνόικους ἐξέβαλον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνέσκαψαν τοῦ τυράννου.

CHAP. VII. legend hardly appear as yet¹. The Ionian city, set up again by Dorian and Sikel help, was ready to begin her old life once more. She was ready to dwell again under the shadow of the fiery mountain which fills so great a part both in her legends and in her history, but whose name had been only for a moment thrust upon her against her will.

§ 2. *The Commonwealths after the Fall of the Tyrants.*

B. C. 466-433.

Greek
Sicily free
and inde-
pendent.

We now enter on what is in truth the greatest time in the history of Greek Sicily. It is the time of republican independence. The barbarians have been driven back; the tyrants have been overthrown. Sicily is, for a season, left to herself, to live as a world of her own, without interference from external powers, Greek or barbarian. The Sikeliot cities have their questions of internal politics; they have their disputes, now and then their wars, with one another. They are threatened too by the growth of a great native power within the island, such as was never seen before or after. This last movement, momentary as it was, dependent wholly on the life of a single man, is in one way the most striking event of the time. We have already heard of Ducetius the Sikel. He will be for a short time the hero of our tale.

Return to
the old
state of
things.

The tyrants were gone. The Sikeliot cities fell back, as far as might be, on the state of things which had been before the tyrannies began. As far as regards the general position of the cities, there was no great difficulty in so doing. Each city rose again, free and independent, subject neither to a domestic tyrant nor to a foreign master. Of the Greek cities which were in being at the

¹ See vol. i. p. 378.

death of Hierôn we can say this for certain. At that moment Euboia, Kallipolis, Megara, and Kamarina were no longer in being. The revolution had called Kamarina to a renewed life; but not the other three. On the other hand, the change of Inêssa into a new Hieronian Ætna might be called in some sort an enlargement of Hellas, even if the younger Deinomenês still reigned there. But all the other Sikeliot cities arose again with all the freshness of life, with all the fulness of hope, which belong to democracy alone. The tyrannies had wrought at least one incidental good. They had wiped out the distinctions of earlier days, and had left the field open for perfect political equality among all whose citizenship was older than their own beginning. Further political changes might be found needful in this or that city; but the great change of all had been made. Like Athens set free from the yoke of the Peisistratids, so the Sikeliot cities, set free from the yoke of Thrasyboulos and Thrasydaïos and the sons of Anaxilas, showed of a truth, in the words of one who told of their enslavement but not of their deliverance, that freedom is "a brave thing¹." Syracuse and Akragas, no less than Athens, enter, with their recovered freedom, on a time of brilliant prosperity. And they were less open than Athens to the temptation of founding a dominion for themselves at the cost of the freedom of their weaker brethren. But Syracuse and Akragas could not be wholly as Athens; no city of colonial Greece could ever be quite as the ancient cities of the motherland. The freedom and independence of the Sikeliot cities had everywhere, in Syracuse and Akragas perhaps less than in others, been bought at a heavy price.

The days of Gelôn and Hierôn, with all their splendour from many points of view, had been essentially a time of

CHAP. VII.

The democracies.

Incidental gain of tyranny.

Greatness of Syracuse and Akragas.

Effects of change and confusion.

¹ Herod. v. 78; ἡ ἰσχυροτήν ὥς ἐστὶ χρῆμα σπουδαῖον. I follow the vigorous English of Bishop Thirlwall, ii. 88.

CHAP. VII. confusion. And the effects of that confusion lived after them. The violent changes that had been made under the tyrants, the breaking-down of old landmarks, the shattering of old associations, the moving of men by thousands to and fro between city and city—the no less violent changes which were needed on the other side to get rid of these innovations, and to bring back the older state of things—all these things alike, the revolutions wrought by the tyrants and the counter-revolutions wrought by the people, joined to bring about in Sicily a general feeling of novelty, of uncertainty, of constant possibility of change. And observers in Old Greece did not fail to contrast these constant changes with the comparative stability of things in their own cities. In Sicily, Alkibiadês is made to say in a memorable speech, the cities are great and populous; but they are inhabited by crowds of mingled race, to whom endless change, the constant rising and falling of commonwealths, is an every-day matter. No man there looked, as men looked in old Hellas, on the land in which he dwelled as really his country; each man in his schemes, political or private, reckoned on the chance of having to leave the city where he lived and of finding house and lands elsewhere¹.

Uncertainty of things in Sicily.

Speech of Alkibiadês.

Such is the statement, doubtless the exaggerated statement, which was made by an enemy whose interest it was to make Sicilian conquest seem an easy matter to the mind of Athens. But the saying had no small truth in it. In no Sikeliot city could there have been, after the fall of the tyrannies, the same feeling of unbroken possession for ages which filled the Athenian or Spartan heart with pride. There was no lack of life and energy in the new-born commonwealths; but it was life and energy more like that of a newly-founded American state than like the steadier and

¹ Thuc. vi. 17; ὅχλοις τε γὰρ ξυμμίκτοις πολυανδρουσιν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ βεδίας ἔχουσι τῶν πολιτειῶν τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ ἐπιδοχάς, κ.τ.λ.

statelier life of an old-established European land. The interval by which the first driving back of the Carthaginian and the fall of the powers that drove him back are parted from his second and more terrible coming and from the more abiding tyrannies that followed it seems to us but a short time. But in the history of the old Greeks events press so fast on one another that it was really no small part of the duration of the national life. A tyranny of far less than one generation paved the way for two brilliant generations of popular government. Those were days of energy; days of prosperity, days in which other free commonwealths of Sicily showed that they could rival the mighty works of Syracuse under her fallen lords.

CHAP. VII.

The time between the two Punic invasions;

its character.

Still, in this time also, there was no doubt as to the position of Syracuse as the first, and of Akragas as the second, among the Sikeliot commonwealths. In this time, as in most others, we have to bewail the scantiness of our materials. In a time of the deepest political interest it is of those two cities only that we have any knowledge whatever. Even of them our knowledge is much slighter than we could wish. Still in these two we do know something, both of the general course of events and of the acts of particular men. Both cities stand forth among the greatest cities of Hellas. Each was shorn of the external dominion which it had held under its tyrants; but each, as a city, as a commonwealth, was greater than it had ever been. Of the political history of both Syracuse and Akragas we shall be able to give something like a narrative, though a very imperfect one.

Position of Syracuse and Akragas.

One feature of these times which is noticed in our consecutive narrative is that most of the cities had now to employ themselves in parting out lands among the citizens. This is not spoken of as a revolutionary measure.

Partition of lands.

CHAP. VII. It appears rather as the natural consequence of the restoration of order after a time of strife and confusion¹. In Syracuse, for instance, the tyrants were gone and their mercenaries were gone; but it is not to be supposed that every man who had settled at Syracuse during the eighteen years of tyranny was either driven out or deprived of his property. One may even doubt whether the law that confined office to those whose citizenship was older than the coming of Gelôn could have been kept up for any time. It would have a patriotic sound at the time of its enactment; but it would soon come to be looked on as a mere piece of oligarchic exclusiveness. It was in fact a distinction of exactly the same kind as that which had parted off the old *Gamoroî* from the old commons. What, one might ask, became of those citizens of Gela whom Gelôn had caused to migrate to Syracuse? Had they all to go home again? In the space of eighteen years many children had grown into men, and many of those men might feel no call to go back to a city which was indeed the home of their fathers but which had never been their own home. Men like these, as well as the mercenaries, had doubtless received grants of land, whether out of public *folkland* or at the cost of older Syracusan citizens. In any case the lands which had been held by the mercenaries, however they had come by them, stood open to be divided. It is even possible that there may still have been undivided *folkland* to part out. The land of the commonwealth would have become, practically if not formally, the demesne of the tyrant; and that demesne, though many grants were doubtless made out of it, would have a tendency to grow, at once through conquest abroad and confiscation at home. On the restoration of

Question
of foreign
settlers.

Case of the
trans-
planted
Geloans.

Land
avail-
able for
division.

¹ Diod. xi. 76; αἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι στάσεις καὶ παραχαῖ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κατελύθησαν· αἱ δὲ πόλεις τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας ἀπολαβοῦσαι σχεδὸν ἅπασαι, τὰς ἰδίας χώρας κατεκληρούχησαν τοῖς πολίταις πᾶσιν. See Grote, vii. 163.

the commonwealth, it would return to its earlier state of *folkländ*. From all these sources there must have been a large store out of which to answer such claims as might be made good on the score either of old wrongs or of new services. It is not wonderful to hear that new dissensions arose out of the distribution. To say nothing of any tendencies to disturbance and revolution which might be stirred up, the law-courts were naturally busy, and the multitude of causes which had to be tried seems to have done much towards the growth of a new element of intellectual life in Sicily and in Greece generally.

We have now come to the beginning of the cultivation of rhetoric as an art. The first chosen field for the practice of that art was the administration of justice as it was carried on in the democratic cities. We have no special account of the constitution of the law-courts of Syracuse; but from the analogy of other Greek democracies we shall be safe in inferring that the judges who had to be convinced or persuaded were a numerous body of citizens taken by lot or rotation. With a popular body of this kind, hearing and deciding matters which were not their own immediate concern, the mere art of rhetoric, the mere skill of the speakers in arranging words and arguments, would be of special weight. It would count for more with such bodies than it would either with a court formed of a few magistrates or with the public assembly which dealt with matters which touched the whole commonwealth and every man in it. The Sikeliot mind seems to have been specially drawn to the new study. It took root in Syracuse and in other cities, and its Sikeliot professors won fame and profit in other parts of the Greek world besides their own island. It was now, after the fall of the tyrants, amid the constant call for speeches in the courts, that Korax appeared at Syracuse as a professed master of forensic oratory. He opened a school; he taught pupils; he wrote books;

CHAP. VII.

The art of rhetoric.

Practised in the Syracusean courts:

their constitution.

Korax, Tisias, and Gorgias.

CHAP. VII. he handed on his traditions to his pupil Tisias and to the more famous Gorgias of Leontinoi ¹.

Tendency
to exaggerate the
importance
of orators
and others.

There is always a tendency among the later writers of Greece, and perhaps not among them only, to exaggerate the importance which poets, philosophers, orators, literary, artistic, and scientific men of every kind, enjoyed in their own day. On the other hand, there is an undoubted tendency among the narrative writers of Greek history to leave out all mention of such men, even in cases where a modern writer could hardly fail to speak of them. In this case our ordinary guide in Sicilian matters leaves out all mention of Korax; but we hear from secondary sources, not only of his foundation of the rhetorical school of Sicily, but of his high position as a practical adviser, first under the rule of Hierôn and then under the new democracy. This leads us to suspect that he was a man of some importance, possibly under the tyranny as well as under the commonwealth, but that much more has been made of him than his due ².

Korax.

Tyndariôn
aims at the
tyranny.
C. B. C. 454.

The most prominent man in Syracuse at that time was certainly not Korax but a certain Tyndariôn, who strove to set up again in his own person the power which had been held by Gelôn and Hierôn. We are told that, in the cities of Sicily in general, and in Syracuse above all, disputes many and grave arose, not only out of the division of the lands, but also out of the drawing up of the new lists of citizens. Many, it is said, and the saying is likely enough, found a place on the roll without good right ³. We are left to guess at the class of men who

Disputes
as to
citizen-
ship.

¹ See Appendix XXXI.

² See Appendix XXXI.

³ By the reckoning of archons this ought to be the year 454; but the way in which the events of this year and the next are recorded in our one authority, Diod. xi. 86-88, is most confusing. It is immediately after the alleged war between Segesta and Lilybaion (see below, p. 340, and Appendix XXXII), and as if it had something to do with it, that we read; *μετὰ δὲ τὴν πολιτογραφίαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γενομένην καὶ τὸν ἀναδασμὸν τῆς χώρας, πολλῶν εἰκὴ καὶ ὥς ἔτυχε πεπολιτογραφημένον, ἐνόσουν αἱ πόλεις καὶ πάλιν εἰς πολιτικὰς στάσεις καὶ ταραχὰς ἐνέπιπτον· μάλιστα δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἐπεπόλασεν ἐν*

thus crept in unawares; but it is plain that the most likely class so to do were men who could bring bribes or other means of influence to bear on the officials who drew up the lists. Anyhow it is the poor whom Tyndariôn is described as winning to his support; their voluntary service, it would seem, enabled him to take the first step in the tyrant's progress by supplying him with a willing body-guard¹. But law was still strong in Syracuse, and those who administered it were men of energy. Tyndariôn was put on his trial on a charge of seeking to overthrow the constitution and to establish his own power. On that charge he was condemned to death². What follows reads like some of those tumults in the later days of the Roman commonwealth when law was trampled under foot by both sides alike. As Tyndariôn was led back to prison, to suffer death by whatever was the legal form of death in Syracuse, his followers rushed together and strove to rescue him from the hands of the officers of justice³. A tumult arose in the city; the well-disposed citizens—Tyndariôn and his body-guard perhaps called them the oligarchs—also rushed together, and put to death Tyndariôn and his comrades in the attempted revolution⁴. How this

Tyndariôn's
voluntary
guard.

His trial
and ir-
regular
execution.

ταῖς Συρακούσαις. The immediate object was rather to keep out unqualified citizens than to let in new ones; but mistakes might easily be made.

¹ He is Τυνδαρίδης and Τυνδαρίων in this one chapter. He was θράσους καὶ τόλμης γέμων ἄνθρωπος. His course had two stages; τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πολλοὺς τῶν πενήτων ἀνελάμβανε καὶ σωματοποιῶν τούτους ἐαυτῷ πρὸς τυραννίδα ἐτοίμους ἐποίει δορυφόρους· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἤδη φανερός ὦν ὅτι δυναστείας ὀρέγεται. This voluntary body-guard, seemingly of citizens, seems different both from the body-guard of mercenaries and from the body-guard voted by the people.

² Diod. xi. 86; θανάτου κρίσιν ὑποσχὼν, κατεδικάσθη.

³ Ib.; ἀπαγομένου δὲ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον οἱ πολυωρηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνεστράφησαν, καὶ τοῖς ἀπάγουσι τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέφερον.

⁴ Ib.; παραχῆς δὲ γενομένης κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, συνεστράφησαν οἱ χαρίεστατοι τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τοὺς νεωτερίσαντας συναρπάσαντες ἄμα καὶ Τυνδαρίωνι ἀνέϊλον. This sounds more like lynching than any legal process. Mark that the same word συνεστράφησαν is applied to the gatherings on both sides.

CHAP. VII. was done we are not told, and the necessity of the moment may have been held to justify irregular action. But if we are to understand ordinary execution of the sentence of a lawful court, or even regular military action at the bidding of a lawful magistrate, the slayers of Tyndariôn in either case owe very little thanks to our one historian who has told the tale in a manner sadly open to be misunderstood.

Other
attempts
at tyranny.

There is nothing in this account of the attempted tyranny of Tyndariôn which leads us to doubt its essential truth; but one is a little startled at hearing that his example found many imitators, and that a thick succession of would-be tyrants had to be put down, seemingly by the same means¹. It was as a defence against these frequent dangers to freedom that the Syracusans imported into their

The
Petalism.
c. B.C. 454.

constitution an imitation of the Athenian ostracism. The name was changed, as the name of the dangerous citizen was written, not on a tile but on an olive-leaf, and the institution was therefore known as *petalism*². We should be well pleased to have some notice of it from a contemporary writer; as it is, we hear of it only in a general way, without details on any point, from a writer in whose day democratic institutions were no longer understood. It is hardly an accurate description of the Athenian ostracism to say that each citizen was to write the name of the person who was most able to make himself tyrant³. Whatever men may have dreaded in Alkibiadês, no one could have looked on either Nikias or Hyperbolos as the stuff out of which tyrants were made⁴. But it is quite

Petalism
and ostracism.

¹ Diod. xi. 86; πλεονάκεις δὲ τούτου γενομένου καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμούντων.

² Ib. 87; παρὰ Συρακοσίοις εἰς πέταλον ἐλαίας γράφεσθαι τὸν δυνατώτατον τῶν πολιτῶν.

³ Ib.; παρὰ γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν ἔδει γράφειν εἰς ὄστρακον τοῦνομα τοῦ δοκούντος μάλιστα δύνασθαι τυραννεῖν τῶν πολιτῶν.

⁴ οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων οὐνεκ' ὄστραχ' εὐρέθη, says the comic Platôn (quoted by

inconceivable that the real formal shape of Syracusan petalism can have been that each citizen was to write the name of the most powerful man in the city. It is with a curious mixture of truth and falsehood that our account goes on to say that the object was not the punishment of evil-doers, but the humbling of prominent and influential men simply as such¹. The Athenian ostracism was certainly not designed as a punishment for wrong-doing; but neither was it designed to gratify a simple jealousy of preeminence. The two questions to be answered were, "Is there any man whom you think vitally dangerous to the state? If so, whom²?" Such questions were very liable to abuse, as is shown by the familiar story, true or false, of the man who was weary of hearing Aristeidês called the Just. But in themselves they spring from sources quite different from a mere jealousy of merit.

The true question in ostracism.

It is to be noticed that at Syracuse the time of withdrawal from the city was only half what it was at Athens, namely five years instead of ten³; whether it was on that account employed more frequently or more recklessly than it was at Athens we cannot tell. We have only a

Alleged effects of petalism.

Plut. Nik. 11) of Hyperbolos. See more, Plut. Alk. 7; Grote, iv. 200, 201; vii. 145 et seqq., 166. We do not trust Thucydides about Hyperbolos quite so much as we do about most things; but when he calls him (viii. 73) *μοχθηρὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡστρακισμένον οὐ διὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀξιώματος φόβον ἀλλὰ διὰ πονηρίαν καὶ αἰσχύνην τῆς πόλεως*, we see on what kind of ground men were commonly ostracized.

¹ Diod. xi. 87; *καθόλου γὰρ οὐ πονηρίας κόλασιν ἐλάμβανον παρὰ τῶν παρονοούντων, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεως καὶ αὐξήσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐποιοῦν ταπείνωσιν*. This keeps a memory of the fact that the ostracism—and so no doubt the petalism—was in no sense a punishment of crime; but it is confused by the notion of all the later writers, that ostracism was a mere matter of envy, and not of danger, real or supposed.

² So put by Grote, iv. 211. Does the line of Kratinos quoted by Plutarch (Per. 13), that *Periklês τοῦστρακον παροίχεται*, mean merely that he never was ostracized or that no attempt was made to ostracize him?

³ Diod. u. 8; *τὸν πλείστα πέταλα λαβόντα φεύγειν πενταέτη χρόνον*.

CHAP. VII. picture, clearly borrowed from some rhetorical enemy of democracy, telling how every kind of evil followed on the new institution. The chief men were sent away; other good and able men, who might have done good service to the commonwealth, were led by these warnings to keep aloof from public affairs. Instead of the service of the commonwealth, they gave themselves up to luxury in their own houses¹. None but the worst and most daring among the citizens came to the front; the city was full of demagogues and sycophants, of innovations, disputes, and confusions of all kinds². One phrase is specially to be remarked, as it would seem to come from some contemporary accuser who looked with no friendly eye on the rhetorical school of Korax and Tisias. The account reads like some of the complaints in the *Clouds* or the *Frogs* of Aristophanès. All the young men took to study the art of speech; the old and honourable manner of life was forsaken for base pursuits³. At all events these unruly talkers did not, according to one common charge against Greek demagogues, lead the people into war. They rather made use of the time of peace to fill their own pockets, while they thought but little of concord or of just dealing⁴. All this came of

Syracusan
dema-
gogues un-
warlike.

¹ Diod. xi. 87; τῶν μεγίστων ἀνδρῶν φυγαδευόμενων οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ δυνάμενοι διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπανορθοῦν ἀφίσταντο τῶν δημοσίων πράξεων, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου φόβον ἰδιωτεύοντες διετέλουν, ἐπιμελούμενοι δὲ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας εἰς τρυφήν ἀπέκλινον.

² Ib.; οἱ πονηρότατοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέροντες ἐφρόντιζον τῶν δημοσίων καὶ τὰ πλήθη πρὸς νεωτερισμὸν καὶ ταραχὴν προετρέποντο.

³ Ib.; ἐπεπόλαζε γὰρ τῶν δημαγωγῶν πλῆθος καὶ συκοφαντῶν, καὶ λόγου δεινότης ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἡσκέετο, καὶ καθόλου πολλοὶ τὰ φαῦλα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀντὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ σπουδαίας ἀγωγῆς ἡλλάττοντο. All this is exactly like the Aristophanic disputes; κάπιστήσῃ μισεῖν ἀγορὰν (*Clouds*, 977), μὴδ' ἀγοραῖους μὴδὲ κοβάλους (*Frogs*, 1013), &c. There is always in such controversies an element of truth on both sides.

⁴ Ib.; ταῖς μὲν οὐσίαις διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην προέκοπτον, τῆς δ' ὁμονομίας καὶ τοῦ δικαιοπραγεῖν ὀλίγη τις ἐγένετο φροντίς. This is an almost solitary case of the demagogue not being charged with stirring up war. See Grote, vi. 622, and specially the saying of Phòkiôn there quoted.

the law of petalism; before long the citizens repented of having passed it, and abolished it¹.

CHAP. VII.
Abolition
of petal-
ism.

We are used to vague charges of this kind. The people, above all the people of a past age, is an easy mark for the rhetorician or for the speculative philosopher. But the remark that the Athenian ostracism lasted a long time, while the Syracusan petalism was soon got rid of, is more to the point. It certainly marks a difference of some kind between the two institutions. It may be that the petalism was not surrounded by the same safeguards as the ostracism²; it may be that the condition of the two cities was wholly different. We cannot argue from Athens, with her stationary population, to Syracuse, just released from her tyranny and from the revolutions which the tyranny had led to. The history of the two democracies shows that, whatever was the danger at Athens, it was not the despotism of a single man. At Syracuse both earlier and later events show that such despotism was a real danger. Petalism would hardly have kept out Dionysios and Agathoklês; it had but yesterday needed stronger measures to put down Tyndariôn. It is therefore quite possible that the Syracusan petalism pressed hardly upon men who were in no way dangerous, and that it proved weak against those who were so. If any would-be tyrants did trouble the commonwealth after Tyndariôn, they were doubtless got rid of, like Tyndariôn himself, by sharper means. It is dangerous to speculate further; but it is certain that, if this time of extreme corruption ever existed at all, it did not last very long. From this time for nearly fifty years Syracuse enjoys an unbroken and a flourishing democracy, and we find the Syracusan commonwealth playing an

Athenian
and Syra-
cusan
democracy.

¹ Diod. xi. 87; οἱ Συρακόσιοι, μεταγρόντες τὸν περὶ τοῦ πεταλισμοῦ νόμον κατέλυσαν, ὀλίγον χρόνον αὐτῷ χρησάμενοι. Diodôros himself remarks that the ostracism at Athens lasted a long time and the petalism at Syracuse only a little while.

² Grote, vii. 166.

CHAP. VII. energetic part at home and abroad in the year next after
 Comparative that in which the petalism is first spoken of¹. The way
 peace. in which a state of peace is taken for granted in the
 hostile picture is also to be noticed. The years with which
 we are dealing, if not a time of altogether unbroken peace,
 came much nearer to it than was often the case over any
 Warfare considerable part of the Greek world. There was some
 with bar- fighting; but as yet it seems to have been, not war of
 barians. Greek against Greek, but the more honourable warfare
 against the barbarian. We see Syracuse, freed, it would
 seem, alike from tyrants and from demagogues, standing
 forth to show that the work of Hellenic championship
 could be as well carried on by the vote of a free common-
 wealth as at the bidding of a despot.

Etruscan To have beaten back the Etruscan from Kymê had been
 war. the most glorious memory of the reign of Hierôn, an exploit
 c. B.C. 453. which his courtly poets placed alongside of the salvation
 wrought by his brother at Himera². The pirates were
 again mighty at sea; they must have at least seized
 Sicilian vessels, if they had not laid waste Sicilian shores;
 and the commonwealth of Syracuse decreed an expedition
 of vengeance. The fleet sailed forth under the command
 of the admiral Phaÿllos; he landed in the island of
 Phaÿllos Aithalia—Ilba and Elba on Latin lips—and laid waste the
 at Aitha- country. But the fleet presently came back to Syracuse
 lia. without having done anything further. Phaÿllos was
 arraigned on a charge of having taken bribes from the
 enemy, and was sentenced to banishment³. A caviller

His
 banish-
 ment.

¹ The whole story of the attempted tyranny of Tyndariôn, of his successors, of the institution of petalism, its bad effect, and its abolition, is put by Diodôros (xi. 86, 87) in the one archonship of Aristôn, B.C. 454. This of course is not to be taken quite literally; but the vigorous Syracusan action which begins in c. 88, B.C. 453, shows that the bad time cannot have been very long.

² See above, p. 234.

³ Diod. xi. 88; *παρὰ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν λάθρα χρήματα λαβών*.

might say that either his appointment or his deprivation, one or the other, showed that the spirit of the days of petalism had not wholly died out. A new commander, Apellês, was sent forth with sixty triremes. He is said to have laid waste the whole coast of Etruria and the more part of that of Kyrnos or Corsica, then an Etruscan possession or dependency¹. The island, afterwards to pass under the power of Carthage, most likely still paid to its Etruscan masters—whether to the whole Etruscan body or to any particular city—its tribute of honey, resin, and wax, to say nothing of its own people, its most valuable production in the days of slavery². In Corsica we hear only of ravage, while it seems implied that Elba actually passed under Syracusan dominion³. If so, it must have again passed away, either to Etruscan or to Carthaginian enemies; for we do not hear of it as a Syracusan possession, even under the most powerful of Syracusan rulers. On the other hand, there was in Corsica a haven which bore the name of the haven of the Syracusans, a name which surely implies the presence of Syracusan merchants, though it did not imply the presence of Syracusan conquerors⁴. As often before, we here come across an expedition, evidently of much importance at the time, of the abiding result of which we can say nothing. All that we learn is that Apellês, unlike Phaÿllos, came back in all honour with a victorious fleet. He brought

CHAP. VII.
Action of
Apellês in
Corsica.

Syracusan
settlement
in Elba?

¹ Diod. xi. 88; τὴν παραθαλαττιὸν Τυρρήνιον [Maremma] καταδραμὼν, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Κύρνον κατεχομένην ὑπὸ Τυρρῆνων κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους.

² Diodôros (v. 13) describes this in full. The Etruscans occupied two cities in Corsica, Kalaris (a confusion with Alalia, see Herod. i. 165) and Nikaia, where they received the tribute. He enlarges on the excellence of the Corsicans as slaves. He does not explain in what relation these Corsican settlements stood to the Etruscan body.

³ Ib. xi. 88; πορθήσας δὲ πλεῖστα τῆς νήσου [Κύρνον] καὶ τὴν Αἰθαλίαν χειρωσάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας. This was recorded by Philistos in his fifth book. See Steph. Byz. in Αἰθάλη.

⁴ Ib. v. 13; αὕτη δὲ ἡ νῆσος [Κύρνος] εὐπροσόρμιστος οὖσα κάλλιστον ἔχει λιμένα τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Συρακόσιον. On its position, the later Portus Vetus on the east side of the island, see Bunbury, Dict. Geog.

CHAP. VII. abundance of spoil of every kind, above all, as became a conqueror of Corsica and Elba, of that human prey in which Corsica and Elba were so specially rich¹.

Warfare in
Western
Sicily. Besides these victories won by Greeks of Sicily over barbarians beyond the bounds of their own island, there was about this time, about the middle of the fifth century before our æra, a certain amount of warfare in some parts of Sicily itself. We get glimpses of wars between Greeks and barbarians, and also of wars between one barbarian state and another. The details are hard to put in order; but two notable facts stand out clearly. Already, more than twenty years before the Peloponnesian War, Athens has begun to look westward. If she shows no signs of aggressive schemes of her own, she is at least looked to by a hard-pressed Sicilian city as a quarter where it is worth while to seek for help. On the other hand, Carthage is either still seriously weakened by the great blow of Himera, or else she is warily looking out for the first opportunity to strike a blow in return. Unless our evidence altogether fails us, she sat still and saw Sikeliot cities dedicate offerings to the gods of Hellas for victories gained over one of her Sicilian dependencies.

First
mention
of Athens.
B.C. 454.

Inaction of
Carthage.

It is these casual notices of the policy of the two great powers of Athens and Carthage which are the really instructive part of the tale, if tale we can call it, to which we have now come. But a tale it hardly is. We have to bring together, to arrange and reconcile as we can, a confused statement in our chief narrative, and certain notices elsewhere². Some of these last, as being the witness of contemporary documents, are in themselves the highest authority that can be reached. Only unluckily they give

Statement
of the
evidence.

¹ Diod. xi. 88; αἰχμαλώτων τε πλῆθος κομίζων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὠφέλειαν ἄγων οὐκ ὀλίγην.

² See Appendix XXXII.

a somewhat uncertain sound. Among the gifts which Pausanias saw at Olympia were statues, brazen boys stretching out their hands in prayer. They were the offerings of victorious Akragas out of spoil won from Phœnician Motya¹. And their workmanship led the antiquary to assign them to the hand of an artist of the age with which we are dealing, the same Kalamis who had been employed on some of the gifts of the younger Deinomenês². Again, an inscription found not many years back, among the ruins of one of the great Selinuntine temples, records, in letters of the time with which we are dealing, the thank-offerings of the Selinuntine commonwealth for a victory followed by a peace. But, strange to say, the name of the enemy is not recorded³. The temptation is great to put these two records together, and to see Selinous and Akragas leagued together against the Phœnicians of Motya. An Athenian inscription, found more lately again in a sadly mutilated state, contains two well-known Sicilian names. The name of Segesta comes in a position which can hardly fail to imply a Segestan embassy to Athens, and the far less renowned name of Sikan Halikyai comes in a position which can hardly fail to imply that Halikyai was the enemy, or one of the enemies, against which Segesta craved for help⁴.

CHAP. VII.
Akragan-
tine victory
over
Motya.

Selinun-
tine
victory
over an
unnamed
enemy.

Segesta
asks help
from
Athens
against
Halikyai.

Some of these statements are startling in themselves. The early action or expected action of Athens—the quiet submission of Carthage while Greek cities win and celebrate victories over the island stronghold of Phœnicia in Sicily—the strange importance which for once attaches to the otherwise obscure Halikyai—all these things are alike puzzling. But all seem to rest on good authority, some on the highest. And with all this it is hard to reconcile the account in our

Remark-
able con-
tents of the
documents.

¹ See Appendix XXXII.

² See Appendix XXXII.

³ See Appendix XXXII.

⁴ See Appendix XXXII.

CHAP. VII. one continuous narrative. What we are there told is that the men of Segesta and the men of Lilybaion went to war for the land by the river Mazaros, that a fierce battle followed in which many on each side were slain, and that from that time the two cities never ceased from dissensions. Indeed it seems almost implied that it was this war which led, in some way not explained, to general disputes within the Greek cities, of which the Syracusan petalism was only the worst case¹. This narrative, as it stands, is impossible. There was at this time no town called Lilybaion. It is very likely that the name might by a later historian be prematurely used for Motya; but a war between that Carthaginian dependency and Elymian Segesta is most unlikely. And, if such an one had broken out, it could hardly have led to internal disturbances in the Greek cities. The scene of action is laid by the border stream of Greek and barbarian, and the way in which the story is told is remarkably like the accounts of later warfare between Segesta and Selinous². It has therefore been suggested that the name of Selinous, undoubted victor over some enemy, should be put instead of the clearly mistaken Lilybaion. But the change is somewhat violent. Again, Segesta may very well have been the unknown enemy of Selinous; Akragas may well have helped Selinous against either Segesta or Motya; Segesta and Motya may have been allied against Selinous and Akragas. But it is hard to get all this out of our Olympic offering and our Selinuntine inscription, and it goes no way towards explaining the place held by Halikyai in the Athenian inscription. It has therefore been proposed to alter the text of our narrative in yet another way, and for Lilybaion to read Halikyai. The truth is that the narrative cannot be made to agree with the higher authority of the documents,

Impossible
narrative of
Diodôros.

Guesses
and com-
binations.

¹ Diod. xi. 86. See Appendix XXXII.

² Thuc. vi. 6; Diod. xii. 82, xiii. 43.

except by making purely arbitrary changes in it. When it comes to this, it is perhaps safer to say that the narrative is either hopelessly confused in the first telling or hopelessly corrupted in later copyings, and to pass it by as of no authority. Meanwhile the three documentary statements in no way contradict one another. They may refer to three different events. Or, by supposing alliances at pleasure, a process at least less dangerous than that of improving texts at pleasure, they may even be made to refer to the same event. We might conceive Greek Akragas and Selinous with Sikan Halikyai as leagued against Phœnician Motya and Elymian Segesta. But it is perhaps safer to keep ourselves back from mere guesses in any shape. And no process of "combination" seems to explain the one feature of special local interest and difficulty, the unexpected prominence given to Halikyai. CHAP. VII.
Remark-
able prom-
inence of
Halikyai.

It is on the whole better to confess our ignorance as to these smaller points, and to look for a while at the instruction which this singular group of notices gives us as to greater matters. The negative evidence which our notices give us as to Carthage is well worth some thought; the positive evidence which they give us as to Athens is worth yet more thought. It throws a new light on many things in the later history both of Sicily and of Old Greece, if we take in that, at this early date, the earlier days of Periklès, the later days of Kimôn, when the Long Walls were new and when Athens was a Peloponnesian power¹, she was already looked on as at least likely to be persuaded to take a part in the affairs of Sicily. It throws even more light on her restless activity in all points of the then known world that she should be invited to take Evidence
as to
Athens.

¹ It is worth notice that the very year (B.C. 454, the archonship of Aristôn) which was the year of at least some of these events, is that in which Thucydides (i. 112, cf. 115) first mentions Periklès as defeating the Sikyonians and bringing Achaia into at least alliance with Athens. He had however done a good deal already.

CHAP. VII. a share in a dispute, not between Greeks and Greeks, not between Greeks and barbarians, but between Elymians and Sikans. What came of the embassy, what immediately came of Italiot and Sikeliot alliances with Athens twenty years later¹, we know not. There is no record of any action on the part of Athens following either the earlier or the later effort of diplomacy. We hear nothing of Athenian military action in Sicily till the Peloponnesian War is some years advanced. Nor is it likely that any such action happened of which we do not hear. But, with such authorities as we have before us, it would be dangerous to say that nothing happened in any other way. The hand of Athens may have been at work in many things, and the busy-bodies of the time may have seen it at work in many other things. We have come, if to nothing else, yet at least to the first dim foreshadowings of great events that are to be.

EMPEDO-
KLÈS of
Akragas.

Meanwhile the men who dwelled on the height above the yellow stream of Akragas², if they were winning spoils from the barbarians of the western corner, were also settling their political constitution within their own walls. And they had a man among them, a nobly-born leader of the commons, of whom we hardly know how to speak. We seem to see a man of some former age, or else a man of some age as yet far distant, brought from his own world to act along with Periklès and Ephialtès in doing the practical work of the Greece of the fifth century before Christ.

Lives of
philoso-
phers and
saints.

When in these times we come across the path of a philosopher—in a slighter measure when we come across the path of a

¹ The treaties of Athens with Rhègion and Leontinoi in B.C. 433 will come presently.

² I make spoil of Empedoklès himself, as quoted by Diogenès Laërtios, viii. 2. 6;

ὦ φίλοι, οἱ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος
ναίει' ἀν' ἄκρα πόλεως, ἀγαθῶν μελεδήμονες ἔργων.

poet or an orator—we find ourselves in the same kind of atmosphere as when, a thousand years later, we come across the path of a saint. In both cases there is no lack of stories to choose from. There is no difficulty in putting a full narrative together, if only we choose to throw aside our common standard of historical criticism. When we come to stories of this kind, we are in truth as much in the region of poetic legend as if we were still dealing with gods and heroes. We no more look for literal truth in the characteristic parts of the story of Empedoklès than we look for it in the story of Dêmêtêr and the Korê. I say in the characteristic parts; for legends which grow up in an age of written records are sure to take some substantial facts for granted. The life of a saint is always valuable. It is sure to tell us by the way something about a king or his people which it is good to know, and which we should never find out from any formal chronicle. And so it is in earlier times with the life of a philosopher. In any case we hear something about the real state of things in the time and place where he lived. And if the philosopher happens also to be an actor in a great political revolution, even his admiring disciples may perhaps stoop so far as to record his more earthly doings. To the world in general Empedoklès is doubtless best known as the man who threw himself into the furnace of Ætna in the hope of being deemed to have become a god. While venturing to doubt on this point as well as on his miracles of healing and his calling back of the dead to life, while not feeling it to be any part of the duty of a historian of Sicily to go minutely into his speculative doctrines, we may still thank the admirers of the prophet for letting us know some things which our more general guide fails to tell us. The miraculous preacher and teacher, the man who stands charged with sacrificing his life to a silly vanity, was also the man who brought the democratic constitution of

CHAP. VII.

Character
of the
narratives;their
value.Political
position of
Empedo-
klès.

CHAP. VII. Akragas to perfection. He seems in truth to have been a reformer of the best type that Greece could show. Tales of mystery, miracle, and magic, hang as strangely about him as if they had been set down by Thucydides among the acts of Periklês.

Comparison with Periklês.

In his own day and city the contradiction was less strange than it seems to us now, less strange perhaps than it would have seemed at Athens then. Akragas was doubtless far more disposed than Athens to listen to tales of wonder; but we must remember that Periklês himself was not kept altogether free from the touch of legend. His birth was foretold by wonderful visions, a modest form of divine care in which there is often no need to doubt the simple fact. It was no doubt the later fame of

Legendary element in Periklês.

her son which caused men to remember that the wife of Xanthippos had dreamed a few days before his birth that she had borne a lion¹. And if Herodotus had written the acts of Periklês as well as the dream of his mother, it is possible that other and more distinct cases of supernatural dealings might have gathered around him. The common feeling at Athens is shown by the general state of mind at the breaking of the Hermai and by the way in which heavenly signs touched the mind of Nikias in the Syracusan harbour. Still we may doubt whether an Athenian leader in the days of Periklês would have gained as much as Peisistratos had done by a mock appearance of Athênê², and we cannot conceive any process of legend, in the course of any number of ages, turning Periklês into a healer of diseases and raiser of the dead. In short, on this side of Empedoklês, if we look for a parallel to him at Athens, we shall find him a hundred and fifty years earlier. The prophet of Akragas seems more like a successor of the Cretan Epimenidês³ than a contemporary and fellow-

Popular feeling at Athens.

Empedoklês and Epimenidês.

¹ Herod. vi. 131.

² Ib. i. 59.

³ Of this very mythical personage, still one whose historical existence

worker of Periklês. Yet such he assuredly was. The biographer of the philosophers has happily not scorned to record the part which his hero played in the politics of his own commonwealth, and we see that Empedoklês, half-mythical and half-divine as he has become, really did a political work at Akragas which in many things answered to the work of Periklês at Athens. CHAP. VII.

At Akragas, as at Syracuse, there were still rumours and fears of tyranny after the tyranny was overthrown. Political state of Akragas.

Our accounts are wretchedly meagre, and we wish to know whether these fears were at all connected with the house which had lately borne dominion. We have seen that Thrasyboulos son of Xenokratês at least survived the overthrow of the tyranny which had been held by his kinsmen¹. We know not whether the whole Emmenid *gens* had been banished, or whether any could have stayed behind to awaken suspicion, like that Tarquinius who appears among the earliest prætors of Rome. But whether Thrasyboulos or any of his kin was ever suspected of aiming at the tyranny or not, there were some in Akragas who clearly were. And such men Empedoklês son of Metôn had a hereditary call to withstand. He was born of a wealthy and illustrious house, and his grandfather of the same name had, in days before the Emmenid dynasty began, won an Olympic prize in the horse-race, which unluckily we have no ode of Pindar to ennoble. It was most likely a mere confusion between two persons of the same name which led to the story of the philosopher himself and his son winning prizes of the same kind in their own persons². Fear of tyranny.

Of any political action of the elder Empedoklês we hear nothing; but Metôn must have played a leading part on The elder Empedoklês.

there is no reason to doubt, our fullest account comes from the same source as our fullest account of Empedoklês, namely his Life by Diogenes Laërtios, i. 10. His Olympic victory. B. C. 496.

Metôn father of Empedoklês.

there is no reason to doubt, our fullest account comes from the same source as our fullest account of Empedoklês, namely his Life by Diogenes Laërtios, i. 10.

¹ See above, p. 298.

² See Appendix XXXIII.

CHAP. VII. the popular side. For we are told, with less exactness of date than we could wish, that, after his death, schemes of tyranny began again to be threatening¹. If Metôn had hitherto warded off such dangers, his son was fully ready to walk in his steps. Empedoklês worked hard on behalf of equality—that is the word used—and he is said to have refused an offer of kingship. This phrase may be added to our other notices of possible kings in Sicily²; but it is most likely a late writer's way of describing either the suggestion of a party that Empedoklês should seize the tyranny, or else the more regular offer of the temporary powers of an *aizymnêtês*.

Empedo-
klês refuses
kingship or
tyranny.

Political
career of
Empedo-
klês.

Story of
the feast.

And now the sage, having scorned lawful or unlawful offers of power, begins to play his part as popular leader. He is set before us as specially jealous of all designs against the freedom of the commonwealth, and moreover as gifted with a wonderful power of discerning them. The first act of his political career is strange indeed. Empedoklês is at supper in the house of one of the magistrates³; we long to know his title and the nature of his office. The company are annoyed at a strange delay in bringing in the wine; the rest hold their peace, but Empedoklês asks the host for the reason. They are waiting, the answer is, for the coming of the officer of the senate⁴. The expected guest at last comes, and is made ruler of the feast by the host⁵. His beginnings in his festive office savour of tyranny; he bids each guest either drink or have the wine poured on his head⁶.

¹ See Appendix XXXIII.

² See Appendix I.

³ Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 9; κληθείς ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ἀρχόντων. The story is from Timaios; one would be glad to know whether we have his exact words.

⁴ Ib.; ὁ κεκληκὼς ἀναμένειν ἔφη τὸν τῆς βουλῆς ὑπρέτην. The function of ὑπρέτης seems to be an honourable one, like those of some of the officers of our Houses of Parliament.

⁵ Ib.; ἐγενήθη συμποσίαρχος, τοῦ κεκληκότος δηλονότι καταστήσαντος.

⁶ Ib.; ὑπεγράφετο τυραννίδος ἀρχὴν, ἐκέλευσε γὰρ ἢ πίνειν ἢ καταχεῖσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς. The first words are rather odd; but I suppose they mean, as the Latin version puts it, "tyrannidis initium adumbrabat."

Here was insolence certainly; yet we are a little amazed to hear that the next day Empedoklès brought both the host and the ruler of the feast before the criminal court, and procured their condemnation to death¹. The charge was doubtless a design to overthrow the constitution. But we sadly wish to know something more of the criminal jurisprudence of Akragas, what kind of evidence was needed in trials for treason, and what kind of evidence was brought forward by Empedoklès. Unless there is a good deal behind, one would have thought that the Syracusan olive-leaf would have been a weapon quite as sharp as the case called for.

In another story we see Empedoklès as a member of the Senate. The physician Akrôn, a native of Akragas and a personal friend of Empedoklès, had won much fame by the practice and teaching of his art in various places. He now asked, on the ground of his own eminence, for a grant of a piece of land on which to make a tomb for his father². The request could hardly have been objected to if the merits of Akrôn had been pleaded by somebody else and not by himself; but in that shape they seemed to Empedoklès to sin against the laws of democratic equality. He caused the rejection of the petition by suggesting a pair of mocking verses as the inscription for the tomb³.

At last it seemed to Empedoklès that there was need

¹ Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 9; τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἡσύχαζε, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς τὸ δικάστηριον ἀπέκτεινε καταδικάσας ἀμφοτέρους, τὸν τεκλήτορα καὶ τὸν συμποσίαρχον. It is added; ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἦδε.

² Ib.; "Ἀκρωνος τοῦ ἱατροῦ τόπον αἰτοῦντος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς κατασκευὴν πατρῶου μνήματος διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱατροῖς ἀκρότητα. This must mean his own eminence, not his father's, as Akrôn, according to Soudas, was son of Xenôn.

³ Ib.; ἐκώλυνσε τὰ τ' ἄλλα περὶ ἰσότητος διαλεχθεῖς. Then he suggests the epitaph;

"Ἄκρον ἱατρὸν Ἄκρων Ἀκραγαντῖνον πατὴρ ἄκρου
κρύπτειν κρημνὸς ἄκρος πατρίδος ἀκροτάτης.

Another reading of the pentameter was,

ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς τύμβος ἄκρος κατέχει.

CHAP. VII. for a more direct political reform in the state of Akragas.
 Constitu- He sought for a change in the constitution of the body of
 tion of which he himself was a member. We know little of the Akra-
 Akragas. gantine constitution in the age of Empedoklês, except from
 the dim notices in the present story; and in these biograph-
 ical seraps we cannot look for accurate political language.
 Our only important constitutional document from Akragas
 is of far later date; but it shows that names and institu-
 tions were then preserved which must have been handed on
 from much earlier days¹. The three Dorian tribes are
 found at Akragas, as at other Doric cities, and they seem,
 like the tribes of Athens, to have enjoyed a presidency in
 turn. The Senate laid measures before the assembly,
 which kept the ancient name of *Halia*; it does not appear
 whether it had, at any time, the exclusive right of pro-
 posing them. The chief magistrate bears the singular
 title of *Proagoras*. These notices do not throw much
 light on the constitutional politics of Akragas at the
 time of the reforms of Empedoklês. When those re-
 forms took place, the Senate, which held the chief power
 in the commonwealth, had been in being for three years.
 If this is to be taken as a date, and the three years
 are to be reckoned from the fall of Thrasydaïos, this
 would give us a date for the action of Empedoklês which
 seems a good deal too early. Perhaps all that is meant is
 simply that the senators whom he found in office had been
 elected for three years, or that they had been in power for
 three years in any way. We are told nothing as to the
 constitution of the Senate or as to the mode of appointment
 to seats in it; nor do we hear what were the formal changes
 made by Empedoklês. We learn only that the Senate con-
 sisted of a thousand members, and that after the reform
 it contained both rich men and men of popular politics².
 Empedoklês himself surely came under both heads.

B. C. 468.

Senate of a
thousand.

¹ See Appendix XXXIII.

² See Appendix XXXIII.

We have to think a little as to the exact meaning of the reform wrought by Empedoklês. A Senate of a thousand existed in several cities, and it seems to have been looked on as a mean between oligarchy and democracy. An elective thousand might be set up as a substitute for the real public assembly, and we might thus stumble on an early approach to representation. But it is hard to conceive a Greek commonwealth which could be called democratic, as that of Akragas was¹, without some assembly of a more open kind than this. The meagre words of our notice seem to point rather to changes in the constitution of the Senate itself than in changes in its relations to any other body. But, while our knowledge of the whole matter is sadly imperfect, we at least know more of the politics of Akragas than we do of those of most other cities of Sicily. Of Selinous or of Katanê we have nothing to say. At Akragas we do know enough to raise the man whom Lucretius deemed to hold the first place among the rich gifts and the great men of Sicily², the poet, philosopher, physician, the worker of signs and wonders, to the higher rank of a democratic reformer. But in later days the person of Empedoklês the demagogue was wholly overshadowed by that of the speculator and wonder-worker. When we search in the later collections for notices of Phalaris, we do at least find notices of a tyrant and not of a letter-writer. But in the like notices of Empedoklês, while we find a

CHAP. VII.
Reforms
of Empe-
doklês.

His true
position.

His
political
character
over-
shadowed
by legend.

¹ See above, p. 298, note 4.

² Lucretius (i. 723) makes a panegyric of Sicily, and goes on ;

"Quæ quom magna modis multis miranda videtur
Gentibus humanis regio visundaque fertur,
Rebus opima bonis, multa munita virum vi,
Nil tamen hoc habuisse viro præclarius in se
Nec sanctum magis et mirum carumque videtur.
Carmina quin etiam divini pectoris ejus
Vociferantur, et exponunt præclara reperta,
Ut vix humana videatur stirpe creatus."

CHAP. VII. good many real or supposed sayings of his, there is not one that throws the faintest light on the author of the Akragantine reform bill. In that aspect of Empedoklês the judgement of Lucretius may perhaps stand. We know but few actors in Sicilian revolutions by name. But Empedoklês certainly ranks above Diôn, and Timoleôn was not of Sicilian birth.

Empe-
doklês the
elder;
his vege-
tarian
sacrifice.

Personal
notices
of Empe-
doklês.

His wealth
and bounty.

His per-
sonal
habits ;

The philosophy of Empedoklês, like his politics, was hereditary. His grandfather the Olympic victor, a pupil of Pythagoras and a conscientious vegetarian, could not find it in his heart to slay the living ox required by custom for a feast at his victory. He gave instead to the assembled guests an ox made of myrrh and frankincense and the most costly spices¹. It is perhaps needless to dwell on the speculative doctrines of his grandson, which hardly affected the course of Sicilian history; but the notices of the man himself and his personal demeanour, even though they are doubtless mixed up with much of later exaggeration, are welcome in an age and country of which most of our notices are so scanty. The democratic champion was not satisfied to win political rights for his poorer fellow-citizens. He poured forth his personal wealth to help them, specially in a form which has found favour with some later benefactors, that of giving dowries to poor maidens of citizen birth, who otherwise might have failed to find husbands². But it was remarked that some of his habits of life were hardly suited to his political creed³. The preacher of political equality, who refused to be a king

¹ Athenaios, i. 5; Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δ' ὁ Ἀκραγαντίνος, ἵπποις Ὀλύμπια νικήσας, Πυθαγορικὸς ὢν καὶ ἐμψύχων ἀπεχόμενος, ἐκ σμύρνῃς καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ τῶν πολυτελεστάτων ἀρωμάτων βοῦν ἀναπλάσας διένειμε τοῖς εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν ἀπαντήσασιν. In Diog. Laert. viii. 1 the same story seems to be told by Satyros of Empedoklês himself.

² Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 11; ἔτι δὲ πολλὰς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπρόικους ὑπαρχούσας αὐτὸν προκίσαι διὰ τὸν παρόντα πλούτον.

³ Ib. 2. 9; Τίμαιος . . . φησὶν ἐναντίαν γνώμην ἐσχηκέναι αὐτὸν τῇ πολιτείᾳ φαίνεσθαι ὅπου δ' ἀλάζονα καὶ φίλαντον ἐν τῇ ποιήσει.

or even a magistrate, did not scruple to go about with CHAP. VII.
 a stern countenance, clothed in a purple robe with a golden
 girdle, with brazen shoes, thick hair, and Delphic wreaths.
 He was followed by a company of boys, and received
 reverence well nigh kingly from those who met him¹.
 In still extant verses he announced himself to his ad- his claim
 mirers as a god upon earth, no longer a mortal, who went of divinity.
 about in this hallowed garb from city to city, and received
 from men and women the worship that was no more than
 his due².

Something must doubtless be taken off from the details
 of a picture like this which comes only from late hagio-
 graphers. But there must have been some groundwork
 for them to build upon³, and the verses in which he claims
 divinity are at least genuine. In any case all this worship
 was addressed to the saint and not to the political leader,
 though then, as in some other ages, the step from the political
 leader to the saint was doubtless easy. A divine mission
 Empedoklês certainly had, if he did some of the wondrous
 works that his devoted admirers claim for him. Yet, in Pagan and
 mediæval
 miracles.
 dealing with pagan miracles, we may fairly bring in the same
 distinctions which we have to bring in with the miracles of
 mediæval Christendom. We must remember that men

¹ Diog. Laert. 2. 11; διὸ δὴ πορφύραν τ' ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ στρόφιον ἐπι-
 θέσθαι χρυσοῦν . . . ἔτι δ' ἐμβάδας χαλκᾶς καὶ στέμμα Δελφικὸν, κόμη δ' ἦν αὐτῷ
 βαθεῖα καὶ παῖδες ἀκόλουθοι· καὶ αὐτὸς ἀεὶ σκυθρωπὸς ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἦν σχήματος.
 τοιοῦτος δὲ προήει, τῶν πολιτῶν ἐντυχόντων καὶ τοῦτ' ἀξιώσαντων οἰονεῖ
 βασιλείας τινὸς παράσημον. For the former part of this account, perhaps
 for the whole, Diogenês quotes no better authority than the Latin
 Favorinus.

² Ib. 2. 6;

. . . ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς,
 παλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος, ὥσπερ ξοικα,
 ταινίας τε περίστεπτος στέφεσιν τε θαλείης
 τοῖσιν ἄμ' εὐτ' ἂν ἴκωμαι ἐς ἄστυα τηλεθώοντα,
 ἀνδράσιν ἡδὲ γυναιξὶ σεβίζομαι.

He explains that they followed him for love of divine knowledge.

³ This is shown by the remark of Timaios quoted in the last page.

CHAP. VII. looked for miracles, that they would have been disappointed if they had had to go away without them. We must look for the perfectly natural event which is easily welcomed as a supernatural wonder. We must look for the no less natural event which becomes a supernatural wonder through some slight improvement in the telling. We must look for the cases in which a harder question has directly to be met, where there is no choice between actual miracle and direct falsehood. The democratic reformer—the pupil of Anaxagoras and Parmenidēs¹—the inventor, so Aristotle deemed, of rhetoric²—the tutor of Gorgias—the Pythagorean student who was put out of the synagogue for revealing of secrets—the poet who made hymns and tragedies, and sang the war of Xerxes in an Homeric epic³—the man of so many varied gifts and accomplishments, seems to have valued his skill in medicine above all. His extant verses claim this and something more. He knows all the drugs that can ward off disease and relieve old age, and he knows further how to control the winds and the waters and to bring the crops to abundant harvests⁴. All this is most likely only an exaggerated way of setting forth the possession of a knowledge of nature beyond his time. But the possession of such knowledge would be sure to rank him among prophets and diviners, and all the more so if he himself at all encouraged the belief.

Mysterious
or scientific
knowledge
of Empedoklēs.

His sani-
tary re-
forms ;

It is specially to be noted that Empedoklēs twice appears as a sanitary reformer on a great scale, and it is for the learned in such matters to judge of the value of the means

¹ See Appendix XXXIII.

² Diog. Laert. 2. 3; 'Αριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Σοφιστῇ φησὶ πρῶτον Ἐμπεδοκλέα ῥητορικὴν εὐρεῖν, Ζήνωνα δὲ διαλεκτικὴν.

³ Ib. 3. Aristotle is the authority. The Περσικά were said to have been burned by Empedoklēs' wife or sister, διὰ τὸ ἀτελείωτα εἶναι.

⁴ See the verses in Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 4, beginning,

φάρμακα δ' ὅσσα γεγᾶσι κακῶν καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ
πνύσῃ, ἐπεὶ μούνη σοὶ ἐγὼ κρανέω τάδε πάντα, κ.τ.λ.

which he made use of. Timaios described Empedoklês as CHAP. VII.
 in some sort reviving the art of the Homeric Aiolos. When he stops
 the violence of the Etesian winds spoiled the crops, he caused the winds;
 the skins of asses to be stretched out on the mountain-tops. These broke the fury of the blasts and won for Empedoklês the surname of *Kôlysanemas*.—*Matevent* he might
 have been in the tongue of invaders of Sicily fifteen hundred years later ¹. When one of the two rivers of Selinous he cleanses
 —like some rivers in later days—sent up such a grievous rivers;
 stink that men died and women miscarried, the wealthy benefactor of mankind changed the courses of the streams, and caused the sweet waters of the one to heal the foulness of the other ². In these tales there is doubtless some he raises
 kernel of truth in a legendary shape; even the story told the dead.
 in several forms, of his mightiest work, the recalling of the dead to life, may be only a legendary version of some remarkable exercise of his medical skill. As that was his highest, so it was his last effort; after that, he had only to go and join the company of the gods.

Some of the legendary versions attribute to Empedoklês His life.
 an astonishing length of life. In more sober accounts he B. C. 484-424.
 did not live above sixty or at most seventy-seven years. Those years seem to have been taken in the space between the time when Xerxes and Carthage were planning the invasion of Old Greece and of Sicily, and the time when Sicily was beginning to be drawn into the politics and warfare of Old Greece ³. They were not all spent at His travels.
 Akragas or in Sicily; we have already seen him in more parts of Sicily than one. He also visited Thourioi, Athens, and Peloponnêsos ⁴; we need not trouble ourselves with tales which carry him to confer with the wise men of the further

¹ Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 5.

² Ib. II.

³ See Holm, i. 265.

⁴ He appears at Athens in the art. "Ἀκρον in Soudas, in Peloponnêsos (Diog. Laert. viii. 11), specially at Olympia (viii. 9), though his poem was recited by another (Athenaios, xiv. 12).

CHAP. VII. East¹. The end of his political career at Akragas was to die in banishment. His crime was to have thought more of the interests of all Sicily than of the local jealousies of his own city. Akragas condemned him for having fought on the side of her rival Syracuse in some of the earlier interferences of Athens in Sicilian affairs². He died in Peloponnēsos, an honoured guest, and his tomb was shown at the elder Megara.

Such was the real, and not unworthy, end of the former of the commonwealth of Akragas. But the saint and prophet and worker of wonders could not be allowed to go to his grave like other men. There are many who know the name of Empedoklēs only by the silly tale of his leaping into the furnace of Ætna that he might be thought to have become a god. One almost fancies that such a tale as this must have been in its beginning, not serious legend but mere mockery. Such at least must surely have been the addition to the story which makes the truth be revealed by the burning mountain throwing up one of the prophet's brazen shoes³. But when the tale once took root, it got worked in with other and earlier stories of his life and miracles. One version makes the grateful people of Selinous hail the healer of their river with the worship of a god. Their homage suggested to its object the thought of becoming what they deemed him⁴. Another and longer tale, which we have in two slightly different versions⁵, connects his end with his greatest display whether of miraculous power or of scientific skill. By one or the other, he had saved from death, or

¹ Pliny, N. H. xxx. 2.

² See Appendix XXXIII.

³ Diog. Laert. viii. II.

⁴ Ib.; τότε δ' ἐξαναστάντας [τοὺς Σελινουντίους] προσκυνεῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθαι καθάπερ θεῷ ταύτην οὖν θέλοντα διαβεβαιῶσαι τὴν ὑπόληψιν, εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐναλέσθαι. Cf. Hēraklēs at Agryium. There are other versions in the same chapter. Every one knows the lines of Horace.

⁵ See Appendix XXXIII.

had actually brought back from the dead, a woman of his own city, Pantheia by name. In the most extravagant form of the tale, she had been dead for thirty days, and her body had not seen corruption. The power of Empedoklēs, at once prophet and healer, restored her. But the wonder-worker, the candidate for godhead, had not lost his reverence for the elder gods. The miracle was fittingly followed by a sacrifice and a feast, to which as many as eighty guests were bidden. The banquet was held in an open place in the country abounding in trees. The guests withdrew to sleep, each where he thought good, under their branches¹. In the morning Empedoklēs was not among them. When he was sought for, a slave bore witness that at midnight he had heard the name of Empedoklēs called, and that he had seen a light from heaven and a flashing of torches, and that was all². Then his companions knew that their friend had received the reward for which he had so long waited. He had been taken away to the fellowship of the gods; they must now sacrifice to Empedoklēs himself as a god³. This seems to be a distinct story from that which told of his throwing himself into the great *crater*, with the grotesque incident of the brazen shoe. Truly hagiography has done its fullest work on the memory of one whose worthiest praise is that he legislated for his own city and fought for his own island. He only shared the fate of some others who loved

CHAP. VII.
Recovery
or resur-
rection of
Pantheia.

Feast of
thanks-
giving.

Apotheosis
of Empe-
doklēs.

¹ Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 11; μετὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χωρισθέντες ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς δένδροις ὡς ἀγροῦ παρακειμένους, οἱ δ' ὕπῃ βούλονται, αὐτὸς [the αὐτὸς of Empedoklēs is like that of Sōkratēs] δ' ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐφ' οὗπερ κατεκέκλικετο [namely at the feast].

² Ib.; ὡς ἡμέρας γενηθείσης ἐξανέστησαν, οὐχ εὐρέθη μόνος. ζητούμενον δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀνακρινόμενων καὶ φασκόντων μὴ εἶδέναι, εἰς τις ἔφη μέσων νύκτων φωνῆς ὑπερμεγεθοῦς ἀκοῦσαι προσκαλουμένης Ἑμπεδοκλέα, εἴτ' ἐξαναστὰς ἑωρακέναι φῶς οὐράνιον καὶ λαμπάδων φέγγος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν.

³ Ib.; τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ γενομένῳ ἐκπλαγέντων, καταβὰς ὁ Πανσανίας ἐπεμψέ τινας ζητήσοντας. ὕστερον δ' ἐκάλυψε πολυπραγμονεῖν, φάσκων εὐχῆς ἀξία συμβεβηκέναι καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ δεῖν καθαρῶς γεγονότι θεῷ.

CHAP. VII. righteousness and hated iniquity, when he died far away from his city and from his island, a banished man in a distant land.

General
state of
Greek
Sicily.

We have thus had to speak of a time when the Greek cities of Sicily were at once free, prosperous, and powerful, and comparatively little troubled by wars and quarrels within the island. No city of Sicily now held such a power as Syracuse had held under Gelôn or even as Akragas under Thêrôn. Instead of the dominion of one or two cities had come the freedom of many. And, while Sicily was seemingly untroubled by wars between Greek and Greek, more than one city could win glory both in and out of Sicily in warfare with the barbarians. And besides peace and physical well-being, the Sikeliot cities were winning honour by their great works and by the famous men whom they sent forth. Just at such a moment as this the fabric of Greek dominion in Sicily was threatened by a movement on the part of one of the native races of the island, a movement which has nothing like it recorded before or after.

§ 3. *The Enterprise of Ducetius*¹.

B. C. 459-440.

Earlier
notices of
DUCETIUS.

Of the Sikel chief Ducetius we have already heard as one of those allies of his nation who helped to win the

¹ To those who look at the history of Diodôros as made up of "transparent gauze" and "the fictions of later writers" this memorable chapter of Sicilian history may have all the charm of novelty. All that we know of Ducetius comes from the narrative of Diodôros, xi. 76, 78, 88-92, xii. 8, 29. One would be glad to have a better narrative; but we cannot afford to be otherwise than thankful for what we have. Neither Thirlwall nor Grote scorned such fare as is set before us. The man of Agyrium was evidently pleased with his subject, and did his best. I do not, like the higher critics, profess to know where he found every word; but I cannot think that he rolled up his Philistos at such a moment.

freedom of Syracuse and the other Greek cities. At one stage his presence has been recorded; at another we have inferred it from the unusual energy shown by the Sikels¹. He then appeared as an ally of Greek commonwealths, doubtless as deeming the commonwealths less dangerous to his own people than the tyrants. And so the single commonwealths of Sicily undoubtedly were, as compared with a great dominion like that of Hierôn or Thêrôn in the hands of a single man. But even single commonwealths like Syracuse and Akragas were dangerous in no small measure. They were growing in wealth and strength; a Sikel patriot who designed to do anything for his own people might be well advised to strike before they became stronger still. And Ducetius had withal a special grievance. One result of his own campaigns was that a Sikel town, that of Inêssa, had passed into Greek hands, and was now the second Hellenic Ætnâ². He now began to show openly, what he doubtless had long had in his mind, his schemes for uniting all the isolated Sikel communities of the island into one great Sikel power. Of that power he was doubtless himself to be the wielder. He seems to have aimed at the position of king over the whole island, or of so much of it as he could bring under the power of himself and his people.

The Sikels and the Greek commonwealths.

Inêssa now Greek.

Designs of Ducetius.

It is easy to see how dangerous a king of the Sikels, lord of an united Sikel kingdom, would be to every Greek city in Sicily. Yet it is possible that it might at the moment seem more dangerous than it really was. That is, it would seem to mean destruction, while it is most likely that in truth it meant only humiliation. It is hardly safe to connect the schemes of Ducetius with the advance of the Italian nations against the Greeks which happened a little later³. It is not clear that the movements of the

Not connected with the barbarian advance in Italy.

¹ See above, pp. 307, 321.

² See above, pp. 322, 323.

³ See Holm, i. 258.

CHAP. VII. Lucanians which tore away so large a part of the Greater Hellas from the Hellenic world had begun when Ducetius first formed his scheme of Sikel unity. It is certain that the fight of Laos had not been fought, that the men of Poseidônia had not yet to mourn that they had become barbarians¹, that Kymê, so lately delivered by the arms of Syracuse², still kept the Hellenic life that had been saved for her. Nor is there any reason to think that the schemes of Ducetius, if successful, would have involved any such results as came of the Italian advance on the mainland. The conditions were different. The Lucanians at least were simple barbarians from outside, and even the Samnites must have come under a far smaller measure of Hellenic influence than the Sikels. The Samnites might pick up something of Greek literature, art, and philosophy, exactly as the Romans did. But the national life, the political constitution, of the Samnite remained as untouched by Greek influences as did those of the Roman.

Different positions of Lucanians and Sikels.

Hellenization of the Sikels.

It was otherwise with the Sikels. Large as was the extent of territory which they still kept in the island, they were yet in some sort a remnant. Even to an independent Sikel community its Greek neighbours were something more than mere enemies. They were often masters; they were in any case models. Look on a hundred years or less, and a Sikel commonwealth, a Sikel tyranny, is hardly to be distinguished from a Greek commonwealth or a Greek tyranny. The process of assimilation had already begun. It had gone far enough to place the Sikel on quite another level from the Lucanian. A Sikel prince, seeking to make his people great at the expense of Greek neighbours, would assuredly look only for conquest; he would have no mind for destruction.

We just now spoke of the change wrought in the relations between Sikels and Greeks in Sicily within the next

¹ See above, p. 164.

² See above, p. 250.

hundred years. We shall better take in the position of our one great Sikel leader, if we look on for about the same space of time to another part of the world. The schemes and the failure of Ducetius may be better understood, if we look at them in the light of the schemes and the success of Philip. The plans of the Sikel could not have been very different from the plans of the Macedonian. It was only the political independence of the Greek cities to which either Ducetius or Philip was really threatening. Ducetius could have had no more thought than Philip had of rooting up Greek life and culture. His whole story, just like that of Philip, shows that he had entered into every side of Greek life except its political side. He would doubtless have rejoiced to make Syracuse or any other Greek city the capital of his kingdom. He would have made it the capital of what would be politically a Sikel kingdom. But it would be a Sikel kingdom, like the Macedonian kingdom of Philip or the Epeiriot kingdom of Pyrrhos, adorned and strengthened by all that the arts of Greece could supply to adorn and strengthen it. The schemes of Ducetius failed, and those of Philip succeeded, because Ducetius had not the strength of Philip, while the Sikeliot cities in the days of Ducetius had greater strength than the cities of Old Greece had in the days of Philip. Ducetius had far more to create at home before he could begin any work of aggression. Much as Philip created, he inherited much, enough to make a solid groundwork for his creation. Before he could enlarge his kingdom, he had to win it; but there was an established kingdom to be won, by him or by some other. To be King of the Macedonians had long been a definite place in the world; Philip simply made it a much greater place than it had been hitherto. But to be King of the Sikels was a place which Ducetius had to create for himself. The Sikels, in their many independent com-

CHAP. VII.

Comparison of Ducetius and Philip.

Likeness in their plans.

Different position of Ducetius and Philip.

CHAP. VII.
Political
condition
of the
Sikels.

munities, had most likely reached a much higher political level than the Macedonians. But for that very reason it was less easy for any prince or leader to make use of them to his own purposes. We know not what was the original position of Ducetius; we know not what was the political constitution of any Sikel community. His own position and that of Archônidês¹ may suggest that some at least of them had kings or princes; but there was assuredly no ruler among them at all like the King of the Macedonians or the King of the Molottians. The enlarged Macedonian kingdom which was needed for Philip's purposes had to be formed by the comparatively easy process of enlarging an existing whole. The Sikel kingdom which was needed for Ducetius' purposes had to be formed by the far harder process of gathering isolated atoms into one mass. Philip formed his machine, and then used it successfully. We know not whether Ducetius could have used his machine successfully; for his schemes broke down in the earlier stage of striving to form it.

Success of
Philip.

Partial
failure of
Ducetius.

Still there is a near likeness between the general positions of the two princes. For Ducetius to win dominion or influence over all Sicily as Philip won dominion or influence over Old Greece would have meant the political humiliation of many Greek cities, combined with a great enlargement of the range of every form of Greek life. In the case of Philip's success, the result was brought about by Philip himself and those who carried on his work. In the case of Ducetius' failure, one half of the result was carried out, but not by Ducetius. East of Hadria, where Macedonia fought its way to be reckoned as a Greek state and the ruling Greek state, Greek culture and Macedonian dominion went together. In Sicily the Sikels accepted Greek culture, but they did not, like the Macedonians, accept it at the hands of subjects or dependents. But this

¹ Diod. xii. 8; Thuc. vii. 1.

difference in the result should not blind us to the real likeness between the successful and the unsuccessful attempt. That mere difference of result seems to put Philip far beyond all comparison with Ducetius. Yet we can see that Philip started from very small beginnings. Macedonian dominion in Greece, even Macedonian interference in Greek affairs, were as little in men's thoughts when Philip began his career as Sikel dominion or interference could have been when Ducetius began his. And, meagre as are our accounts of the Sikel leader, it is perfectly plain that the greatest of Sikeliot cities found that he was an enemy who could not be despised. And if his schemes broke down, it was mainly because he had a harder work than Philip had to do among his own people.

The first appearance of Ducetius in a perfectly independent character, acting without Greek allies, comes before those internal and external events in the history of Syracuse which have been spoken of in the last section. He now appears by the lofty style of King of the Sikels¹. It is not likely that such a title can ever have formally belonged to him; as yet assuredly he cannot have been more than the king or prince of some part of his people. We hear of his lofty birth and of his personal renown, and before all things of the cities which he founded, which he moved from their sites, and which he won by weapons of war. The region of his birth and of his earliest foundations lies among the northern outposts of the Heraian hills. Among many confusions and corruptions of nomenclature, it is not easy to see whether Neæ or Menæ, the place of his birth, and Menænum, the first city of his founding, are one place or two². If they are distinct, they at least cannot have been far apart; and it may be that Ducetius simply so enlarged and strengthened the place of his own birth that he was in a lax way spoken of as its founder. Menænum at

Earlier
action of
Ducetius.

His birth-
place Neæ
or Menæ-
num.

¹ Diod. xi. 78. See above, p. 322.

² See Appendix XXXIV.

CHAP. VII. least, whether the birth-place of Ducetius or not, still lives
 Position of to preserve his memory¹. Mineo—the name has hardly
 Menænum changed—sits enthroned on one of the loftiest inhabited
 or Mineo. spots in Sicily, yielding perhaps only to Henna of the
 goddesses and to Troina of the Normans. It sits as if in
 rivalry of the Saracen post of Caltagirone to the west,
 a town perched on another mountain-top only just lower
 than its own. The hill of Menænum stands isolated, with
 deep ravines parting it from other heights to the east and
 west. To the west the river Menas, one of the many
 streams which go to swell the waters of Symaitos, flows
 beneath it. The combe to the east parts Mineo from the
 height which bears the Arabic name of Catalfaro, speaking
 of days when the city of Ducetius was assaulted and taken
 by the Saracen. The height is pierced with primæval
 Cave of tombs and dwellings, specially with one famous cave which,
 Saint Agrippina. in days between the Sikel and the Saracen, won for itself
 a name in the legend of the holy Agrippina². On this
 height some have placed the birth-place of Ducetius; he
 crossed the ravine to plant his new city on the greater hill
 to the east of it³. Be this as it may, the site on which
 he undoubtedly founded Menænum was one preeminently
 fitted to be the site of a strong city, as long as cities still
 sought no small part of their strength from heights rising
 to the clouds and from steep and ragged paths up which an
 enemy could make his way only with pain and weariness.
 The height of Mineo has two heads with a sinking be-
 tween them at the top of a deep gully on the north side.
 And the easternmost of these two rises again, on the side

¹ See Appendix XXXIV.

² We may come to Saint Agrippina in time. Her story, chiefly posthumous, is told in the *Vitæ Sanctorum Siculorum*, i. 79. The part that concerns us is at p. 82; “In locum qui dicitur Draphon pervenerunt. In eo loco spelunca est, castello cui Menæo nomen subjacens. In eo dæmones jam olim habitabant.” One sees it across the gorge from Mineo.

³ See Appendix XXXIV.

opposite to Catalfaro, into a higher point than all, one that might seem to call aloud to become the akropolis of a new city. CHAP. VII.

On these heights Ducetius planted the settlement which he perhaps already designed to be more than the stronghold of his immediate people, to be in truth the capital of his new-born Sikel dominion. There he has left his mark. Large remains of a mighty wall are still there, a wall in which we have every reason to believe that we see the work of the Sikel king. In the days of Ducetius we are no longer to look for such primæval work as the ancient walls of Cephalœdium¹. As the Goth at Carcassonne could call into his service all the arts of the Roman, so the Sikel at Menænum could call into his service all the arts of the Greek. Large pieces of what we trust is the work of Ducetius remain on the north side; and the line of the wall, not kept at one level but rising and falling with the windings of the hill, can be traced where the wall itself has perished. Where it is best preserved, it takes the shape of a scarpèd hill-side faced with masonry, which of course formed the lower part of the perfect wall. It is built of uncemented rectangular blocks, and is supported by solid towers in which a core of small stones is strengthened by masonry of the same kind. Not fifty years back the northern gate of Menænum had not yet wholly vanished; its side-posts at least were standing. We should be glad to know whether they had not in some later age, at the hands of Romans, Saracens, or Normans, been taught, like one of the gateways on Eryx, to bear the arch which the days of Ducetius knew not. This venerable relic was swept away at the making of the new zig-zag road up the hill, a road which has supplanted not a few steep and ancient paths, in one of which, carefully paved but not in Roman fashion, the hand of the Arab has been

Founda-
tion or
strengthening of
Menænum.
B. C. 459.

The wall of
Menænum.

Destruc-
tion of the
gateway.

¹ See vol. i. p. 142.

CHAP. VII. seen. Above all soars the akropolis; but there the work of the Sikel has yielded to a castle of comparatively modern times, itself now a shapeless ruin. The town itself contains little of interest of any date. A few plain pointed arches, some of them seemingly part of an aqueduct, suggest the thought of Saracen work, but they may just as well be later. He who climbs the height of Mineo can be led thither by hardly any other motive than to gaze on the great works of the Sikel and on the land on which the Sikel looked down from the height which he had made his own.

Outlook
from
Menænum.

From the hill of Menænum the eye ranges over a vast landscape, far and near. The immediate view is fenced in by the opposite range of hills; but above them rise not a few loftier points which must have spoken straight to the heart of a Sikel founder. He might look out on Henna, the chief seat of his religion, now perhaps to be looked on as the moral conquest of the Greek. On another side, the snows of Ætna rose above the other sacred homes of Hybla and Hadrans, still deities of his people. At the foot of Ætna lay that Inëssa which he had himself helped to hand over to the stranger, and which the founder of a Sikel power was above all things called on to win back for his own folk. But the most living and speaking sight of all was nearer, almost at the very threshold of his chosen home. Menænum saw at her feet the great plain between herself and the northern range of hills, a plain varied by not a few peaks and knolls, smooth and rocky. At the foot of the most marked of them lay that holy place which the Sikel might still most truly call his own. There was the sacred lake with its bubbling waters; there was the temple of the earth-born guardians of the Sikel land. If the goddesses of Henna had well nigh ceased to watch over his folk, the Palici were still his own. Protectors of the slave, protectors perchance of the Sikan bondman against

The
Temple of
the Palici.

the Sikel, it was to them that the founders of the revived Sikel power looked as his mightiest patrons against the encroaching Greek.

On that height, looking down on that plain, was for a while the dwelling-place of Ducetius, the centre of his power. The lands at its foot were parted out among the citizens of the new and enlarged city¹. From thence he went forth to bring, by persuasion or by arms, all the Sikel states of the island into one whole. Morgantia, no mean city among her fellows, deemed herself great enough to refuse to be either subject or confederate of the lord of Menænum². Morgantia yielded to the arms of Ducetius.

Beginning
of Duce-
tius' con-
quests.

On what terms it submitted, on what terms any of the other Sikel states submitted or were united, what were the exact relations between the Sikel king at Menænum and his subjects or allies throughout the island—on all these points, on which knowledge would be so precious, we are left in darkness. We only see that, in a space of about six years, the schemes of Ducetius with regard to his own people were all but fully carried out. All the Sikel states save one were joined into one body, and the language in which that body is described has a federal ring. It sounds as if the union was in form at least free and equal, as if Ducetius, prince of his own immediate people, was rather a president, a stadholder, a captain-general, over the other communities of his race³. One town alone withstood alike the persuasions and the arms of united *Sikelia*. The Galeatic Hybla, the Hybla by Ætna, the sacred city of the goddess of its own name, the home of the sage expounders of the dark riddles and dreams and visions⁴, kept aloof from the body of which Ducetius was the head. The exception is significant, and makes us specially

Morgantia
subdued.

Union of
the Sikel
states.

B.C. 459-
456.

Position of
Ducetius.

Galeatic
Hybla
stands
aloof.

¹ Diod. xi. 78; τὴν συνεγγὺς χώραν τοῖς κατοικοῖσθεσι διέμερισε.

² See Appendix XXXIV.

³ See Appendix XXXIV.

⁴ See vol. i. pp. 150, 516.

CHAP. VII. wish to hear something of the policy of Henna at such a moment. Was the home of Dêmêtêr and her Child already so fully hellenized that Henna is no longer thought of as a Sikel city? Was Hybla following in the same path? Had these Sikel holy places at which the Greek had learned to worship cooled in their Sikel patriotism? Were they less stirred than other spots on behalf of a prince with whom zeal for the most purely national shrine of the Sikel people was clearly a chief watchward of his cause?

Two foundations of Ducetius.

If we could venture to compose a motto in modern style for the royal or federal banner of the lord of Menænum, it would be "The Palici for free and united *Sikelia*." We have compared Ducetius and Philip. Each prince, in founding a new or vastly enlarged dominion, chose a new site as the immediate seat of that dominion. But what Philip did once Ducetius did twice. Each followed the law which seems to mark the advance of culture in the matter of sites. Each came down from the heights to the lower ground. But in the case of Ducetius ages seemed to pass in a single life-time, in less than a decade of years. Philip came down from the old seat of the kingship of his fathers; Ducetius came down from the seat of the kingship which he himself had called into at least a renewed being. As Philip moved the throne of advancing Macedonia from the mountain heights of Aigai to the marshy plain of Pella¹, so Ducetius moved the throne, if throne it was, of united *Sikelia* from the high place that he had chosen at Menænum to a physically lower site at its foot. Menænum had been chosen at the beginning of his career, by the chief of a single Sikel state, as the centre from which to bring the other Sikel states into brotherhood or subjection. It had done its work. The chief of the Sikel communities had now to choose a home and a centre for an united nation.

Philip comes down from Aigai to Pella.
Ducetius founds Palica.

B.C. 453.

¹ Dem. de Cor. 80. Pella before Philip was *χαρίον ἄδοξον καὶ μικρόν*.

We can believe that Ducetius looked forward to a day when he might plant his throne on the height of Akragas or in the Island of Syracuse. Some spot like these should be to him what Amprakia should in days to come be to the Molottian Pyrrhos. But as yet he had to seek, not an Amprakia but a Passarôn. While the Sikel realm or confederacy was still in its growth, it was fit that it should have a purely Sikel centre. And where should that centre be? From the ramparts of his earlier city he had looked down on the house and the fountains of the Great Twin Brethren of his people. In united *Sikelia* the spiritual centre of the nation should become its temporal centre also. Ducetius forsook the city on the height, his own city, the city of his own founding¹; he founded a new seat for his power in the plain below, in the immediate neighbourhood of the holy place. From the deities of that holy place it took its name. In the life-time and by the act of the founder of Menænum, Menænum yielded its place as the head of the Sikel realm to the altogether new foundation of Palica.

CHAP. VII.
Its connexion with the national gods.

The new city arose in the plain, in the immediate neighbourhood of the lake and temple of the brother gods. But it may well have stood in the plain, as opposed to the loftier heights on both sides, and yet have stood on one of the lower hills by which the surface of the plain is varied. All but immediately above the lake rises the most marked among them, a rocky peninsular height, joined by a narrow neck to a range of smoother hills. It shows the clearest signs of ancient occupation and of close connexion with the holy place. Its sides are full of tombs, some of them with carefully wrought doors, and roofs cut into the shape of the apparent cupola. At its foot passes an ancient road, doubtless a holy path for pilgrims to the temple; and the lines of a wall can be clearly traced stretching from the hill

Position of Palica.

¹ See Appendix XXXIV.

CHAP. VII. itself in the direction of the temple. If, as has been supposed with much likelihood, this rocky hill was the akropolis of Palica, we may see in this wall a device to bind the city to the sacred precinct, and to put it as it were bodily under the protection of the patron gods. On that spot most likely, at all events on some closely neighbouring site, the new city of Palica, the new head of the Sikel power, the second foundation of the Sikel king, was built and was strongly fortified¹. The city grew and flourished; but such was the turn taken by the affairs of its founder and of the whole Sikel people that it flourished only for a short season².

Uninterrupted progress of Ducetius.

Ducetius was now head of his own people, and among his own people he had shown himself strong enough both to build up and to pull down. It is strange that we hear nothing of any steps taken by any of the Greek cities to check his progress. One would have thought that Morgantia and Hybla would have sought and found help in some Greek quarter. And in truth, with a narrative so meagre as that now before us, it might be dangerous to say that they did not. Yet, if Greek and Sikel had met in arms at this stage of the story, it is hard to believe that any one who told it could have left out the fact. Now at last the time of conflict came between the elder and the newer folk of Eastern Sicily, and the blow came from the elder folk.

He takes Ætna.
B. C. 451.

One duty before all others was laid on the chief of united Sikelia. He had to undo a wrong done to his people in which he himself had borne a part. Sikel Inëssa had become Greek Ætna partly by the act of Ducetius. His first act in his new character was to win back this stronghold of his people so lately lost. We have no details, except that he took the town after slaying its

¹ See Appendix XXXIV.

² See Appendix XXXIV.

commander by craft ¹. Who was this commander? The word used might almost suggest that a Deinomenid prince was still reigning in the new Ætna ². If this were so, it might explain the fact that we hear of no action on the part of any other Greek state against the Sikel invader. The remnant of the tyrants might well be left to perish at any hands. But the Sikel prince soon showed that his objects were not bounded by the recovery of Inëssa. From that conquest he marched on to attack the second among the Greek powers of Sicily, and the second among them did not venture to withstand him without calling in the help of the first.

CHAP. VII.

He besieges Motyon.

The geography of the campaign is hopeless. Ducetius enters the Akragantine territory, and assaults a fortress called Motyon, which was defended by an Akragantine garrison ³. The site is unknown; the name, if we have its right form, strikes us by its likeness to the name of the famous Phœnician island. The chances are that Motyon and Motya are alike Sikan names kept on by the Greek in one case and by the Phœnician in the other ⁴. Ducetius laid siege to the place with a strong force, and the Akragantines refused to risk a battle against the Sikel invader till they had sought and received help from Syracuse. Ducetius now met the united forces of the two greatest Sikeliot cities in arms. Victory was

He defeats the Akragantines and Syracusans.

¹ Diod. xi. 91; Αἴτην κατέλαβετο, τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῆς δολοφονήσας.

² Ἡγούμενος is hardly an usual title for the magistrate of a commonwealth, and it is in this very sentence that Ducetius is called ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἔχων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

³ Ib.; εἰς τὴν Ἀκραγαντίνων χώραν ἀναξεύξας μετὰ δυνάμεως Μότυον φρουρούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων ἐπολιόρησε.

⁴ See vol. i. pp. 270, 562. Yet one cannot help thinking of the entry in Stephen of Byzantium; Μότυλαι Σικελίας φρούριον περὶ τὴν Μοτίην. Φίλιστος Σικελικῶν πεμπτῶ. That is just where Philistos would be telling the story of Ducetius. The fragment next before in Müller (i. 187) is Stephen's notice of Αἰθαλία, from the same book. That is, he there records the Syracusan expedition which we spoke of in p. 337. One knows not what confusion may lurk in Μότυλαι and περὶ τὴν Μοτίην.

CHAP. VII. with the Sikel, and Syracusans and Akragantines were both driven from their camps¹. The conqueror pressed his advantage so far that Motyon yielded to its Sikel besiegers²; but winter was coming on, and both Greeks and Sikels withdrew within their several territories³. At Syracuse we hear the same story as after the first Etruscan expedition⁴. Truly or falsely, the cry of treason was raised. It was a cry at once so likely to be true and so likely to be raised though it were not true, that, in the absence of further details, we can only say that it was raised, and successfully raised. Bolkôn, the Syracusan general who had gone to the relief of Motyon, was arraigned on a charge of having been in league with Duce-tius, and of having wilfully caused the defeat. On this charge he was convicted and put to death⁵.

Condem-
nation of
Bolkôn.
B. C. 451-
450.

Campaign
of B. C. 450.

This is the second time within a few years that a Syra-cusan commander is condemned for treason in his command. In both cases his successor, whether more wisely chosen or warned by his fate, more than retrieves the losses brought about by the fault of his predecessor. When war-time began again, another Syracusan general, whose name is not given, was sent forth with orders to fight against Ducetius and to overthrow him⁶. Syracuse now takes the

¹ Diod. xi. 91; τῶν δὲ Ἀκραγαντίνων ἐπιβοηθησάντων, συνάψας μάχην καὶ προτερήσας, ἐξήλασεν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων. Here we must take to conjecture. The substitution of Συρακοσίαν for Ἀκραγαντίνων, or, perhaps better, the insertion of καὶ Συρακοσίαν after Ἀκραγαντίνων, is called for both by the word ἀμφοτέρους and by what follows. Either mistake is an easy one.

² This is implied directly after.

³ Diod. u. s.; τότε μὲν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνισταμένου, διεχωρίσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. See next page, note 5.

⁴ See above, p. 336.

⁵ Diod. u. s.; τῆς ἡττῆς αἴτιον ὄντα καὶ δόξαντα λάθρα συμπράττειν τῷ Δουκετίῳ, καταδικάσαντες ὡς προδότην ἀπέκτειναν.

⁶ Ib.; θέρους ἀρχομένου στρατηγὸν ἕτερον κατέστησαν, ᾧ δύναμιν ἀξιόλο-γον δόντες, προσέταξαν καταπολεμῆσαι Δουκέτιον. In a more careful writer than Diodôros we should understand these words of a single general like

foremost part in the war; the Akragantines seem to do no more than besiege their own fortress of Motyon, now held by a Sikel garrison¹. Ducetius meanwhile raised another army, an easy task no doubt after the victory of the last year. The Syracusan host, a greater one, it would seem, than that which had been led by Bolkôn, found him encamped at a place whose site is unknown, but whose name is given as Nomai². It speaks much for the generalship of Ducetius, and for his influence over his people, that he had, as it would seem, kept his force together through the winter. Armies such as his must have been more apt, after a victory no less than after a defeat, to insist on going back, each man to his own home³. A battle now followed between Sikels and Syracusans, a hard-fought battle in which it was only after long striving that the military skill of Greece had the better. The Sikel host gave way and fled; the Syracusans followed and slew many in the pursuit⁴. And now a defeated general could no longer keep his force together; the more part of the confederate host of united Sikelia was scattered abroad⁵. A few only kept up stouter

CHAP. VII.

Defeat of
Ducetius
by the
Syracusan-
s.

that of the Achaian League. But we know nothing of the military arrangements of Syracuse at this moment. At a later time there were fifteen generals.

¹ See next page, note 2.

² *Nomai* is quite unknown, but there seems no reason to change the name into *Mevai* or *Noai*.

³ See Norman Conquest, vol. i. p. 387.

⁴ The words of Diodôros show the good fight made by the Sikels; *γενομένης παρατάξεως μεγάλης καὶ πολλῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέρους πιπτόντων, μάλιστα Συρακόσιοι βιασάμενοι τοὺς Σικελούς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ κατὰ φυγὴν πολλοὺς ἀνέϊλον*.

⁵ The words are, *τῶν διαφυγόντων οἱ πλείους εἰς τὰ φρούρια τῶν Σικελῶν διεσώθησαν*. From what follows it would seem that no special military emphasis is to be laid, as one would naturally have expected, on the word *φρούρια*. Diodôros seems to use it as he might have used *πόλεις* or *κώμας*. Ducetius would hardly have sunk into such despair if a number of garrisons were holding out for him. We may therefore fairly contrast this scattering with the words used before, after his victory of Greeks and Sikels alike,

CHAP. VII.
Motyon
recovered
by the
Akragan-
tines.

hearts for a while; they still threw in their lot with Ducetius, and still shared his hopes¹. Meanwhile Motyon was won back by its besiegers, and the victorious army of Akragas came to join the victorious army of Syracuse in face of the small remnant that still surrounded the Sikel king².

Failure
of the
plans of
Ducetius.

Never was a cause which a moment before had seemed so promising more thoroughly crushed. Never was a strong heart more cruelly constrained to give way before events which were too mighty for it. We are indeed inclined to wonder that Ducetius gave way so suddenly, that he made no further attempt to get together a fresh army. With no details to throw any light on the story, we can only suppose that a man who was capable of such energetic action as Ducetius showed himself before and afterwards did not despair, even for the moment, without reason. We are tempted to think of our own Ælfred in his shelter at Athelney, and how soon victory came back to the banners of a people who had been scattered even without a defeat. But the Wessex of Ælfred, far as it was from the unity of a modern state, might pass for a well-established and united power by the side of the confederacy of yesterday which had been called into being by the genius of Ducetius himself. The isolated tribes and towns of his people had been brought together by his bright promises. They were kept together by a brilliant victory and a successful siege. They fell asunder as soon as victory was once exchanged

διεχωρίσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. After the victory all the armies went into winter-quarters, but the Sikel army remained an army; now it fell to pieces.

¹ Diod. xi. 91; ὀλίγοι δὲ μετὰ Δουκετίου τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων μετέχειν προείλοντο.

² We now learn what the Akragantines had been doing; we even learn for the first time that Ducetius had actually taken Motyon; Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τὸ Μότυον φρούριον κατεχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ Δουκετίου Σικελῶν ἐξεπολιόρκησαν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀπαγαγόντες πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους νενικηκότες ἤδη κοινῇ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν.

for defeat. And, however low the fortunes of Ælfred fell, there was at least no treason in the little band that still clave to him. But with Ducetius even those who had chosen his hopes as the better part began presently to fall away from him. Some forsook him; some plotted against him; at last even his own familiar friends whom he trusted seemed ready to raise their hands against him¹. In such a strait, he deemed it safer to trust to the mercy of his enemies.

CHAP. VII.

His followers forsake him.

We must suppose that the two armies of Syracuse and Akragas were still in the field, though where and how occupied we have no means of guessing. The traitors in the camp of Ducetius, if camp he still had, would most likely have given him up to the Greek commanders. The Sikel prince, as his last hope, resolved to risk an appeal to the generosity and the religious scruples of a Greek people. Of the two enemies that were arrayed against him, he chose the one which seemed likely to look on him with less hostile eyes than the other. His enterprise had been immediately directed against Akragas; he does not seem to have harried any lands or stormed any forts in the territory of Syracuse. Our one meagre geographical hint would suggest that the unnamed scene of the plots against him was at least a good deal nearer to Syracuse than to Akragas. Suddenly then, in the night, before his false friends could do aught against him, Ducetius mounted his horse and rode straight for Syracuse. A single night—we are not told in what month; we may guess in the late autumn—was enough for the journey; he reached Syracuse while it was still dark. How he made his way through the gate we are not told. He could doubtless speak good Doric Greek, and he might pass himself off as one from the Syracusan

He determines to trust the Syracusans.

He rides to Syracuse.

¹ Diod. xi. 91. He is painted as διὰ τὴν ἥτταν τοῖς ὕλοις συντριβεῖς . . . εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἦλθεν ἀπόγνωσιν.

CHAP. VII. army. The gate must have been the gate of Achradina, the gate that leads straight to the *agora* of Syracuse, the open space in the outer city¹. There the meeting-place of the Syracusan people was hallowed by the altars of the gods of Syracuse. Before those altars the fallen king of the Sikels seated himself, and proclaimed to gods and men —there must have been some mortal hearers—that he made himself the suppliant of the city. In solemn form he handed over himself and all the land over which he ruled to the will of the Syracusan people². The war was over indeed; its leading spirit had by a voluntary *deditio* given himself over to his enemies. He had made himself theirs to deal with as they listed, remembering always that the suppliant was under the care of Zeus, and that he who wronged him must be ready to bear the wrath of his Erinnys³.

He becomes a suppliant at the altar in the *agora*.

The news spread through all Syracuse. With the daylight the people crowded together into the *agora*, to see a sight so wonderful as that of the dreaded Sikel king sitting as an unarmed suppliant in their own city⁴. To keep order and to give a legal character to any act that might be done, the magistrates at once summoned an

The Syracusan assembly.

¹ Diod. xi. 92; τέλος δὲ θεωρῶν τοὺς ὑπολοίπους φίλους μέλλοντας αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας προσφέρειν, φθάσας αὐτοὺς καὶ νυκτὸς διαδράς ἀφίππενυσεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας, ἔτι δὲ νυκτὸς οὔσης παρήλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν Συρακοσίων. See above, p. 140.

² Ib.; καθίσας ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἱκέτης ἐγένετο τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐαντόν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἧς ἦν κύριος παρέδωκε τοῖς Συρακοσίοις. Cf. the alleged *deditio* of Thérôn, in Appendix XXIII.

³ On the *ἱκέτης* there is much to be found in K. O. Müller, Eumenides, 51. If the *ἱκέτης* was strictly a man-slayer seeking purification, Ducetius might well, in Syracusan eyes, be so deemed. But without going into such mysteries, we all know how (Od. xiv. 57)

πρὸς Διὸς εἰσιν ἅπαντες

ξεῖνοί τε πτωχοί τε,

and how (xvii. 476)

πτωχῶν γε θεοὶ καὶ ἐριννύες εἰσιν.

⁴ Diod. u. s.; τοῦ δὲ πλήθους διὰ τὸ παράδοξον συβρέοντος εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν.

extraordinary assembly of the people¹. The crowd be-
 came an orderly body; slaves and strangers must have
 withdrawn; the citizens of Syracuse took their places in
 whatever was the usual order. Proclamation was now
 made of the subject of debate. The people of Syracuse was
 called on to vote what should be done with Ducetius, with
 the suppliant sitting there in the holy place before their
 eyes². In trying to call up some likeness of this me-
 morable debate, we must remember the cruel usages of
 Greek warfare, even when waged against other Greeks,
 how common a thing it was to slay or enslave vanquished
 enemies by hundreds and thousands. On the other hand,
 it sometimes needs a harder heart to slay one man
 than to slay a thousand, and we must further remember
 the awful religious sanctions under which Ducetius had
 placed himself. From his place by the altar he heard
 men arguing whether it were good that he should
 live or that he should die. Speakers were not lacking
 either on the side of vengeance or on the side of mercy.
 Syracuse had her nameless Kleóns and her nameless
 Diodotoi. We may perhaps detect some touches of a
 pen hostile to democracy when we read how the orators
 to whom the people were wont to listen, the demagogues
 in short, demanded that Ducetius should be dealt with as
 an enemy, how they enlarged on his evil deeds toward
 Syracuse, and called for a fitting vengeance on him who
 had wrought them³. On the other hand, the worthiest
 and noblest of the elders of Syracuse gave their voices to
 save the suppliant, to respect the turns of fortune, and to

CHAP. VII.
 Debate
 over Duce-
 tius.

Arguments
 for mercy.

¹ Diod. xi. 92; οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες συνήγαγον ἐκκλησίαν.

² Ib.; προέθηκαν βουλὴν περὶ τοῦ Δουκετίου τί χρὴ πράττειν. In a more careful writer than Diodóros one would ask the exact force of the word βουλή. Could there have been time for the vote of the Senate—which the word suggests—which would regularly go before that of the assembly?

³ Ib.; ἔνιοι τῶν δημηγορεῖν εἰωθότων συνεβούλευον κολάζειν ὥς πολέμιον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιθεῖναι τιμωρίαν.

CHAP. VII. reverence the *Nemesis* of the gods¹. The question, they said, was, not how Ducetius deserved to be dealt with, but how it became the honour of Syracuse to deal with him². To slay the man whom fortune had overthrown was not consistent with that honour; to save the suppliant, to respect the guardianship of the gods who protected him, was alone worthy of a generous and high-souled people³. Thus appealed to on the side of their best feelings, the assembled people of Syracuse gave no uncertain answer. The vote was given by acclamation. One cry from every side rang through the clear air of Syracuse; one sound lighted on the ear of the man who was waiting for his doom of life or death. That cry was "Save the suppliant⁴." The better reason this time won the day in the heart of the Syracusan democracy. It might no less have won the day in the heart of a high-souled prince, of Ducetius himself in his days of power. Can we deem that it would have had equal strength with a narrow oligarchy debating in its secret chamber?

Unanimous vote to "save the suppliant."

Ducetius sent to Corinth.

Ducetius was saved from death by the vote of the popular assembly. We do not know whether it was the vote of that day's assembly or of some later gathering, either of the people or of some smaller body of senators or magistrates, which fixed his further destiny. That destiny

¹ Diod. xi. 92; οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παρόντες ἀπεφαίνοντο σώζειν τὸν ἰκέτην, καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν νέμεσιν τῶν θεῶν ἐντρέπεσθαι.

² Ib.; δεῖν γὰρ σκοπεῖν οὐ τί παθεῖν ἀξιός ἐστι Δουκέτιος, ἀλλὰ τί πρέπει πρᾶξαι Συρακοσίοις.

³ Ib.; ἀποκτείνειν γὰρ τὸν πεπτωκότα τῇ τύχῃ μὴ προσῆκον, σώζειν δ' ἅμα τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὸν ἰκέτην ἀξιόν ἐστι τῆς τοῦ δήμου μεγαλοψυχίας. This is a higher ground than any taken by Diodotos, if we could be only sure that this was the line taken. The form of the vote looks like it.

⁴ Ib.; ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ὥσπερ μὲν φωνῇ, σώζειν παντόθεν ἐβόα τὸν ἰκέτην. Has the word παντόθεν a special force? It would seem (Thuc. vi. 13) that at Athens men of the same class or party sat together in the assembly. If it was so at Syracuse, it would seem that right, centre, and left, all agreed.

Others for παντόθεν read ἅπαντες ἐβόων. I certainly prefer παντόθεν.

was a remarkable one. Ducetius, though allowed to live, CHAP. VII. could hardly be allowed to live at large in Syracuse, or, at present at least, anywhere in Sicily. And the suppliant of the gods could not well be kept in prison. The tie between metropolis and colony supplied a means of providing him with a dwelling-place which should be at once safe and honourable. Changed and mixed as the population of Syracuse had been during the last fifty years, the new-comers of all kinds had adopted the traditions of the soil; all held themselves for colonists of Corinth no less than the descendants of the comrades of Archias. The mother-city was ready to help her daughter; Corinth undertook to keep the suppliant of Syracuse. Ducetius was sent to dwell at Corinth, with a maintenance supplied him at the cost of Syracuse¹. We are not told on what terms he was to dwell there; but it is clear from what follows that he promised to live quietly in his new abode and not to meddle with the affairs of Sicily². The tenor of the story seems equally to show that his position at Corinth was that of a guest honourably treated, but whose movements were doubtless carefully watched. That such a home should have been chosen for the fallen Sikel His Greek
connexions. prince seems of itself to show, and the rest of the tale shows yet more clearly, how largely he, and doubtless many of his countrymen with him, must have been brought under the influence of Greek culture. A mere barbarian would have been utterly out of place in a city like Corinth. Ducetius clearly made many Greek friends, and showed himself fully capable of entering into the general run of Greek politics.

¹ Diod. xi. 92; Συρακόσιοι ἀπολύσαντες τῆς τιμωρίας τὸν Δουκέτιον ἰκέτην ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, καὶ ἐνταῦθα προστάξαντες καταβιοῦν τὴν ἱκανὴν αὐτῷ χορηγίαν συναπέστειλαν.

² We read in xii. 8 that Ducetius, when he left Corinth, τὰς ὁμολογίας ἔλυνσε. There is no mention of the promise in the earlier account; but it is implied.

CHAP. VII.

Five years
blank ;

B. C. 451-
446.

Ducetius
founds
Kalê Aktê.
B. C. 446.

For about five years Sicilian affairs are blank ; then they suddenly take an unexpected turn. Ducetius shows himself once more in Sicily, but this time in a new part of the island, and in a new character. At the bidding, as he gave out, of the gods, he went forth from Corinth, at the head of a body of settlers, to found a new city in Sicily¹. The site chosen was on that northern coast which the Greeks had for the most part strangely neglected, and of which his own people had certainly not made the most. In that long stretch of land which lies east of Greek Himera, east of Sikel Cephalœdium, and west of the Messanian outpost of Mylai, no town had as yet arisen immediately on the coast. Sikel strongholds looked down from the hills, and that was all². But the site chosen by Ducetius was one that had already drawn to itself the thoughts of men who were planning new settlements. It was on the Fair Shore that Skythês of Zanklê had offered to find homes for those Samians and other Ionians who so unthankfully turned against him and his city³. A Greek prince had then proposed to occupy the spot with Greeks at the expense of Sikels. A Sikel prince was now to occupy it with a mixed company of Sikels and Greeks. No site could be less like either of the earlier foundations of Ducetius. It was a contrast indeed between the Fair Shore on the northern coast and his first hill city of Menænum. And there was hardly more likeness between his new home and Palica on the low height in the plain, hard by the holy lake of the Sikel gods. Ducetius had not sojourned at Syracuse and dwelled at Corinth for nothing. He had learned that, in the new state of things in which his lot was cast, cities were not to arise either on inland heights or in inland plains, but on

Compari-
son with
his earlier
founda-
tions.

Change in
his plans.

¹ Diod. xii. 8 ; *προσποιησάμενος χρησμὸν ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐαυτῷ δεδύσθαι κτίσαι τὴν Καλὴν Ἀκτὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ*. Did both Delphoi and Olympia speak ?

² See vol. i. p. 144.

³ See above, p. 169.

spots where they could have the full advantage of the watery ways. Ducetius took up the plans of Skythês, and the city of the Fair Shore, *Kalê Aktê*, cut short into *Calacta* in later times, arose at his bidding. CHAP. VII.

The place deserved its name. It is a shore, and a fair shore, though it is hardly an *aktê* in the sense in which that name was applied to the sickle-like peninsulas which sheltered the havens of Motya and Zanklê. It is an open shore, the shore of one of several bays within bays which hinder the northern coast of Sicily from being a mathematical right line. The headland of Cefalù stands out to the west; the headland of Orlando stands out to the east. Between them two far smaller headlands fence in a small bay with a marked curve, a little to the east of the stream that now bears the name of Caronia. Here is the Fair Shore. Its special feature is that at this point the hills, here not rugged mountains but hills of moderate height and green with their rich culture, come close down to the shore. At a very little way off on each side, the hills fall back from the shore, leaving more or less of flat ground between their feet and the sea. Hard by to the west there is a large space of low and swampy ground between the hills and the water. Here at Kalê Aktê there is a mere beach between them and no more. The city, we may be sure, sloped down from these gentle hills to the very edge of the sea. One of those hills, rising just above the bay, low and green above its fellows, may have been the akropolis of the city of Ducetius. We feel sure that his settlement had no part or lot in the modern Caronia, the nearest existing representative of Kalê Aktê. That town crowns a point a good deal further inland and of far greater height. It has given its name to the wood of Caronia, the greatest in Sicily, once at least spreading far and wide along the coast and over the neighbouring hills. But the wood has retreated

Site of
Kalê Aktê.

Caronia
and its
wood.

CHAP. VII. inland. The traveller who follows the modern road between Richness of the hills and the sea sees little of it. But he marks the the coast.

rich cultivation of the hill-sides, and here and there less accustomed sights meet his eyes. Besides figs and oranges, trees are seen which neither Greek nor Sikel looked on as good for human food. Besides the less unusual pine, we light now and then on the oak which was once common to the great island of the Mediterranean with the great island of the Ocean.

Gradual
advance
in the
founda-
tions of
Ducetius.

Here then the Sikel prince, in the second stage of his career, planted the third of the towns of which he was the founder. It was the crowning work of his life. Ducetius was a scientific colonist, a master in the art of planting men and founding cities. Each of his foundations was an advance upon the one before it. The city on the inland hill-top, the city in the inland plain, the city on the Fair Shore by the northern sea, mark three stages of national growth. They were stages which might have taken many generations; but Ducetius led his people through all within

Relation of
Kalê Aktê
to the
Sikel
movement.

a few years. The only question is whether his foundation of Kalê Aktê can be looked on as a stage of national growth. It had a Sikel founder, and many Sikel colonists¹; but it had not, as Menænum and Palica had, anything to do with the hopes of a reviving and united Sikel nation. It was the personal foundation of Ducetius rather than a settlement of the Sikel people. In fact the new city must have been practically a Greek foundation. We cannot conceive that any Sikels had made their way to Corinth along with their chief, and now come back to Sicily with him. The companions with whom Ducetius set forth from Corinth must have been Greek, and, we may suppose, mainly

¹ Diod. xii. 8; κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον μετὰ πολλῶν οἰκητόρων· συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Σικελῶν τινες, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Ἀρχανίδης ὁ τῶν Ἐρβιταίων δυναστεύων. The πολλοὶ οἰκήτορες must have been Greek, and the Σικελῶν τινες may imply that the Greek element prevailed. Anyhow it would be Greek in the sense that a city founded by Philip was Greek.

Corinthian. His Sikel followers and helpers must have joined him after he came back to Sicily. It was the Greek colonists who would undoubtedly give the settlement its character. To this Ducetius was no more likely to object than any Seleukos or Ptolemy of later times in founding a Seleukeia or a Ptolemais. He had perhaps found out what was to be the destiny of his people. He may have learned that the best thing that he could do for his Sikels was to help them to become Greeks.

Among the Sikels who gave Ducetius help was one who lived to have his name recorded in the history of events which are known to many to whom Ducetius himself is hardly a name. This was Archônidês, the Sikel prince of Herbita¹. His name points to some measure of Greek culture as already prevailing in his city and family. He would seem to be the Hellenic *archôn*, while his yoke-fellow is the Sikel or Latin *dux*. His town of Herbita stands inland². Kalê Aktê was the nearest available haven; that spot of coast may well have lain within his dominions. One would specially like to know on what terms Archônidês and Ducetius acted together in an enterprise which might well have seemed dangerous to the prince of the inland town. We know only that Archônidês survived Ducetius; but it seems that Ducetius lived long enough to bring the new settlement to perfection. The Sikel king had founded a Greek colony, or rather a colony in which the distinction of Greek and Sikel was not to be regarded.

CHAP. VII.
The colony more Greek than Sikel.

Archônidês of Herbita.

Relations between Herbita and Kalê Aktê.

It is by no means clear how the events in which Ducetius and Archônidês played their parts came to happen at all. Ducetius, we are told, broke his promise. But he could not have broken it in the way that he did, he could not have sailed from Corinth to Sicily at the head of a

Relations of the settlement to Syracusans and Corinth;

¹ See Thuc. vii. 1.

² See vol. i. p. 147.

CHAP. VII. force capable of undertaking the plantation of a colony, unless he had help, or at least connivance, from the two great cities in whose joint keeping he might be said to have been placed. He and his comrades could not have sailed from Corinth against the will of the commonwealth of Corinth, and the commonwealth of Corinth could have no conceivable motive for letting them go unless it was known that such a course would be acceptable to the commonwealth of Syracuse. But what interest could Syracuse have in bringing back Ducetius to Sicily? Was he thought to be tamed down to act as an instrument for Syracusan purposes, much as when Rienzi the Tribune went back to Rome as Rienzi the Senator? What immediately follows might suggest that he was expected in some way to promote the interests of Syracuse as against those of Akragas. But how was either city affected by his schemes? One would have thought that the interests of both cities were in this matter the same. Any growth of Sikel power was dangerous in a general way both to Syracuse and to Akragas; but the particular settlement at Kalê Aktê was not directly threatening to either. If we only had the story told by Thucydides, with a speech or two in the Syracusan and the Akragantine assembly, then we might answer these questions. As it is, we can only record events of which we do not fully understand the causes ¹.

its rela-
tions to
Akragas.

Offence
taken by
Akragas.

Friendly
relation
between
Syracuse
and Akra-
gas.

Thus much is certain, that the return of Ducetius gave offence at Akragas, and that at Akragas the blame of his return was laid to the charge of Syracusan intrigue. Since the Sikeliot cities won back their freedom, we have heard wonderfully little of any wars or quarrels among them. Above all, the two great cities just mentioned, beyond all doubt the first and second among the Greek commonwealths of Sicily, had been on terms of outward friendship

¹ See Appendix XXXV.

ever since the fall of the tyrants of Akragas¹. In the war with Ducetius, Syracuse, less immediately threatened, had given ready and powerful help to Akragas. It was by Syracusan arms that Ducetius himself had been overthrown. But we now hear hints of a general feeling of grudge on the part of Akragas towards Syracuse. This is a feeling which, in any body of neighbouring states, is almost certain to spring up on the part of the power which is second towards the power which hinders it from being the first. Such a feeling easily finds opportunities on which to seize, and they were certainly not wanting in the present case. We hear the complaint, assuredly not now made for the first time, that in a joint war, waged by Syracuse and Akragas against a common enemy, Syracuse had let that enemy go without any consultation with Akragas². The enemy was not only let go; he had come back, again to play an active part in Sicily. It is not said, but it is surely implied, that Syracuse had at least winked at his coming back. Some negotiations must have gone on before the final step; but all that we hear is that Akragas declared war against Syracuse, and that the Sikeliot cities were split into two camps, some taking part with Akragas and some with Syracuse³. Of this most important war, important as the first letting out of strife among the free and independent Greek commonwealths of Sicily, all that we hear is that a battle was fought by the banks of the southern Himeras, in which the Syracusans had the better. A thousand men of the citizens and allies of Akragas were slain⁴. An Akragantine

CHAP. VII.
Akragantine complaints against Syracuse.

Akragas declares war and is defeated.
c. B. C. 445.

¹ See above, pp. 297, 307.

² Diod. xii. 8; ἅμα μὲν φθονοῦντες τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, ἅμα δ' ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὅτι Δουκέτιον ὄντα κοινὸν πολέμον διέσωσαν ἀνευ τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνων γνώμης.

³ Ib.; Ἀκραγαντῖνοι . . . πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, σχιζομένων δὲ τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων, καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς Ἀκραγαντίνοις, τῶν δὲ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις συστρατευόντων. Σικελικαὶ πόλεις here must surely mean, as it would in the days of Diodōros, Sikeliot rather than Sikel, or rather Sicilian without distinction of race. Cf. above, p. 36, ⁴ Ib.

CHAP. VII. embassy then went to Syracuse and asked for peace. Peace was made, on what terms we are not told¹.

Peace, but
constant
rivalry,
between
Akragas
and Syra-
cuse.

From this time Syracuse and Akragas stand out distinctly as rival, sometimes as hostile cities, each not uncommonly appearing with its own following of allies among the other Sikeliot commonwealths. The most natural line of cleavage among those commonwealths would have been drawn according to their Dorian or Ionian origin. But that line was disturbed, greatly to the advantage of the Ionian minority, by this rivalry between the first and second among the Dorian cities. We should therefore have been specially well pleased to have a list of the allies of each in this first debate between them in the character of independent commonwealths.

Later
plans of
Ducetius.

Meanwhile Ducetius went on with his work. Akragas could not hinder him; Syracuse, it would seem, had no mind to hinder him. At Kalê Aktê he made himself a new seat of dominion and a strong one. Ducetius and his city became again a power in the island². That he had chosen his site well and carried out his measures wisely is shown by the fact that for ages to come Kalê Aktê kept its place among the cities of Sicily³. It would even seem that, having again climbed up thus far, Ducetius sought once more to climb again higher still, and that he planned to make sea-faring Kalê Aktê, as he had once made inland Menænum

¹ Diod. xii. 8; μετὰ τὴν μάχην διαπρεβευσασμένων περὶ συνθέσεως τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων, οἱ Συρακόσιοι συνέθεντο τὴν εἰρήνην. Cf. c. 26.

² Ib. 29; Δουκέτιος ὁ γεγωνὺς τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων ἡγεμὼν τὴν τῶν Καλακτίνων πατρίδα κατέστησε καὶ πολλοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν οἰκίζων οἰκήτορας.

³ It plays no part in history, but that it was often in men's mouths is shown by the contracted form which it took both in Greek and Latin; Calacta, Cic. Verr. iii. 45, and Silius, xiv. 251 (where the old reading "litus piscosa Melacte" has been naturally changed into "Calacte"), and in Ptolemy's Καλάκτα (iii. 4. 1). In Greek we see it also in the gentile form used by Diodōros in the last note (see Amico, Fazello, i. 387), which is also that of the late copper coins, ΚΑΛΑΚΤΙΝΩΝ. Athenaios however (vi. 104) falls back on Καλὴ Ἀκτὴ.

and Palica, the seat of a general Sikel confederacy¹. Yet CHAP. VII. one would think that experience must have given his new schemes a somewhat different character from the old ones. He might still, and not unreasonably, dream of making himself again a power in the land; but he could hardly dream of finding for himself a royal seat in any of the great Greek cities. He must have become more and more convinced that the Sikel people could become great only by ceasing to be Sikel. But, whatever were his schemes, he His death. was cut off by sickness in the midst of them². His great B.C. 440. plans were never carried out; his second plan, whatever form it took, was never even begun. But he had done something. He had at least left his mark on the map of Sicily, as founder of three cities. Of those cities two lived on, and one of them still lives on under the name that he gave to it³.

The one that abides is his earliest, his most primitive His cities. foundation, Mineo on its hill-top. Palica has vanished; so has Kalê Aktê. It is only in the most indirect way that Caronia can be said to represent it. It has in some sort taken its place, and that is all. A time came when, except in the greatest and strongest cities, men began again to dread the sea, as they had done when Athens and Corinth still abode on their earliest hill-tops. Then Calacta passed away, and Caronia arose. The Kalê Aktê
and Ca-
ronia. modern traveller misses the city on the Fair Shore as he makes his way along the coast line between Cefalù and Patti, a road on which he is tempted to say, with the knight in the old ballad,

"If criage should me befall,
I am far from any good town."

¹ Diod. xii. 29; ἀντεποιήσατο τῆς τῶν Σικελῶν ἡγεμονίας.

² Ib.; μεσολαβηθεὶς νόσφ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε.

³ See Holm, i. 261. He adds; "Die Einwirkung des Duketios auf sein Land ist eine nachhaltigere gewesen, als die des mächtigen Hieron, dessen Schöpfungen seinen Tod kaum überdauerten."

CHAP. VII. The city of Ducetius, above all if it preserved any memorials of Ducetius, would be welcomed as a friendly halting-place. As it is, we have to seek for the great Sikel on his inland mountain-top, where his works do indeed abide.

Fate of
Palica.

Of the foundations of Ducetius, the second, the most interesting of the three, that to which he gave the name of the ancient deities of his people, was the first to pass away. But it is the one that connects itself with the Sicilian history of the time. Palica has not lived on to our own time, like Menænum; it did not even live on to find a place in later records like Kalê Aktê. When the Syracusans saw that Ducetius was again beginning to plan greater things, they felt that they had not done wisely

Archônîdês
after the
death of
Ducetius.

in bringing him back. There was doubtless no man among the Sikels fully fit to take the place of Ducetius; but Archônîdês, his yoke-fellow at Kalê Aktê, must have been a man of energy and policy¹. It may be that it was the prospect of the schemes of Ducetius being carried on by another Sikel leader which led Syracuse to wage warfare against the independent Sikels at this time. It can hardly fail to have been now that the Palica of Ducetius was swept away², and that his conquest of Morgantia came, as we find it at a later time, into Syracusan hands³. But it must be mere exaggeration which says that Syracuse conquered all the Sikel towns⁴; we shall see plenty of them independent a few years later. Of one alone we have any distinct record, the town that bears the same name as all Sicily⁵. Trinakia is described to us as at this time a powerful Sikel state, the head of

War of
Syracuse
against the
Sikels.
c. B. C. 439.

Siege of
Trinakia.

¹ He is spoken of respectfully by Thucydides (see above, p. 381), but his dominion must have been a small part only of that of Ducetius. He was τῶν ταύτῃ [by Himera] Σικελῶν βασιλεύων τινῶν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἀδύνατος.

² See Diod. xi. 91, and Appendix XXXIV.

³ See Thuc. iv. 65.

⁴ Diod. xii. 29; Συρακόσιοι πάσας τὰς τῶν Σικελῶν πόλεις ὑπηκόους ποιησάμενοι πλὴν τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Τρινακίης.

⁵ See vol. i. pp. 158, 511, and Appendix XXXIV.

the Sikel states, full of valiant men and valiant leaders ¹. CHAP. VII.
Valiant
defence.
We cannot help asking how far we are to see here the handiwork either of Ducetius or of Archônidês. As our story is told us, the men of Trinakia were left alone to endure the attacks of the whole power of Syracuse and her allies ². They kept up a valiant resistance till—so we are told—all their fighting men were slain. Then the mass of the old men slew one another, to avoid the hard fate of the people of a conquered town ³. Of the women and children we do not hear, except that some human beings Taking of
Trinakia
by the
Syracusanis. were left in the city to be made slaves, as well as spoil to reward the conquerors. Proud of their victory over a valiant people whose overthrow had not been easy, the Syracusans rejoiced with great joy, and dedicated the choicest things among the plunder of Trinakia as an offering to the Delphian god ⁴.

The national struggle was over. We shall find long Helleniz-
ation of the
Sikels. after that Sikel national feeling had not died out. But the non-Greek parts of Sicily were now to begin more definitely to put on a Greek character. All hopes had

¹ Diod. xii. 29; σφόδρα ὑπώπτεον τοὺς Τρινακίους ἀντιλήψεσθαι τῆς τῶν ὁμοεικῶν Σικελῶν ἡγεμονίας· ἡ δὲ πόλις αὕτη πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἄνδρας εἶχεν, αἰεὶ τὸ πρωτεύειν ἐσχηκυῖα τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων. ἦν γὰρ ἡγεμόνων ἡ πόλις αὕτη πλήρης μέγα φρονούντων ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ. The supremacy of Trinakia, if there ever was any, could have been only before the time of Ducetius; but whence did Diodoros get this very emphatic way of speaking?

² Ib.; πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροίσαντες ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πόλεων ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτήν. οἱ δὲ Τρινακίαι συμμάχων μὲν ἦσαν ἔρημοι, διὰ δὲ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις αἱ ὑπήκουον Συρακοσίῳ, μέγαν ἀγῶνα συνεστήσαντο. I suppose this means that they were stirred up to special efforts because the other towns were lost.

³ Ib.; ἐκθύμως γὰρ ἐγκαρτεροῦντες τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες, ἡρωικῶς μαχόμενοι πάντες κατέστρεψαν τὸν βίον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οἱ πλείους ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μετέστησαν, οὐχ ὑπομείναντες τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως ὕβρεις.

⁴ Ib.; τοὺς πρότερον ἀητήτους γεγονότας νικήσαντες ἐπιφανῶς τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατέσκαψαν, τῶν δὲ λαφύρων τὰ κράτιστα ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Δελφοὺς χαριστήρια τῷ θεῷ.

CHAP. VII. now passed away of the formation of a great power which might be Greek in speech and culture but which should be politically Sikel. No Sikel king was to reign in Syracuse or Akragas; no Sikel king was even to reign over a confederate *Sikelia*, independent of Syracuse and Akragas. Sikel towns were to keep their independence and to play a part in Sicilian affairs as long as there was any independent Sicily left. But they began to adopt Greek ways and thoughts, slowly and singly, one by one. Many of them, Henna above all, had doubtless adopted such ways and thoughts long before this. But a great further impulse now began; nor did it stop till, as in the days of Cicero, the distinction between Sikel and Sikeliot was wholly forgotten.

§ 4. *General View of the Sikeliot Cities in the Fifth Century before Christ.*

Prosperity
of the
Sikeliot
cities be-
tween the
two Punic
invasions.

B. C. 466-
433.

This is perhaps the best point at which to stop and draw our general picture of Greek Sicily free and independent. We must try and call up the look of its great and flourishing cities, as they stood in the days of their highest prosperity, the days of comparative peace. That period we are at first inclined to define as the time between the overthrow of the tyrants and the first meddling of Athens in Sicilian affairs. But we have seen that such meddling, or expected meddling, began very early, and, for our present purpose, we may fairly carry on our period to the coming of the great Athenian expedition, and even to the second Carthaginian invasion. The time of peace was at best only comparative, and the warfare which followed Athenian interference down to the great invasion was not of a kind to do any very serious damage. That warfare, rather than the more peaceful time before it, really represented the normal state of

things among Greek commonwealths. And the great invasion itself was after all very local. It drew the eyes of the whole Greek world to Sicily, but only to one point in Sicily. The greater part of Sicily, Greek, Sikel, and Phœnician, was untouched by it. The Sikan fared the worst, when the unlucky folk of Hykkara were enslaved. There was nothing in the war which Athens and Syracuse waged along the east coast to disturb the unbroken prosperity of Akragas, Gela, Himera, or even of threatened Selinous, any more than that of Panormos, Motya, and Solous. Whatever then we say of the material prosperity, of the artistic splendour, of the Sikeliot cities in the time of their highest prosperity and splendour must be understood as going on, through the Athenian war, to the time of the far more fearful Carthaginian war. But the Carthaginian war followed so fast on the Athenian war that there is hardly time to stand and take a survey between them. At the point to which we have now come, we have a time of several years which is an absolute blank, altogether void of general events. No better time can be found for looking back at the state of things during the time which followed the fall of the tyrants. And, in most points, the same description will apply to the years which follow, down to the day when Hannibal appeared before Selinous.

CHAP. VII.
The
Athenian
invasions.

B. C. 466-
409.

Lack of
events B. C.
439-433.

At the moment then to which we have come, war with the barbarian had ceased. The Sikel had learned his weakness; the Carthaginian had not yet come to the full sense of his recovered strength. The Greek of distant lands, the Greek of the old Greek mother-land, assuredly had his eyes bent westward, but he had not yet openly stepped in as an ally or an avenger in Sikeliot quarrels. And Sikeliot quarrels themselves were in a manner hushed. The past war, the abiding grudge, between Syracuse and Akragas did in a manner tend to peace. While the two

Time of
peace.

CHAP. VII. chief Dorian cities looked with an evil eye on each other, there was at least no fear of their joining together in attempts upon their weaker Ionian neighbours. Every Sikeliot city was free and independent. Each was independent of foreign masters, Greek or barbarian; each was free from the rule of tyrants within its own walls. All, as far as we can see, were prospering; of the prosperity of some of the greatest among them we have wonderful pictures. Of Akragas we have a picture of material well-being which almost passes belief¹. Her war with Syracuse seems to have done little real damage to either her wealth or her power. Her wealth arose largely from her African trade. From her small haven at the joint mouth of her two rivers her merchant-ships crossed to Carthage and the other cities of the land beyond her own sea, and exchanged the good things of Europe for those of Africa. Of these last we have no special description. But the Akragantine land was rich in vines bearing grapes like those of Eshcol, and it was already thickly planted with the olive-trees which here and throughout Sicily have largely supplanted all trees of greater growth. In those days neither vine nor olive grew in Africa; it was from Akragas that Carthage herself was supplied with the fruits of both². From this source above all, Akragas, already wealthy, grew wealthier, till the day came when her barbarian customers thought good to take her wealth into their own hands.

Wealth and luxury of Akragas. We may be sure that a good deal of exaggeration lurks in the pictures which are drawn for us of Akragantine

¹ The formal picture of the wealth and luxury of Akragas is given by Diodoros, xiii. 81 and the following chapters. He puts the wealth of vines and olives first of all.

² Diod. xiii. 81; καὶ γὰρ ἀμπελῶνες τοῖς μεγέθεσι καὶ τῷ κάλλει διαφέροντες, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς χώρας ἐλαίαις κατάφυτον, ἐξ ἧς πανμπληθῆ κομιζόμενοι καρπὸν ἐπάλουν εἰς Καρχηδόνα. οὕτω γὰρ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τῆς Λιβύης πεφυτευμένης, κ.τ.λ. A change must have taken place in Africa before the time of Agathoklēs. See Diod. xx. 8.

wealth and luxury at this time, just as it lurks in those CHAP. VII. that are drawn of the wealth and luxury of Sybaris at an earlier time. But the exaggeration itself shows that there was something to exaggerate. Akragas too has been more lucky than Sybaris in not having its name made into a proverb; the tales too about Akragas are not tales of mere luxury, but of stately splendour and boundless munificence. They help us also to the names of several Akragantine citizens, one of whom at least played some part in public affairs. Our description is drawn just before the Carthaginian siege, about B.C. 406. twenty years later than the time to which we have come. But, though twenty years does something in the way of change of fashions, and specially in the way of growing luxury, yet the general description must apply to the greater part of the fifth century. The time of special wealth and splendour at Akragas, the special time of its great buildings, began after the victory of Himera and lasted till the Carthaginian siege. Many who were living when Himilkôn came against her must have been 439-406. grown men at the time which we have reached; and a saying of Empedoklês shows that the reproach of luxury had fallen on the people of Akragas in his day. They gave themselves to delights as if they would die to-morrow, while they built their houses as if they were going to live for ever¹. The men of Akragas whose names have been handed down to us for their wealth and bounty, Gellias, Antisthenês, and Exainetos, must have been brought Gellias and others. up, while Empedoklês lived, in the fashion which he meant to censure. Of these Gellias at least lived till the time of

¹ Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 7; ὅθεν τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα εἰπεῖν, τρυφάντων αὐτῶν, Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τρυφῶσι μὲν ὡς αὔριον ἀποθανοῦμενοι (cf. S. Paul ad Cor. i. 15, 32), οἰκίας δὲ κατασκευάζονται ὡς πάντα τὸν χρόνον βιωσόμενοι. It is unkind of Ælian (V. H. xii. 29) to take this story from our local sage and to give it to Plato; ὅτι ἄρα οἱ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι οἰκοδομοῦσι μὲν ὡς αἰὲ βιωσόμενοι, δειπνοῦσι δὲ ὡς αὔριον τεθνηξόμενοι.

CHAP. VII. the siege. Yet both in the Akragantine way of bringing up youth and in the lives of the grown men of Akragas, we hear more of splendour in the way of dress and furniture than of actual excess of any kind. Excess in wine was indeed possible in Akragas as in other places. A house in the city bore the name of the Trireme, on account of the strange drunken fancy of some young men. It is Timaios who tells how they got so drunk as to believe that the house in which they were met was a ship in a storm, to throw out all the furniture to lighten the vessel, and to address the generals of the commonwealth who came to restore order as if they had been gods of the sea¹. Otherwise the worst that we hear is that the Akragantines from their boyhood wore soft clothing and gold ornaments; their very flasks and scrapers were of gold, or at least of silver; their beds were of ivory². Nothing worse is said of them. And the men who are described as the wealthiest in Akragas are also, from Empedoklēs himself onwards³, emphatically described as the most bountiful⁴.

'The
Trireme.'

Stories of
Gellias.

Among these the name of Gellias is the one round which the greatest measure of abiding fame has gathered⁵. His wine-cellars, as described by one who had seen them,

¹ See the story quoted from *Τίμαιος ὁ Ταυρομενίτης* in *Athēnaïos*, ii. 5. There is something not a little comic in the address to the *στρατηγοί* as *ἄνδρες Τρίτανες*. It almost reminds one how Lucius, in the state of an ass (*Lucian*, *Lucius* 28), speaks of mares as *αἱ τῶν ἵππων γυναικες*.

² *Diod.* xiii. 82; *ἔτι δὲ σπλέγγισι καὶ ληκύθοις ἀργυραῖς τε καὶ χρυσαῖς χρώμενοι*. *Ælian*, V. H. iii. 29; *λέγει δὲ Τίμαιος ὅτι καὶ ἀργυραῖς ληκύθοις καὶ σπλεγγίσιν ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐλεφαντίνας κλίνας εἶχον ὅλως*. Where did *Diodōros* find the gold things?

³ See above, pp. 350, 353.

⁴ *Diodōros* (xiii. 82) quotes a verse of Empedoklēs himself, in which he calls his countrymen

ξείνων αἰδοῖοι λιμένες, κακότητος ἄπειροι.

⁵ He is *Tellias* in other writers, as the manuscripts of *Athēnaïos*, i. 5; *Soudas* in *Τελλίας*; *Eustathios*, *Od.* iii. 350. He is *Gillias* in *Val. Max.* iv. 8.

might have tempted all Carthage to come and fight for CHAP. VII.
the mastery of a city where such spoil could be found.
Three hundred jars cut out of the rock held each a hundred
amphorai; they were fed from a swimming-bath—so it
is called—which held a thousand¹. But all this store
was not for the use of Gellias himself. His open-handed His hos-
bounty to strangers could be surpassed only by that of pitality.
the Scandinavian worthy who built his house over the
highway, so that men were constrained to enter it.
The slaves of Gellias were stationed at the gates of
the city to bid all who came in to some or other of
the guesten-halls of their master². When five hundred
horsemen—in war-time one would think—came from the
mother-city Gela in the winter-tide, Gellias lodged both
men and horses, and gave changes of raiment to the
riders³. The man of such wealth and bounty was small
of stature and ill-favoured in face. But he could serve his
country, not only with an open hand but with a ready
wit. Sent on an embassy to the Sikel commonwealth of His mission
Centuripa, his appearance caused as much merriment in to Centu-
the assembly of that city as the Greek of Lucius Postumius ripa.
caused in the assembly of politer Taras. The Akragantine
envoy excused himself by saying that it was the custom
of the commonwealth which he represented to send their
goodliest citizens as envoys to great and honourable cities.

¹ The description in Diod. xiii. 83 is said to come from the personal witness of Polykleitos; Πολύκλειτος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐξηγείται περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν πιθεῶνος, λέγων ὡς διαμείναντος αὐτοῦ στρατενομένου ἐν Ἀκράγαντι τεθωρηκέναι. One does not see how any known Polykleitos can have served at Akragas in the days of Gellias. Perhaps it should be Polykritos, who may have done so in his youth. See Brunet de Presle (23). Whoever he was, he saw the κολυμβήθραν κεκονιαμένην, χωροῦσαν ἀμφορεῖς χιλίους, ἐξ ἧς τὴν ῥύσιν εἰς τοὺς πίθους γίνεσθαι.

² Diod. u. s. He had κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ξενῶνας πλείους. Valerius Maximus (iv. 8) quarters some in “urbani penates,” some in “rustica tecta.”

³ This is the favourite story of all, which Diodōros quotes from the fifteenth book of Timaios. It is told by Athénaios, Eustathios, and Valerius Maximus, in the passages already referred to.

CHAP. VII. To such people as those of Centuripa they sent men on their own level, like himself ¹.

Illustrations of the relations of Greeks and Sikels.

This story is told simply as a personal anecdote of Gellias. But it has another value. Gellias is addressing a Sikel assembly. Provoked by the behaviour of his hearers, he speaks to them with scorn; but he does not call them barbarians. Centuripa, receiving an Akragantine envoy in its public assembly, must have made some progress in the adoption of Greek political life. It is at least implied that the Greek speech of Gellias was understood by his hearers. This is our only glimpse of Gellias in any political aspect. In his splendour and bounty to his own people, if he stood foremost, he did not stand alone. The rich men of Akragas are spoken of as doing, each according to his measure, very much the same as he did. They lived, we are told, after the manner of the old times, kindly towards all men ². It is a kindred picture to a well-known contrast in our own land. Each wealthy Akragantine citizen seems to have

Other rich men.

“Kept up an old house at a bountiful old rate;”

but even at Akragas the sons were sometimes inclined to fall away from the virtues of their fathers.

Antisthenês.

His daughter's wedding.

Next in honour to Gellias was Antisthenês, who bore as his surname the name of the mother-land of his mother-city, Rhodes ³. The splendour of his daughter's wedding-feast was renowned in the annals of Akragas. All the citizens were feasted, each man in the street where he lived. The special wedding company consisted of the whole equestrian order of the city, with many guests from other places. Eight hundred chariots followed the bride.

¹ Diod. xiii. 83; ἐν ἔθει γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς Ἀκραγαντίνοις πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἐπιδόξους πόλεις ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς κρατίστους τῷ κάλλει, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ταπεινὰς καὶ λίαν εὐτελεῖς, ὁμοίους.

² Ib.; ἀρχαῖκῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως ὁμολοῦντες.

³ Ib. 84; Ἀντισθένης ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Ῥόδιος.

All the altars in the temples and in the streets throughout the city were piled with wood; in all the workshops¹ heaps of branches were got together. At the appointed moment, when fire shot up from the akropolis, all were kindled, and the whole city seemed ablaze. The streets could hardly hold the crowds that passed to and fro to gaze at and to admire the magnificence of Antisthenês². But the maker of all this splendour was no tyrant, no lord, no oligarch, but the citizen of a democracy who knew his place as such. At Akragas, as elsewhere, wealth and high position sometimes led men into insolence and wrong. Even the son of Antisthenês did not always walk in the ways of his father. He coveted the land of a poorer citizen, and strove to make him sell it against his will. His father rebuked him; but the son still went on in his course of wrong. At last Antisthenês told him that, if he honestly wished for the land, he should strive to make his neighbour richer rather than poorer. If the owner of the land were enriched, he might himself begin to wish for a larger estate, and might be willing to sell the smaller one in order to buy it³.

His rebuke
to his son.

Stories like these go far to set before us the Akragas of the fifth century before our æra as coming nearer than most cities to the state of the ideal commonwealth where

“The rich man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the great.”

The fate that before long came on Akragas may have made “the brave days of old” stand out in later memory in brighter colours than really belonged to them. Still everything leads us to think that the Greek cities of Sicily did at this time come more nearly to carrying out the

¹ Diod. xiii. 84; τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἔδωκε σχίδακας καὶ κληματίδας, κ.τ.λ.

² Ib.; ἡ μὲν πόλις ἔγεμε φωτὸς, τὸ δὲ συνανακολουθοῦν πλῆθος οὐκ ἐχώρου αἱ δημόσιαι κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ὁδοί.

³ Ib.

CHAP. VII. republican ideal than was at all common earlier or later.

But it did not come into men's minds at Akragas, any more than anywhere else at that day, to look on citizenship as a gift to be lavished on every man who chose to come and dwell within the walls of the city. The figures that are given us as the census of Akragas at this time need some commentary. It is clear that the citizens were but a small part of the dwellers within its vast circuit. We are told that the number of citizens was twenty thousand, that the number of citizens and resident strangers together was two hundred thousand¹. One account indeed swells the total to the incredible amount of eight hundred thousand². Setting aside this last palpable exaggeration, of the smaller numbers it is clear that the twenty thousand are the citizens of full age qualified to vote; the women and children of citizen families are not reckoned. The reckoning in short gives the result of the official roll of citizens. The other figure is most likely a guess, meant to take in the women and children of the strangers. These last were doubtless a large class; a city like Akragas offered many temptations to men to settle there, even in the inferior condition of *metoikoi*. Still the number is great; and in any case the slaves are not reckoned. These last must have been plentiful in Akragas, even though the momentary glut of them after the victory of Himera may not represent their normal numbers³. Largely through their toil, the city was rich in everything, not only in the two great objects of her trade with Africa, but in all that made Sikeliot wealth. The stream of Akragas was sung of as the stream by whose banks the goodly flocks of sheep

Numbers
of citizens
and
strangers.

Μέτοικοι.

¹ Diod. xiii. 84; κατ' ἐκείνον γὰρ τὸν χρόνον Ἀκραγαντῖνοι μὲν ἦσαν πλείω τῶν δις μυρίων, σὺν δὲ τοῖς κατοικοῦσι ξένοις οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν εἴκοσι μυριάδων.

² Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 7; Μέγαν δὲ τὸν Ἀκράγαντα εἰπεῖν [Ἐμπεδοκλέα] φησὶ Ποταμίλλα, ἐπεὶ μυριάδες αὐτῶν κατὰκου ὀγδοήκοντα. Ποταμίλλα sounds like a sister of Undecimilla.

³ See above, p. 224.

were nourished¹. The horses of Akragas won victories in the games of Old Greece, and bore the warriors of the city to battle. At Akragas, as at Syracuse, the chief military strength lay in the horsemen, the sure sign of a wealthy city. But Syracuse had also the fleet that lay in her double harbour, and we hear of no triremes sailing forth from the haven at the common mouth of Hypsas and Akragas.

CHAP. VII.
Horses and
horsemen.

Of Syracuse we have no such set picture as that which is given us of Akragas, because, as Syracuse was not in this age overthrown by barbarians, there was not the same call to contrast the by-gone times with the present. The Syracusans, like the other Sikeliots, shared the love of good cheer with the Akragantines. A Syracusan table became a proverb². On the other hand some forms of luxury are said to have been discouraged. Excess of apparel in both sexes was forbidden on the penalty of being set down as given up to an evil life³. The goddesses of Sicily, the patronesses of the house of Deinomenês, were at their Syracusan Thesmophoria worshipped with rites, learned, one would say, from the older folk of Sicily, which pointed to them as powers of nature and

'Syracusan
table.'
Sumptuary
laws at
Syracuse.

¹ Pind. Pyth. xii. 2;

. . . ἄτ' ὄχθαις ἐπὶ μηλοβότου
ναίεις Ἀκράγαντος ἐϋδματον κολώναν.

² Athen. xii. 34; διαβόητοι δ' εἰσὶ περὶ τρυφήν Σικελιῶταί τε καὶ Συρακοῖσι, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἐν Δαιταλεῦσιν·

ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔμαθε ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ πέμποντος, ἀλλὰ μάλλον
πίνειν, ἔπειτ' ᾗδεν κακῶς Συρακοσίων τράπεζαν
Συβαρίτιδás τ' εὐωχίας καὶ Χίων ἐν Λακαινῶν.

He goes on to quote both the Republic of Plato and the false Epistles. So Συρακουσία τράπεζα Zenob. v. 94; Σικελικὴ τράπεζα Diogen. viii. 7; Greg. Cyp. iii. 68; Apost. xv. 48.

³ Athênaios (xii. 20) quotes the twenty-fifth book of the History of Phylarchos (see C. Müller, i. 347) in the third century for these sumptuary laws. A chaste woman had to dress very simply. No new Δαμαρέτειον could have been coined.

CHAP. VII. of growth¹. One hardly knows whether it is with any special allusion that Xenophôn brings in a Syracusan at his banquet as the master of a small travelling company whose performances supply Sôkratês with some subjects of discourse². The last moral at least of the piece is a healthy one.

Xenophôn's Syracusan.

Epicharmos on fish and other meats.

Of the fondness of the Sikeliots generally for good cheer of all kinds, above all for the fish of their bountiful seas, the comic poets are full. Epicharmos of course gave them the start. At the rich stores which the Deipnosophist has drawn from the comedy of Hêbê's Wedding we have already glanced³. To any but either a professed deipnosophist or a professed ichthyologist the wealth of names is baffling. One dainty which still seems strange to the new-comer in Sicily was already in vogue. The cuttlefish, different species of it, it may be supposed, appears under more than one name⁴. More striking perhaps than the bill of fare at this divine banquet is a fragment of another comedy, in which we see that the parasite, the diner-out, was already a well-known character in the Syracusan society of the fifth century. He ate much; he drank much; in return he praised his host, and made much merriment for the company generally⁵. The Wedding of

The parasite.

¹ Athênaios, xiv. 55, and cf. vol. i. p. 489.

² See the *Συμπόσιον* of Xenophôn almost throughout.

³ See above, p. 285. The fragments of *Ἡβης γάμος* come from various books of Athênaios, chiefly the third and the seventh. In the passage quoted in iii. 30, the poet says of his own *menu*;

τὰ διελεῖν μὲν ἔστι χαλεπὰ, καταφαγεῖν δ' εὐμαρέα.

⁴ Ath. vii. 107;

πάλυποι τε σπηῖαι τε καὶ ποταναὶ τευθίδες.

⁵ Athênaios (vi. 28; Lorenz. 226) quotes the verses straight from the *Ἑλπίς* of Epicharmos, and blames Karystios of Pergamon for saying that Alexis was the first to bring the parasite on the stage. He describes himself;

*συνδειπνέω τῷ λῶντι, καλέσαι δεῖ μόνον,
καὶ τῷ γὰρ μὴ λῶντι κούδεν δεῖ καλεῖν.
τηνεὶ δὲ χαρίεις εἰμὶ καὶ ποιέω πολλὸν
γέλωτα καὶ τὸν ἔστιῶντ' ἐπαινέω.*

Hêbê was, it is plain, specially designed to be great on the subject of cookery. We need not infer that Hierôn with all his poets around him dined daily on the scale of the bridegroom Hêraklês. More perhaps is learned from casual notices in writers of other lands. Even Athens, through the mouth of her comic poets, could acknowledge the skill of her Sicilian enemy in providing some special forms of good cheer. Hermippos, in mock heroics, calls on the Muses who have their dwelling on Olympos to celebrate, among the choicest things of every corner of the globe, the cheese and the swine of Syracuse¹. Philômôn, in a later day, sang also of the cheese of Sicily, along with its varied garments, and with its doves—those perhaps of Eryx². In an intermediate age of Attic comedy it was a Sicilian cheese for the purloining of which the thievish dog was arraigned before the Aristophanic tribunal³. Sicily itself—the triangle having become a round—appears in the same play as the mortar in which its own cheese and other dainties were to be brayed together⁴. The folk of Sicily spoke of the salt sea itself as sweet when it supplied them with so many good

CHAP. VII.

Sicilian
cookery.Sicilian
cheese.Witness of
Aristo-
phanês.

¹ Athen. i. 49;

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσai,
ἐξ οὗ ναυκληρεῖ Διόνυσος ἐπ' οἶνοπα πόντον
ὅσσ' ἀγαθ' ἀνθρώποις δεῦρ' ἤγαγε νηὶ μελαίνῃ.

In the midst of the list we find

αἱ δὲ Συράκουσαι σὺς καὶ τυρὸν παρέχουσι.

² Ib. xiv. 76; ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Σικελίας αὔχημα τροφαλὶς ἦδε ἔστι, φίλοι, λεῖω-
μέν τι περὶ τυρῶν. Φιλήμων μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Σικελικῷ

ἐγὼ πρότερον μὲν εἴδμην τὴν Σικελίαν
ἐν τούτ' ἀποτακτον αὐτὸ τοὺς τυροὺς ποιεῖν
καλοῦς· ἔτι ταῦτα προσετίθην ἀκηκοὺς
ἱμάτια ποικίλ' εἰ λέγοι τις Σικελικά.

The doves come in only in a gloss. The τροφαλὶς (iv. 32) was a kind of cheese. Cf. also Antiphanês, as quoted in i. 27.

³ Wasps, 837, 894.

⁴ Sicily is said to be the *θυεῖα ἐν κύκλῳ* in Wasps, 294. Cf. Peace, 250;

ὡς Σικελία, καὶ σὺ δ', ὡς ἀπόλλυσαι.

CHAP. VII. things¹. The rivers also furnished their share. The sea-
 Fish. urchins from the rock of Sicily, whichever of the headlands
 of our island best deserves that name², the huge tunny
 from Pachynos³, the sword-fish from Pelôris⁴, the eels, the
 lampreys, the special fish of Symaithos⁵—on all these the
 cooks of Sicily practised their art with a skill which was
 renowned throughout the Greek world⁶. Yet there were
 those, even in the island itself, who ventured to set up their
 private tastes against the general verdict of mankind⁷.
 The wine of King Pollis may be too early for our time⁸,
 and another wine that bore the name of the Mamertine
 lords of the strait must be too late⁹. The haven of Lily-
 baion seems not to have as yet become the centre of the
 traffic which has grown to so great a scale in later days.

Comforts. Nor was Sicily behind in other comforts and pleasures
 of life besides those which directly ministered to the satis-

¹ Ath. xii. 15; διαβόητοι δὲ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τρυφῇ καὶ αἱ τῶν Σικελῶν [he means Σικελιωτῶν] τράπεζαι, οἵτινες καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς θάλατταν λέγουσιν εἶναι γλυκεῖαν, χαίροντες τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς γενομένοις ἐδέσμασιν, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν πέμπτῳ βίῳ.

² Ib. iii. 41; οἱ δ' [ἐχίνοι] ἐπὶ τοῦ σκοπέλου τῆς Σικελίας κοιλίας λυτικοί.

³ Ib. 6; τῶν Παχυνικῶν θύνων τὰς ἡτριάδας. So iii. 85 Archestratos of Gela (or of Katagela, Ath. vii. 96, cf. vol. i. p. 400) ὁ περιπλεύσας τὴν οἰκουμένην γαστροὺς ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα, φησὶ καὶ Σικελοῦ θύννον τέμαχος τμηθέν.

⁴ Athen. vii. 96. Archestratos approves of the sword-fish of Byzantium; but he adds,

ἔστι δὲ κενὸς

κἂν πορθμῷ πρὸς ἄκραισι Πελωριάδος προχοαῖσι.

Shell-fish from Pelôris were not equally good; i. 6.

⁵ Ath. i. 6.

⁶ Ath. xiv. 72, 81. In the latter place Antiphatês, ἐπαινῶν τοὺς Σικελικοὺς μαγείρους λέγει

Σικελῶν δὲ τέχνας ἡδυνθεῖσαι
 δαιτὸς διαθρυμματίδες.

⁷ Archestratos (Ath. vii. 86) gives five lines to denounce the Syracusan and the Italiot in this character;

οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται χρηστοὺς σκευαζέμεν ἰχθῦς.

They seem to have cooked the fish with the local cheese.

⁸ See above, p. 8.

⁹ Ath. i. 27.

faction of the palate. Sicilian beds and Sicilian cushions CHAP. VII.
were renowned¹. Of Sicilian carriages we have heard
already, not without a hope that in that matter at least
a tradition of ancient days may still survive². From Games.
Sicily, from the Sikel rather than the Sikeliot, came the
game of *kottabos*, and the technical language of that
game has helped us somewhat in tracing out the ancient
speech of the island³. And to the sterner sports of the
great Hellenic festivals Sicily is said to have contributed
a special form of wrestling, which bore the Sicilian
name⁴.

The reported luxury of the Sikeliot cities in this age is,
in the double-edged saying of Empedoklēs which has been
already quoted, connected with one of their noblest tastes.
They built their houses as if they were going to live for
ever⁵. And if their houses, how much more their temples Buildings.
and other public buildings. In some of the Sikeliot cities
this was the most brilliant time of architectural splendour.
At Syracuse indeed the greatest buildings which remain
to tell their own story belong either to an earlier or to
a later time. It is the theatre alone, as in its first
estate a probable work of the first Hierōn⁶, which at all
connects itself with our present time. But at Akragas
and at Selinous the greatest of the existing buildings
belong to the days of republican freedom and independence.
At Akragas what the tyrant began the democracy went

¹ Phrynichos in Ath. ii. 29.

² Ath. i. 28 (see above, p. 276) directly after from Kritias;
εἶτα δ' ὅχος Σικελὸς κάλλει δαπάνη τε κράτιστος.

So vii. 26;

ἡ Σικελικῶς ὁπτήν ποιήσω; Σικελικῶς.

³ Ath. i. 28; xv. 2. See vol. i. p. 490.

⁴ Ælian, V. H. xi. 1; 'Ορίκαδμος πάλης ἐγένετο νομοθέτης, καθ' ἑαυτὸν
ἐπινοήσας τὸν Σικελὸν τρόπον καλούμενον παλαίειν. Like the Cornish
hug.

⁵ See above, p. 391.

⁶ See above, p. 288.

CHAP. VII. on with. The series of temples that line the southern wall are due to an impulse which began under Thêrôn and went on to the days of the Carthaginian siege. Of the greatest among them, the temple of Olympian Zeus, this is literally true. There can be little doubt that it was begun as one of the thank-offerings after the victory of Himera, and it is certain that at the coming of Hannibal and Himilkôn it was still so far imperfect that the roof was not yet added¹. It was therefore in building during a time of more than seventy years, years which take in the whole of the brilliant days of Akragantine freedom and well-being. To the same period also belong the other temples in the lower city, temples which abide above ground either standing or in ruins, while the older temples in the akropolis have to be looked for underneath buildings of later ages². It was a grand conception to line the southern wall, the wall most open to the attacks of mortal enemies, with this wonderful series of holy places of the divine protectors of the city. It was a conception due, we may believe, in the first instance, to Thêrôn, but which the democracy fully entered into and carried out. The two best preserved of the range stand to the east; one indeed occupies the south-eastern corner of the fortified enclosure. It holds a strong and lofty site on the rock, where the huge masses of stone have been hurled wildly down, as if they had been parts of a wall of man's building. This is the temple which, without either authority or likelihood, is known as that of the Lakinian Hêra, but which various scholars, equally without any certain evidence, have assigned to Dêmêtêr, to Apollôn, or to Poseidôn³. Like

The range of temples within the southern wall.

The eastern temple.

¹ Diodôros (xiii. 82) says distinctly, τὸ οὖν Ὀλύμπιον μέλλον λαμβάνειν τὴν ὁροφὴν ὁ πόλεμος ἐκάλυψεν· ἐξ οὗ τῆς πόλεως κατασκαφείσης, οὐδέποτε ὕστερον ἴσχυσαν Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν.

² See above, pp. 67, 79, 145.

³ See Schubring, Akragas, 45, 61; Holm, G. S. 295, 440. One cannot doubt that the story in Cicero de Inv. ii. 1 is the genuine one, not that in

the rest, it overlooks the ground between the city and the sea; but it has its own special view of the valley of the Akragas and of the height immediately above it. CHAP. VII.

Next in order to the west comes the temple which bears a name not only unlikely, but altogether impossible and unmeaning, the so-called temple of Concord¹. No reasonable guess can be made at its pagan dedication; in the fifteenth century of our æra it followed the far earlier precedent of the temples in the akropolis. It became the church of Saint Gregory, not of any of the great pontiffs and doctors of the Church, but of the local bishop whose full description as Saint Gregory of the Turnips can hardly be written without a smile². The peristyle was walled up, and arches were cut through the walls of the *cella*, exactly as in the great church of Syracuse. Saint Gregory of Girgenti plays no such part in the world's history as was played by the Panagia of Syracuse; we may therefore be more inclined to extend some mercy to the Bourbon king who set free the columns as we now see them. When he had gone so far, one might even wish that he had gone on to wall up the arches. In each of the former states of the building there was a solid wall somewhere to give shelter from the blasts which sweep round this exposed spot. As the building now stands, it is, after the Athenian house of Thêseus and Saint George, the best preserved Greek temple in being. Like its fellow to the east, it is a building of moderate size, of the middle stage of Doric, with columns less massive than those of Syracuse and

The so-called
Concordia.

The church
of Saint
Gregory.

Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 36. The Lakinian Hêra, at home at Krotôn, could have no place at Akragas. It is only one degree more out of place when a local writer turns "Juno Lacinia" into "Giunone Lucina."

¹ Schubring, 32. The good Fazello (i. 248) is answerable for the name *Concordia*, on the strength of an inscription recording a *Concordia* between the *communes* of Agrigentum and Lilybæum in Roman times. Amico (i. 274) knew better.

² He is "Sanctus Gregorius de Rapis" in Fazello, i. 248.

CHAP. VII. Corinth, less slender than those of Nemea. Again to the west stood a temple of greater size, nearly ranging in scale with the Athenian Parthenôn, which is assigned, with far more of likelihood than the other names, to Hêraklês¹. Save one patched-up column standing amid the general ruin, it has, in the language of the prophet, become heaps. All that is left is a mass of huge stones, among which we can see the mighty columns, fallen, each in its place, overthrown, it is clear, by no hand of man but by those powers of the nether world whose sway is felt in every corner of Sicilian soil.

The
Golden
Gate.

The Olym-
pieion.

Its pecu-
liarity of
design.

These three temples form a continuous range along the eastern part of the southern wall of the city. To the west of them, parted from them by a gate, which, in Roman times at least, bore, as at Constantinople and Spalato, the name of Golden, rose the mightiest work of Akragantine splendour and devotion, the great Olympieion itself. Of this gigantic building, the vastest Greek temple in Europe², we happily have somewhat full descriptions from men who had looked at it, if not in the days of its full glory, yet at least when it was a house standing up, and not a ruin. As it now lies, a few great fragments of wall still standing amid confused heaps of fallen stones, of broken columns and capitals, no building kindles a more earnest desire to see it as it stood in the days of its perfection. It is not only the vastness of scale, but the strangeness of design, which awakens our curiosity to see this huge temple as its designers meant it to be. The Olympieion of Akragas was from the beginning in nearly the same case as that to which the changes of the fifteenth century brought the temple

¹ Schubring, 49, 62.

² Diod. xiii. 82: μέγιστος ὦν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἔκτος οὐκ ἀλόγως ἂν συγκρίνοιτο κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποστάσεως. So Polybios, ix. 27; ὁ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου νεὸς συντέλειαν μὲν οὐκ εἴληφεν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδ' ὅποιον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δοκεῖ λείπεσθαι. I believe the temple of Artemis at Ephesos alone is greater.

which became the church of Saint Gregory. One ancient observer remarks that, while other temples either have a simple wall or else are surrounded by columns, this one has the wall and the columns built in one piece¹. That is, the building is what is technically called *pseudoperipteral*. There is no real peristyle, no ranges of columns standing free and surrounding the *cella*. Instead of such a range, there was a solid wall with half-columns attached; and the same arrangement was repeated inside on the walls of the *cella* itself. One would like to know the cause of what seems so strange a caprice; one would like to judge for oneself whether the effect, on so vast a scale, was really so bad as one would expect it to be. It was out of engaged columns of this kind that the graceful ornamental arcades of mediæval architecture took their origin. The great house of Zeus at Akragas was marked also by another strange feature. Our informant mentions the sculptures in the two pediments, the war of gods and giants to the east, the taking of Troy to the west. He says nothing of the giants who were there in person, the giants who survive in the arms of modern Girgenti, the giants one of whom still lies in his broken pieces among the ruins of the temple. Yet it is certain that, in some part or other of the Olympieion, perhaps in an upper story of the *cella*, these huge figures were set to discharge the duty of columns in bearing up an entablature². The taste of such an arrangement is open to debate. Certainly giants are better fitted for such a work than the maidens who are condemned to it in the Athenian Erechtheion. But what in the small scale of the Erechtheion

CHAP. VII.

The half-columns.

The giants.

¹ Diod. xiii. 82; τῶν ἄλλων ἢ μέχρι τοίχων τοὺς νεῶς οἰκοδομοῦνταν ἢ κίοσι τοὺς σηκοὺς περιλαμβανόντων, οὗτος ἐκατέρας τούτων μετέχει τῶν ὑποστάσεων. συνικοδομοῦντο γὰρ οἱ κίονες τοῖς τοίχοις, ἔξωθεν μὲν στρογγύλοι, τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ νεῶ ἔχοντες τετράγωνον.

² Schubring, 57. It is passing strange that Diodōros does not mention the giants. They can have nothing to do with the γιγαντομαχία in the pediment.

CHAP. VII. might pass for a graceful fancy must have had another look in the vast pile of the Olympieion. Not one of the giants is now standing in his place; nor is the wall, raised on its many steps, anywhere standing high enough to show more than a small piece of the half-columns, those half-columns in the depth of whose flutings a man might stand¹. But many of their vast capitals lie around, and nothing about the temple more deeply impresses us with the feeling of prodigious size. In the most brilliant age of Hellenic art and Hellenic freedom it was the pride of Akragas to have raised a house of the chief Hellenic god, which, in vastness, if not in beauty, outdid the elder works of Poseidônia and the contemporary works of Athens.

The temple
of Asklê-
pios;

of the Dios-
kouroi;

of Hêphaïs-
tos?

The half-columns of the Olympieion appear again on a very small scale in the temple of Asklêpios which stands outside the southern wall, between the city and the sea. The ordinary arrangement of columns appears in the temple which forms the eastern finish of the whole series of buildings along the southern wall. This is a smaller temple assigned to the Dioskouroi, Kastôr and Polydeukês, where four of the fallen columns have been set up in modern lines, with doubtful accuracy but with a good general effect. Hard by, between the temple and the wall, are the remains of a smaller building with columns; some say another temple, some say a *stoa*. On the western side of the city, near the path looking down on the deep ravine between the enlarged Akragas and the nekropolis, stand yet two columns, still of Doric style, but which are held to belong to a later date than that of which we are speaking. They bear the name of Hêphaistos, perhaps rather of Latin Vulcanus. But for that name there seems no reason beyond the assumption that its site is the same as the Vulcanian

¹ Diod. xiii. 82; τοῦ μὲν ἐκτὸς μέρους ἐστὶν αὐτῶν [τῶν κιόνων] ἡ περιφέρεια ποδῶν εἴκοσι, καθ' ἣν εἰς τὰ διαξύσματα δύναται ἀνθρώπινον ἕναρ μόζεσθαι σῶμα.

hill which has a place among the natural wonders of the island¹. It stands quite apart from the southern range, which ends in the temple of the Tyndarids, if such it is. At that point we are near the south-western corner of the wall, and we look down on what once was the great artificial fish-pond, now a small and rich valley, thick set with trees, with holes or drains in its rocky sides, which pass for the famous *Phaiakes*². CHAP. VII.
The fish-pond.

This whole range of five temples, filling up, with intervals, the whole length of the south wall of Akragas, must have formed, both from the height above and from the sea and the low ground below, a line of stately buildings such as could hardly have had an equal elsewhere. We can form some notion of the effect of the range from the two which are nearly perfect. At the same time we must remember that, close to the wall as the temples were, their whole lower part must have been hidden in the southern view as long as the wall still rose to its full height. But the vast scale of the temple of Zeus must have raised that building high above all walls and bulwarks. Reared aloft on many steps, the house itself, its half-columns and their entablature, lifted the line of the cornice to a height above the roof-line of most English minsters. And yet, noble as the whole range must have been, it must have brought out the horizontal line to such an excess that we might have been tempted to ask for a Byzantine cupola, a Lombard campanile, or an English spire, to break it. Effect of the range.

While Akragas was raising these great works, Selinous Selinous. in no way lagged behind her. To the modern traveller

¹ Schubring (70) places this temple after the Carthaginian siege. There seems no reason to call it "Vulcan," beyond the supposition that the place where it stands is the "collis Vulcanius" of Solinus (v. 23), where some miracles of the fire-god were wrought.

² See above, p. 231. It is at this point that Diodōros gives his second description.

CHAP. VII. the buildings of Selinous are, in their fallen state, the most impressive of all the great Sicilian monuments. And they raise our wonder higher than it is raised by the works of Syracuse and Akragas, when we remember that the city whose gigantic ruins we are tracing out could at no time have made the faintest claim to be deemed the first or even the second of Sikeliot commonwealths. But Selinous, set free from her dependence on the barbarian, flourished like her sisters. She was rich and prosperous, and while her citizens stinted not the adornment of their own houses¹, still less did they stint the honour of the gods, either on their own soil or among the holy places of Old Greece. At Pythô they dedicated the local plant in gold²; at Olympia they had a treasure-house of their own, where men saw the graven form of Dionysos, with his face, hands, and feet, wrought in ivory³. On their own hills they reared those famous temples on whose ruins we still gaze with awe, and within whose walls they stored the wealth of the gods and of the commonwealth⁴. It is one of those small details which bring us nearer to the times of which we write, when we find that modern research has actually brought to light the cash-box of a Selinuntine temple⁵.

Gifts of the
Selinun-
tines.

The
temples of
Selinous.

Of the general position of the temples of Selinous we have already spoken, as well as of those wonderful efforts

¹ Diod. xiii. 44; οἱ Σελινούντιοι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εὐδαιμονοῦντες. In 57 he again speaks of ἡ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις εὐδαιμονία, and of the temples and ἡ ἐν αὐτοῖς καθιερωμένη πολυτέλεια.

² See vol. i. p. 421.

³ Pausanias, vi. 19. 7; Σικελιώτας δὲ Σελινουντίους ἀνέστησαν μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι πολέμῳ· πρὶν δὲ ἡ τὴν συμφορὰν γενέσθαι σφισι, θησαυρὸν τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὶ ἐποίησαν. He goes on to speak of the statue.

⁴ Diod. xiii. 37; ἡ ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς καθιερωμένη πολυτέλεια. In Thucydides (vi. 20) Nikias seems to contrast the practice of Selinous in this matter with that of Syracuse. After speaking of the resources of both, he adds, χρήματά τ' ἔχουσι, τὰ μὲν ἴδια, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐστὶ Σελινουντίους.

⁵ Benndorf, Metopen, 20.

of early sculpture which date from the first days of the city¹. The advance in the graver's art can hardly any-where be better studied than at Selinous, or, to speak more truly, among those works of Selinuntine art which are now to be seen, not in their own homes, but in the old dwelling-place of the Phœnician. One of the temples on the eastern hill, assigned to the days of Hierôn of Syracuse, the days of the recovered Hellenic freedom of Selinous, showed in the forms of Hêraklês and the fighting Amazôn a stage of art far in advance of Medousa and the Kerkôpes, but which had not yet reached the full perfection of the central years of the century². Lastly we come to the great days of all, the days whose fragmentary story we are telling, the days when Selinous dedicated her offerings for victory over her nameless enemy³. Then was carved the form of the sitting Zeus unveiling—it may be Hêrê, it may be some other—and that of Aktaïôn torn in pieces by his hounds, in a style which only the skill of Pheidias could outdo⁴. The quarries of Campobello⁵ had small rest in the days of Selinuntine freedom. They had to furnish stone without stint for the great temple on the eastern hill, perhaps a third Olympieion, less vast but more graceful than its Akragantine rival, but which was, like that rival, hindered by the Punic invader from ever reaching its full perfection. There indeed we see the Pillars of the Giants standing in every stage of workmanship, here unfluted, here fully fluted, here with the drums standing ready to receive that last finish on the many smooth faces of a polygon. And in one small temple in the akropolis proof has been found how little the great builders of Greece really held themselves bound by the fetters of pedantic rules. The newly-invented Ionic capital was set to bear

CHAP. VII.
Sculptures,

earlier

and later.

Mixture of
orders.

¹ See vol. i. p. 424.

² Benndorf, Tab. VII; Holm, G. S. i. 247.

³ See above, p. 330.

⁴ Benndorf, Tab. VIII, IX.

⁵ See vol. i. p. 424.

CHAP. VII. the familiar Doric entablature¹. So, ages after, the Roman arch of triumph in the Alpine Augusta shows columns crowned with the full-grown foliage of Corinth, but which bear up the frieze with its triglyphs which would not be out of place in Selinous itself².

Buildings
on the
western
hill.

The buildings on the western hill doubtless also belong to our period. But they still need the careful examination which those on the akropolis and the eastern hill have already received. The apparent arch may be seen there, as well as on the hill of Eryx; but we shall find it in later work at Selinous also. Till something more has been brought to light, we may be allowed to guess that the newly-found *Propylaia* led the way to the house of the goddesses of Sicily. To the dedication of the other temples our only clue seems to be an inscription which seems to show that the two most ennobling conceptions of Greek mythology, Phoibos Apollôn and Pallas Athênê, received in Selinous a joint worship³. We have seen a work of primitive Selinuntine art in which Athênê herself appears in a guise which we can only call grotesque⁴. We should be loth to believe that the Apollôn of Selinous appeared, as he did in ancestral Megara, in a lower form still, either in a form which in his own day suggested the works of Egypt, or of a hue which might now suggest Our Lady of Einsiedeln⁵.

Apollôn
and
Athênê.

¹ Holm. G. S. i. 294.

² See Architectural and Historical Sketches, p. 310.

³ See the fragment of the inscription in Benndorf, 35 ;

. . ΔΔΟΝΟΣΓΑΙΑΝΟΣ
ΑΝΑΙΑΣ.

That is quite enough.

⁴ Benndorf, Metopen, Tab. II.

⁵ Benndorf (36) sends us to the temple of Apollôn at the elder Megara, as described by Pausanias, i. 42. 5. He there says that the god, in his character as Πύθιος and Δεκατηφόρος, τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα εἰοίκασι φοάνοις· ὃν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτην ἐπονομάζουσιν, Αἰγυπτιακοῖς ἔργοις ἐστὶν ὅμοιος· ἐβένου δὲ πάντα ὁμοίως πεποιήται. One trembles for the ἀγαλμάτων of the Ἀρχηγέτης at Naxos. Vol. i. p. 326.

By the time that we have now reached the Sikeliot CHAP. VII.
 cities had grown to that stage of artistic developement or Private
pictures
and
statues.
 artistic luxury in which works of painting and sculpture
 are no longer only the solemn ornaments of the temple or
 the *prytaneion*, but have become part of the pleasure or
 pride of private dwellings. The traffic between Carthage
 and Akragas seems to have awakened artistic tastes in the
 Punic mind, and in the day of Punic victory the pictures
 and statues which abounded in the houses of the wealthy
 Akragantines were reckoned among the most precious
 parts of the spoil¹. But Sicily does not directly con-
 tribute many great names to the history of the kindred
 art. Damophilos of Himera passed for a teacher of Zeuxis
 himself. We are used to great length of life in many of
 the worthies of our story; but it is a little startling to hear
 that the master of Zeuxis, with his colleague Gorgasos,
 painted the Roman temple which was vowed by Aulus Postu-
 mius, victor at Regillus². But a temple of Ceres, Liber, and
 Libera, was a specially fitting field for a Sicilian artist,
 and chronology may be appeased by the easy conjecture
 that the painting of the temple and the Greek letters
 which recorded the names of the artists came a generation
 or two later than the building itself. As marking a tie
 between the land of the Latin and the land of the Sikel, a

Damophi-
los of Hi-
mera, fl.
B. C. 464-
420.

¹ Diod. xiii. 90 calls Akragas *πλουσιωτάτην σχεδὸν τῶν τότε Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων γεγεννημένην καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φιλοκαλησάντων εἰς παντοίων κατασκευασμάτων πολυτέλειαν*. He goes on; *καὶ γὰρ γραφαὶ παμπληθεῖς ἠδύρεθσαν εἰς ἄκρον ἐκπεπονημένα καὶ παντοίων ἀνδριάντων φιλοτέχνως δεδημιουργημένων ὑπεράγων ἀριθμός*.

² Plin. N. H. xxxv. 45; "Plastæ laudatissimi fuere Damophilus et Gorgasus, iidemque pictores, qui Cereris ædem Romæ ad circum maximum utroque genere artis suæ excoluerunt . . . Ante hanc ædem Tuscanica omnia in ædibus fuisse auctor est M. Varro." On the dedication see Dionysios, vi. 17, 94. It was dedicated *Δήμητρι καὶ Διονύσῳ καὶ Κόρῃ*. It stood till the time of Augustus (Tac. Ann. ii. 49), and was rededicated A.D. 17 "*Libero Liberæque et Cereri*."

Damophilos of Himera appears as an alternative master of Zeuxis in Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 36.

CHAP. VII. tie at once historical, artistic, and mythological, the interest of the story is not small. The renowned pupil of Damophilos, we may safely affirm, painted no picture for any Hêra of Akragas¹; but in the sister art more than one work of Myrôn found its way into Sicily. In the small temple of Asklêpios outside the wall of Akragas Verres found a bronze statue of Apollôn, with Myrôn's name wrought in silver letters on the thigh. It was the gift of the younger Publius Scipio; and to be his gift implies that it was, like the real or pretended bull of Phalaris, part of the spoil of Akragas brought back to its own home². In the lesser branches of art Sicily most likely worked for herself; the painting of vases reached its height at the time with which we are now dealing.

Works of
Myrôn in
Sicily.

Vases.

GORGIAS of
Leontinoi.
B. C. 488-
380.

We have already briefly referred to the rise of rhetoric as an art in the Sikeliot commonwealths after the driving out of the tyrants³. We have heard of Korax and Tisias, and Tisias has the credit of being one master of the famous Gorgias, as Empedoklês was another⁴. Gorgias of Leontinoi, if we can accept dates which sober writers have accepted, was the most long-lived of the long-lived worthies of Sicily⁵. In the term of a hundred and eight

¹ See above, p. 402.

² Cic. Verr. iv. 43; "Agrigento nonne ejusdem P. Scipionis monumentum, signum Apollinis pulcherrimum, cujus in femine literulis minutis argenteis nomen Myronis erat inscriptum, ex Æsculapii religiosissimo fano sustulisti?" He mentions other statues which Scipio brought back from Carthage; but they need not all have been of the same antiquity. There was (iv. 2) another work of Myrôn in the possession of Gaius Heius, "Mamertinus," a marble Erôs and a bronze Hêraklês in one.

³ See above, p. 329.

⁴ Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 3.

⁵ Holm (i. 435) seems not to doubt. Diogenês (u. s.) gives him 109 years. Lucian (Macrobii, 23) cuts him down to 108; but adds, *τροφῆς ἀποσχόμενος ἐτελεύτησε*, like Isokratês, when ten years younger. Pausanias (vi. 17. 9) has the lowest figure, 105. Cicero (De Sen. 5) who gives him 107, makes him work till the end, and say "Nihil habeo quod accusem senectutem." One may set this against Lucian's story.

years, he could remember the joint day of Himera and Salamis, and he lived to hear how the banners of Syracuse were planted on the walls of Motya, and how the boundary of Hellas again fell back to the Halykos. He saw what, beside him, we hardly venture to call the old age of Xenophânês and Simônidês¹. He had in Isokratês a scholar who, if he had not so unfairly cut short his own term, might perhaps have rivalled his master in length of days². So long a life is happily divided between two marked periods of our story. His famous embassy to Athens stands on the boundary of those periods, and it equally marks a division in his own life. Sixty years he spent in his native island. Having once played a part in the general affairs of Greece, he became for forty-eight years more a citizen of the wider world which he had helped to call into being³. In that character he has had the ill-luck to fall into the hands of one of the great dispensers of the world's applause. The name of Gorgias is perhaps best known because he and his scholar Pôlos of Akragas⁴ were chosen by Plato as two of the many victims to be offered up to the glory of his own master. From one disciple of Sôkratês we may appeal to another who knew the practical side of life somewhat better. Xenophôn has told us how the Boiotian Proxenos, wishing to make himself capable of great deeds, became a scholar of Leontine Gorgias, and tarried with him till he deemed himself fit to undertake the rule of men⁵. One may

Two periods in Gorgias' life, B. C. 488-427, B. C. 427-380.

Gorgias and Plato.

Gorgias and Proxenos.

¹ See above, p. 261.

² Plut. Vit. x. Or. i. Isokratês also heard Tisias.

³ He did not wholly forsake Sicily (see Plut. de Gen. Sac. 13); but we hear of him in various places; and as he visited Iasôn of Pherai as tyrant, it must have been at the very end of his life.

⁴ Pôlos is a well-known character in the Platonic Gorgias. He is said, as well as his master, to have harangued at Olympia; Lucian, Herod. 3.

⁵ The words of Xenophôn (Anab. ii. 6) are well worth notice; *Πρόξενος δὲ Βοιωτίας, εὐθὺς μὲν μεράκιον ὦν, ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μέγιστα πράτ-*

CHAP. VII. perhaps doubt whether the rule of men can be taught at all; yet Proxenos, as his comrade paints him, must have been no ill judge of such matters. At all events we know
 B. C. 427. that, when Gorgias went to Athens, it was as the envoy of the Leontine people; and his voice, if in the end it wrought woe alike to Sicily and Athens, at least worked mightily at the time for the cause which he came to plead. At a later day, as we all know, Plato went to Sicily. But he did not go on the errand of the Athenian commonwealth, and the chief result of his coming was to make a tyrant amuse himself for a moment by drawing circles and triangles in the sand¹.

Writings
 of Gorgias.

But the Gorgias of Plato and Proxenos, so far as he concerns Sicilian history, belongs to a later stage. We have as yet to deal with the citizen of Leontinoi who shares with his Syracusan predecessor Korax the credit or discredit of having invented rhetoric as an art. He had also his speculative notions; and he committed them to writing in more than one book. But a treatise of *Things that are not* cannot have had much influence on human affairs², while the rhetorical side of Gorgias had a real practical bearing on the history of Sicily and of all Greece. If not the inventor of artificial eloquence, he was at least its most renowned teacher. In his earlier days he founded a school of Sicilian eloquence, the earliest school of Greek eloquence. In his old age he spread his influence over the whole Hellenic world. It is a fair question how far that influence was for good, whether the artificial rhetoric which he brought in was a real improvement on the

His teaching
 of rhetoric.

τείν ικανός. καὶ διὰ ταύτην ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργία ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίνῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανὸς ἤδη νομίσας εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν.

¹ Plut. Dion. 13.

² I do not undertake to go deeper into these matters than Isokratēs, Helen. 3; πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις ὑπερβάλοιτο Γοργίαν τὸν τολμήσαντα λέγειν ὥς οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἔστιν; One cannot keep down the thought of two familiar lines of Byron.

inborn power of speech which Thucydides sets down as the marked gift of Themistokles¹. The fifth century before Christ was perhaps not the only age in which there has been a kind of rage for teaching, a rush to seek at the hands of others for that knowledge which is more really precious when it is the fruit of a man's own thought, reading, and experience. But Gorgias and the other professional teachers of his age, if they adapted themselves to the fashion of their times, supplied a demand of their times, and there is no reason to think that they supplied it otherwise than honourably. The battle of the sophists, like that of the demagogues, has been fought once for all by the historian of Greek democracy. Gorgias moreover declined the name of sophist; he was no sophist, but a *rhêtôr*. In the prose iambics² of their enemy, the unpardonable sin of the whole class of sophists and rhetoricians, that is of professional teachers of every class, was that they took money for their teaching. If what they taught was worth the price, their traffic was at least a more worthy one than that of the poets who sang the praises of tyrants for hire. But this side of Gorgias and his fellows is simply endless. Let us rather think of the man who could not only say that he had given eighty years to thought³, but who, when asked how he was able to live so much longer than other men, could say that he had never done anything for the sake of pleasure⁴. He made money freely; but he lived a simple life. After his great panegyric at Olympia, calling the Greeks to peace at home

Sophists
and
rhêtores.

Personal
character
of Gorgias.

¹ Thuc. i. 138.

² Athen. xi. 113; λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ ὁ Γοργίας αὐτὸς ἀναγνοὺς τὸν ὁμῶνυμον αὐτῷ διάλογον πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ἔφη, ὡς καλῶς οἶδε Πλάτων ἱαμβίζειν. Directly after he calls him *καλὸν καὶ νέον τοῦτον Ἀρχίλοχον*.

³ Athen. xii. 71; διὰ τὸ σωφρόνως ζῆν σχεδὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη τῷ φρονεῖν συνεβίωσε.

⁴ Ib.; ἐπεὶ τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο τίνι διαίτῃ χρώμενος οὕτως ἰμμελῶς καὶ μετὰ αἰσθήσεως τοσούτον χρόνον ζῆσειεν, οὐδὲν πάποτε, εἶπεν, ἡδονῆς ἕνεκεν πράξας.

CHAP. VII. and war with the barbarian, a scoffer jeered at him with mocking words. How could he hope to keep all Hellas in peace when he could not keep peace in his own household of three? For the household of Gorgias consisted of himself, his wife, and one female slave, and it was whispered that discord and jealousy had crept in among them ¹.

Sôphrôn
and the
mimes.

If Plato did somewhat less than justice to the Sicilian teacher of oratory, he made up for it somewhat, as far as the island was concerned, by his special fondness for the *mimes* of Sôphrôn of Syracuse, which he is said to have kept under his pillow ². The mime seems to have been strictly a performance without words, of which the exhibition made by the Syracusan in the *Symposion* of Xenophôn has been quoted as an example ³. Sôphrôn, a man of our period, was the first who turned the popular amusement into a species of literary composition ⁴; the mime was reckoned among Sicilian inventions ⁵. It remained an essentially popular exhibition; its language was the popular speech, and its material was found in popular tales and manners. The mimes seem to have kept quite aloof from public affairs, and nothing bearing on history can be found in the fragments which have come down to us ⁶.

¹ Plut. Conj. Præc. 43. The mocker is Melanthos. It is added, *ἦν γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τις ἔπος τοῦ Γοργίου καὶ ζηλοτυπία τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸς τὸ θεραπευνίδιον.* (The Plato revealed to us by Diogenēs Laertios could throw no stones.) The Olympic harangue belongs to the second period of Gorgias. Would not his simple life rather belong to the first?

² So says Soudas, and Diogenēs, iii. 13.

³ See above, p. 398, and the Article Sophron in Dict. Biog.

⁴ Aristotle (Poet. I) seems to doubt whether to reckon them as verse or prose; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔχοιμεν ὀνομάσαι κοινὸν τοὺς Σώφρονος καὶ Ξενάρχου μίμους καὶ τοὺς Σωκρατικούς λόγους.

⁵ Solinus (v. 14, 15) reckons them among "quidquid Sicilia gignit." "Hic primum inventa comœdia; hic et cavillatio mimica in scœna stetit."

⁶ Athênaios (vii. 66, 76) has several fragments and references, largely dealing with the cookery of fish, from the *Θυνοθήρας* of Sôphrôn. There were (vii. 125) *μίμοι ἀνδρείοι καὶ γυναικεῖοι*. One fragment refers to the shark; ἀ δὲ γαστήρ ὑμέων καρχαρίας, ὅκα τινὸς δῆσθε.

While Sicily thus contributed its share, and a share CHAP. VII.
 which took original shapes, to the general intellectual Visitors to
 stores of the Greek world, strangers from Old Greece did Sicily.
 not fail to visit the stores of Sicily. They have not
 indeed left behind them such clear signs of their coming
 as those who came in the days of the tyrants. Æschylus
 died in a free Sikeliot city¹; Pindar lived to sing the
 victories of free Sikeliot citizens²; but he does not seem to
 have visited the island in any character but that of the
 guest of a tyrant. After them there were no such poets
 to come, and there were no tyrants to invite them. It References
 does not appear that Sophoklês or Euripidês ever followed to Sicily in
 in the track of their mightier predecessor. Here and there the tra-
 they have a Sicilian allusion. Ismênê rides to Kolônos gedians.
 on an Ætnæan steed³; and in the Euripidean Êlektra the
 Dioskouroi speak of guarding the ship that has to cross
 the Sicilian sea⁴. In the Trôades Kasandra threatens Euripidês.
 Odysseus with Charybdis and the Kyklôpes, and the
 threat is carried out in the one satyric drama that is pre-
 served to us. The scene of the Kyklôps is laid in Sicily, The
 at the foot of Ætna. And the giant shepherds, with their Kyklôps of
 flocks and herds and milk and cheese, have not become the Euripidês.
 workmen of Hêphaistos, the forgers of the thunderbolts of
 Zeus. Still throughout the play there is a disappointing
 lack of anything local. We learn that we are in Sicily, at
 the foot of Ætna, only by a few utterances of the word
Sicily and a repetition of the word *Ætna* till we weary of

¹ See above, p. 282.² See above, pp. 299, 319.³ Soph. Œd. Col. 312;

. . . γυναιχ' ὄρω
 στείχουσιν ἡμῶν ἄσπον, Αἰτναίᾱς ἐπὶ
 πῶλου βεβῶσαν.

⁴ v. 1347;

νῶ δ' ἐπὶ πόντον Σικελὸν σπουδῇ
 σώσοντε νεῶν πρῶτας ἐνάλους.

O. Müller sees a reference to the great Sicilian expedition. But there were others before it.

CHAP. VII. it¹. But for anything characteristic either of the island in general or of that special side of it we may look in vain. The cheese which charmed men and dogs is there already, but it would almost seem that the gifts of Dêmêtêr had not yet reached her island². Galateia does not show herself; the tastes which Polyphêmos professes are quite un-Homeric. We are therefore cut off from the sight which a play by Bacchylidês might have given us. We have no domestic picture of the Kyklôps ruling, as Homer and Aristotle paint his tribe, over wife and sons, that wife a nymph of the sea, and those sons the patriarchs of the nations³.

Herodotus
in Sicily.

For the writers and speakers of prose, for historians, sophists, and *rhêtôres*, our island had greater charms. If I have taken a true view of the famous embassy to Gelôn, it follows almost of necessity that Herodotus must have been at Syracuse⁴. One is tempted to ask whether the characteristic airs of the Lacedæmonian and the Athenian envoys may not after all come from a play of Epicharmos. Anyhow the colonist of Thourioi, to whom southern Italy was so familiar⁵, could hardly fail to cross the strait and track out the career of Anaxilas, Hippokratês, and Gelôn on the

¹ vv. 20, 62, 95, 106, 114, 130, 366, 395, 660. There is a little more point when in 298 we read,

γῆς γὰρ Ἑλλάδος μυχούς
οἰκίς ἐπ' Αἴτνῃ, τῇ πυριστάκτῳ πέτρῃ,

and in 599, where Hêphaistos is called on to do a little in the way of his craft by burning out the eye of the Kyklôps. At the beginning Seilénos has something to say about Enkelados.

² 121;

ΟΔ. σπείρουσι δ', ἡ τῷ ζῶσι, Δῆμητρος στάχυν;

ΣΕΙ. γάλακτι καὶ τυροῖσι καὶ μῆλων βορᾷ.

ΟΔ. Βρομίου δὲ πῶμ' ἔχουσιν, ἀμπέλου βοάς;

ΣΕΙ. ἤμιστα· τοιγὰρ ἄχαριν οἰκοῦσι χθόνα.

This is very unlike the Sicily of any later age.

³ See above, p. 266.

⁴ See above, p. 174, and Appendix XIX.

⁵ Herod. iv. 99. To most Greeks the Attic illustration would be more intelligible than the Iapygian.

spot. That Thucydides had stepped out every inch of the battle-ground of Syracuse I feel as sure as that I have myself done so in his steps. But that concerns us not as yet. I feel nearly as sure that the first five books were written without a personal knowledge of the island as that the sixth and seventh were written with the fullest knowledge. To the fruits of that knowledge we shall come in time. Among less illustrious names, and more strictly within our present range, Prôtágoras of Abdêra seems to have visited Sicily for the love of wisdom, seemingly with Gorgias as the minister of wisdom¹. Hippias of Êlis came, if we may trust the hostile dialogue-maker, for love of gain. In a lecturing-tour in Sicily he got together great sums; twenty *minæ* were the contribution of so small a town as Inykon². A word to tell us something of the state of Inykon at that time would be more precious for our purpose than either the speculative teaching of Hippias or his skill as a tailor and shoemaker. Hippias is made to speak of the town as small, but not as barbarian. Was it in his day a Greek outpost of Akragas, or are we to infer that not only Sikel but Sikan towns were already so far hellenized as to be ready to pay for the teaching of a Greek sophist? We might guess more freely, if we felt a little more certain as to the site of Inykon³, and also if we felt more certain that talk of this kind is any authority for facts.

This casual question as to the nationality of Inykon brings us to the last and one of the most important branches of the present survey, the relation of the Greeks

¹ Plat. Hipp. Maj. pp. 282, 283; Diog. Laert. ix. 6. His ship is said to have sunk.

² Hipp. Maj. 283 (cf. p. 284); ἀφικόμενός ποτε εἰς Σικελίαν . . . ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πᾶν πλεόν ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μνᾶς ἐργασάμενην, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς γε χωρίου πᾶν σμικροῦ, Ἰνυκοῦ, πλεόν ἢ εἴκοσι μνᾶς.

³ See above, p. 112, and vol. i. p. 196.

CHAP. VII. of this age to the other races of the island. There can be no doubt that during all this time the process which was to take the place of the schemes of Ducetius, the gradual preparation of the Sikels for adoption into the Greek fold, was steadily going on. As for the feelings of the Greeks towards them, we should doubtless know more if some of the plays of Epicharmos had been preserved in full. Among the late collections of proverbs there are several which put Sicilians—*Sikeloi*—in an unfavourable or ludicrous point of view. To late compilers, writing when the Sikel had become as fully a Greek as the Macedonian, these proverbs were most likely understood as aimed at the inhabitants of Sicily in general. But when we see that some of them can be traced to Epicharmos, they put on quite another character. With him the Sikel would be the Sikel and none other. One might fancy that the Sikel was a stock character, brought into the plays of Epicharmos for the amusement of Syracusan audiences, much as Irishmen and Scotchmen were once brought on the English stage for the amusement of English audiences. Nothing quite like this could happen in the Attic comedy. Athens had no neighbours who stood to her in exactly the same relation as that in which the Sikel stood to the Syracusan or the Irishman to the English. In truth, from the very few specimens from which we have to judge, the conventional Sikel of Syracusan comedy might seem to have been not altogether unlike the conventional Irishman of English comedy. That he appears as a thief is not wonderful; that is the easiest of all charges to bring against a subject people, as it is a charge which is always likely to be true from the point of view of the ruling people¹. Engaged as a mercenary soldier, he professes to refuse the pay which is not given him². On

The Sikel
in proverbs
and
comedy.

¹ Makarios, vi. 52 (Parœm. Græc. ii. 195); ὁ Σικελὸς ὡς ἔοικε τὴν ἔξωμίδα πάροσον οἱ Σικελοὶ κωμφοδῶνται ὡς κλέπται.

² Makarios, Cent. vii. 65; Σικελὸς στρατιώτης μισθὸν διωθεῖται· ἐπὶ τῶν

this head one can fancy some rude poet of Palica or Agyrium giving the charge quite another turn. But the Sikel is further brought in as a blunderer, a maker of practical bulls. He gathers his grapes, or perhaps the grapes of the Sikeliot, before they are ripe¹. The land-lubber, as the Sikel would seem to the Greeks of the eastern coast, goes to sea with a cargo of figs. He is shipwrecked. He sits on a rock, and tells the still raging waves that he knows what they want; they are asking for more figs². The wit seems poor; but wit of this kind commonly is poor. The Syracusan reporter of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian embassy, whether Epicharmos or any other, had found a better subject for his satire.

During the whole of the fifth century, the general distinction between Sikel and Sikeliot was as broadly drawn as ever. We may say this, without ruling whether particular Sikel towns like Henna may not have been already pretty fully hellenized. At the same time we must remember the fact on which we had to dwell long ago, that the undoubted goddesses of Sicily are not spoken of in any Greek writer as goddesses of Henna. Nor does Henna play any part in the history of this time, so as to throw any light on its relation to the Greek cities. In this age Ducetius stands by himself; it is only in the next

Sikel and
Sikeliot
still
sharply
distinguish-
ed.

ἀποθείσθαι προσποιουμένων ἃ μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς δίδωσιν. So Mantissa, Cent. ii. 80.

¹ Zenob. Cent. v. 84 (Pargœm. Græc. i. 153); Σικελὸς ὀμφακίζεται ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ μηδενὸς ἄξια κλεπτόντων λέγεται ἡ παροιμία· μετενήνεκται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν τὰς ἀβρώτους ὀμφακας κλεπτόντων· μέμνηται ταύτης Ἐπίχαρμος. So Apostolios, xv.

² This proverb, strange to say, is referred to Alkman, who could not have had much to do with Sicily in any shape. He must have got it from some very early Sicilian source, which makes it even more valuable than if it came from Epicharmos. It runs thus in Apostolios, Cent. xiii. 6; ὁ Σικελὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. Σικελὸς τις σῦκα ἄγων ἐνανάγησεν· εἶθ' ὄρων τὴν θάλασσαν ἀγριουμένην, ἐπὶ πέτρας καθήμενος, οἷδά, φησιν, ὁ θέλεις· σῦκα θέλεις, Ἄλκμαν δὲ ὁ λυρικός μέμνηται τῆς παροιμίας. So Zenobios, v. 51; Diogen. Cent. vii. 5, without the reference to Alkman.

CHAP. VII. that Sikel powers, princes and commonwealths, appear on a level with their Greek neighbours. As yet the Sikels are barbarian and secondary. But their increased importance at a later period is doubtless owing to influences which were at work during the present period. That is to say, the hellenizing process, in which after all Ducetius himself really had no small share, was steadily going on.

Evidence
of Sikel
and other
barbarian
coins.

Entella.

Eryx.

Segesta.

The clearest outward sign of this process is to be seen in the coinage of the Sikel towns, their imitation of Greek models and their use of the Greek language. Nor is the process confined to Sikel towns only. Before the time which we have now reached, Elymian Segesta and Eryx and Sikan Entella had begun to strike coins after the Greek fashion. The coins of Entella itself, as distinguished from those of the Campanian settlement of later days, seem all to belong to the archaic stage¹. Coins of Eryx a little beyond the same stage show the goddess of the mount already identified with the Hellenic Aphroditê, but accompanied by the significant hound, not the companion of Artemis². Of the early coinage of Segesta and its one illustration of the speech of Segesta, I have already spoken³. But it is clear that about this time a new impulse was given to the adoption of Greek art throughout the island. Now come the magnificent Segestan coins, with the head of the personified city, the hound with or without the hunter, the chariot and its horses, the ears of barley⁴. In these cases the adoption of Greek models of art was accompanied by a greater or less degree of substantial

¹ Coins of Sicily, 60; Head, 119. They have the man-headed bull and the young Héraklês. The letters go both ways; but they have no characteristic endings, nothing like the Elymian ΞIB .

² Coins of Sicily, 61; Head, 120. There are others with Akragantine crabs and eagles, and some of the ΞIB coins are later than some with $\text{NONIKV}\Xi\text{E}$.

³ See vol. i. p. 557.

⁴ Coins of Sicily, 133; Head, 145.

hellenization among those who followed them. But in the matter of coinage Greek influences spread themselves over the Phœnician himself. It appears that before the war of Himera the Phœnician cities of Sicily had no coinage whatever. Throughout the fifth century before Christ they followed various Greek models, and, during the time with which we are concerned, Greek is at Panormos the usual language of the inscriptions¹. It is otherwise at Motya, where the coins are imitations of the coins of various Greek cities, first of Akragas, then of Syracuse, of Gela, and sometimes of practically Greek Segesta. But the inscriptions are far more commonly Phœnician than Greek. Some have the Akragantine eagle on one side, the Akragantine crab on the other². Others have on one side the head of a nymph, on the other the hound of Segesta seizing the head of a stag³. But while these models are freely copied, it is significant that no imitations are found of the coins of Selinous. The nearest neighbour was the border enemy, the Greek city which had thrown off the supremacy of the Phœnician.

CHAP. VII.
Phœnician
imitation
of Greek
coins.

Coins of
Motya.

To these coins, as evidence of Greek influence on the barbarian inhabitants of the island, we must take care to give their full value, but not more than their full value. We may feel sure that in the case of the Phœnicians they imply a far less amount of real Greek influence than they do in those of any other people. The Phœnician, like his Arab successor, could adopt and imitate European art; the Arab could even make improvements of his own. But as yet at least it was adopted as something foreign; its adoption carried with it no general advance in the direction of European life. The Phœnician remained a Phœnician. Panormos, with its Greek coinage, with many speakers

Evidence
of the
coins.

Special
position of
the Phœ-
nicians.

¹ Head, 141.

² Coins of Sicily, 243. See Appendix XXXII.

³ Coins of Sicily, 243; Head, 138.

CHAP. VII. of Greek no doubt seeking its twofold haven and its long street, did not for ages to come become a Greek city in the sense in which the Sikel towns are now fast beginning to become such. For the Phœnician, like other Orientals, was still satisfied with his Oriental life; the less advanced European was already willing to be assimilated by the more advanced. How steadily that process went on we shall see in the general history of the next century. As yet we have barely reached its beginning. The career of Ducetius and the events which immediately followed it ruled for ever that, among the European elements that were already in the island, the Greek was to be dominant without rival.

Effect of
the career
of Duce-
tius.

Increased
importance
of Syracuse.

And one is no less inclined to say that it was the career of Ducetius and the events to which it led, the quarrel between Syracuse and Akragas and the victory of Syracuse over Akragas, which ruled that Syracuse should hold beyond all doubt the first place among Sikeliot cities. Those events also suggested that democratic Syracuse might be capable of something more than merely holding the first place in a company of free and equal cities. They suggested that democratic Syracuse might hope once more to gain something like the position which she had held under her tyrants. The fatal instinct of dominion, which no form of government can keep out, began to be felt at Syracuse, as it had long been felt at Athens. A season of peace among the Greek cities of Sicily had followed the driving out of the tyrants and their mercenaries. The war in the west, whoever took part in it, seems not to have been a war of Greek against Greek. The enterprise of Ducetius had led, first to the joint action of Syracuse and Akragas, and then to the war between Syracuse and Akragas, the first war, as far as we know, between any two of the liberated commonwealths. It led also to a great extension of Syracusan

dominion at the cost of the Sikels¹. Then came another season of peace. The barbarians of the island had felt the might of the Greek; those in the western part of the island had felt the might of the Syracusan. Carthage still kept quiet, as she had done even when Greek cities were waging war against her Sicilian dependencies². She was doubtless biding her time. In Sicily the Greek cities were beginning to look up to Syracuse, if not as their chief, at least as the first among them³. Her victories over both Greeks and barbarians seem to have stirred up her ambition to a higher pitch, to have made her forget the rule that, if the trade of enslaved Syracuse was to conquer other cities, free Syracuse had no calling but to deliver them⁴. CHAP. VII.

Again our knowledge consists of a bare record of facts, leaving us to imagine causes and objects for ourselves. In the very year, it would seem, after the death of Ducetius the Syracusan commonwealth decreed the building of a hundred triremes. The number of the horsemen was doubled, and the infantry were put into better order⁵. This last reform was doubtless specially needed. We shall see some years hence that the horse were the really trustworthy part of a Syracusan army; the heavy-armed fell far below the standard, not only of Sparta but of Athens. To meet the cost of these works, a heavier tribute was laid on the Sikel Warlike
prepara-
tions of
Syracuse.
B.C. 439.

¹ See above, p. 387.

² See above, p. 338.

³ Diod. xii. 26; τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν εἰρηνικὴν εἶχε κατάστασιν, Καρχηδονίων μὲν πεποιημένων συνθήκας πρὸς Γέλωνα, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Συρακοσίοις συγκεχωρηκυῖων, καὶ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν τὴν γενομένην περὶ τὸν Ἰμέραν ποταμὸν συλληλυμένων πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους.

⁴ Holm, i. 261; "Es verschaffte den Syrakusanern die Gelegenheit, die Stellung, welche sie unter den Tyrannen auf der Insel eingenommen hatten, als freie Bürger wieder zu erringen." Cf. the extract from Strabo in p. 166, note.

⁵ Diod. xii. 30. They built the ships, they doubled the cavalry; the words about the infantry take another shape; ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς πεζικῆς δυνάμεως.

CHAP. VII.
Schemes
of con-
quest.

Their
object.

dependencies of the commonwealth¹. Men said that these great preparations were meant for nothing short of the conquest of all Sicily². In the wretched meagreness of our authorities for these years, we cannot say whether these great preparations were followed by any action. But there is every reason to believe that the Syracusan military reforms were the beginning of great events both in Sicily and in other lands. They must in the first instance have been designed for some Sicilian object. The first object that comes into our minds is operations against Akragas. But, when we presently come to know more of Sicilian affairs, the relation between Syracuse and Akragas, at any rate the feeling at Akragas towards Syracuse, as shown for instance in the banishment of Empedoklēs³, is not one of open enmity, but rather one of grudging and suspicious neutrality. Designs on Kamarina, the restoration of Syracusan rule over the old revolted colony, have been suggested⁴; but there is no sign of them in anything that follows. If Syracuse designed conquests in Sicily, she would hardly begin by attacking her Dorian sisters. For six years after this increase of the Syracusan forces, our history is an utter blank. At the end of those six years we find, not in the narrative of our Sicilian guide, but in documents graven on stone in Old Greece, a record of negotiations in which we may safely look for the key.

Athens
looking
westward.

We have seen how, twenty years before the date which we have reached, Athens could be appealed to by a barbarian city of Sicily for help, it would seem, against another barbarian city⁵. It does not appear that the step was

¹ Diod. xii. 30; *Χρημάτων παρασκευὰς ἐποιούντο φόρους ἀδρότεροις τοῖς ὑποταγμένοις Σικελοῖς ἐπιτιθέντες*.

² *Ib.*; *ταῦτα δ' ἐπραττον διανοούμενοι πᾶσαν Σικελίαν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον καταστήσασθαι*.

³ See above, p. 354.

⁴ Brunet de Presle, 164. But he seems to have no better ground for this belief than a misunderstanding of the blundering scholion on Pind. Ol. v. 19. See p. 318.

⁵ See above, p. 339, and Appendix XXXII.

followed by any active intervention on the part of Athens in Sicilian affairs. But it none the less shows that Athens was already looking westward. Somewhat later, the foundation of her Italian colony of Thourioi looks the same way¹. We now come to another step. If Athens could be appealed to by the Elymians of Segesta, much more might she be appealed to by Italian and Sicilian Greeks of her own stock. Six years after the notice of the Syracusan preparations, two of the Ionian cities of the west, Italiot Rhêgion and Sikeliot Leontinoi, found it expedient to contract alliances with Athens². These alliances are the first step towards a new state of political affairs which we shall have to deal with in another volume. They are the beginnings of that increased closeness of relations between Sicily and Old Greece which ended by drawing the cities of Sicily into the whirlpool of the great strife between the leading powers of Old Greece. They concern our present point of view only as a comment on the great military preparations of Syracuse. Of events we have none to record; but embassies from Rhêgion and Leontinoi to Athens point clearly enough to a state of things in which, if Syracuse had not actually subdued or attacked any Chalkidian city, the Chalkidian cities had at least begun to live in deadly fear of her. We have taken a great step towards the end of the golden days of Sikeliot freedom and well-being. The few words of those two Attic inscriptions which are preserved to us are the beginning of a great tale. They are the first record of Athenian intermeddling in Sikeliot affairs. They are a short preface to the Sicilian narrative of Thucydides. They are the beginnings of a course of events which did not end even with the great slaughter in the bed of the Assinaros, but which went on to carry a

CHAP. VII.
Thourioi.
B.C. 443.

Alliance
of Rhêgion
and Leon-
tinoi with
Athens.
B.C. 433.

Increased
dealings
with Old
Greece.

Syracuse
threatens
the Chal-
kidian
towns.

Beginning
of a new
period.

¹ We shall come to this in the next chapter.

² See Hicks, Greek Inscriptions, 56, 57; but we shall come to all this again.

CHAP. VII. Syracusan captain to the shores of Asia, and to make Sparta, acknowledged chief of Hellas, bear herself as the chief supporter of a Syracusan tyrant. At the beginning of that long tale, we shall look again more fully at the witness of these records. Then they will be the beginning of a period; as we glance at them now, they are the end of one. Greek Sicily has hitherto been, with the very fewest exceptions, a world of her own, but slightly touched by the revolutions of the elder Greece. We have now to see the Greek cities of Sicily take their full share in the quarrels of the Greek lands beyond the sea. We shall see one Sicilian hill, one Sicilian haven, become for a while the very centre of the strife.

Antiochos
of Syra-
cuse.

Contem-
porary
men.

And, if deeds like those were soon to be done, the men were growing up whose calling it was to record them. Both Old Greece and Sicily already had their historians. We know the acts of Hippokratês and Gelôn mainly from a man of Halikarnassos and Thourioi; but their acts, and the whole story of Sicily, were now in writing at the hands of a man of Syracuse. Antiochos was busy with his Sicilian History; and Antiochos, we are taught to believe, was in Sicilian matters the master of Thucydides¹. When Athens made her treaties with Rhêgion and Leontinoi, Thucydides was already a man of an age fit for action². The events of Greek history press so fast on one another that it is always well to stop and think who were on the earth together at any given moment. At the time of the Rhegine and Leontine treaties, Hermokratês and Gylippos must, like Thucydides, have already reached the time of active life. We may be sure that both Philistos and Dionysios were already born, though they could as yet have

¹ He was general in B.C. 424; Thuc. iv. 104.

² We may infer this from their action in B.C. 406. Philistos was old at his death in B.C. 356.

given no sign of the deeds which the one was to do and the other to record. And three years before those treaties, four years after the death of Ducetius, a man was born who was to outlive Dionysios by nearly thirty years, to hear the tale of Timolêon's victory at Krimisos, and to die because he could not survive Philip's victory at Chairôneia. Isokratês, if he never visited Sicily, kept a keen watch on Sicilian affairs. It seems to bring the ages nearer together when we remember that he might have talked to men who had fought at Himera and who could remember Syracuse in the days before Gelôn.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 436.

APPENDIX.



NOTE I. p. 8.

KINGS AND TYRANTS IN SICILY.

THE long line of Sicilian kings and tyrants begins, as far as we know, with this mysterious King Pollis of Syracuse, provided, that is, we can safely look on him as a real person. The question of his existence was discussed long ago by O. Müller (*Dorians*, i. 161, Eng. Tr.), and the passages about him are brought together by Holm, *G. S.*, i. 346. The most important is that in *Athênaios* (i. 56), where Hippias of Rhêgion is quoted as speaking of a certain wine; ἦν [φησὶ] Πόλλιν τὸν Ἀργεῖον, ὃς ἐβασίλευσε Συρακοσίων, πρῶτον εἰς Συρακούσας κομίσαι ἐξ Ἰταλίας. He adds; εἴη ἂν οὖν ὁ παρὰ Σικελιώταις γλυκὺς καλούμενος Πόλλιος ὁ βίβλινος οἶνος. Now Hippias would be about the best authority that we could get for any early Sicilian matter. And something of the same kind seems to have been said by Aristotle. So at least says Julius Pollux (*Onom.* vi. 16), who seems inclined to distinguish Pollis or Polis the Argeian from the Syracusan king. His words are—again speaking of wine; καὶ πον καὶ γλυκὺς Πόλλιος· ἔστι μὲν ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, Πόλλις δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀργεῖος πρῶτος ἐπεσκεύαζεν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τοῦνομα, ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ Συρακουσίων βασιλέως Πόλλιδος, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει. *Ælian* also (*V. H.* xii. 31), still on the subject of wine, has a reference to Pollis; καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις Πόλλιος· ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ τινος ἐγχωρίου βασιλέως. The *Etymologicon Magnum*, in the article *Βίβλινος οἶνος*, quotes a line from a comic poet;

Ἵδωρ δὲ πίνει, τὸν δὲ βίβλινον στυγεῖ.

He then, among some other illustrations, says, καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὑπὸ

Πόλλιδος τοῦ Σικυωνίου τυράννου· ἔνθεν αὐτὴν τινὲς καὶ πόλλιον καλοῦσιν. In this last passage, instead of a Syracusan king we seem to get a Sikyonian tyrant ; but there can be little doubt from the mention of Sicily that for Σικυωνίου we ought to read Συρακοσίου. But in any case Pollis is here called, not king but tyrant.

Here there is a fair amount of evidence for the existence of a Pollis, king or tyrant of Syracuse, at some time or other, and the mention of him by Hippys, a writer of the age of Gelôn, shows that he must have lived before the Deinomenid dynasty, that is in the old days of Syracuse, the days of the Gamoroi. In those days a tyrant of the later type seems less likely than a lawful king. The staying on of kingship, or at least of the kingly title, in various cities both of Old Greece and of the colonies is plain enough. There is no need to dwell on the familiar cases both at Sparta and at Athens. The ἄρχων βασιλεύς must have been a survival of real kings, just as the "rex sacrorum" was at Rome. The notice too given by Herodotus (vii. 149) of the Argeian king, of whom nothing I believe is heard elsewhere, is very curious. As he is put on a level with the two Spartan kings, his kingship must have been something more than that of the Athenian archôn. He must have been a true successor of Pheidôn, though his kingship may have fallen away from the ideal βασιλεία as much as that of Pheidôn grew away from it in the direction of τυραννίς. Pheidôn's successor Eratos appears as a real king in Pausanias, ii. 36. 5. And what concerns us more at Syracuse is the long duration of kingship at Corinth, down to a very short time before the expedition of Archias. The abolition of kingship spoken of by Pausanias (ii. 4. 5) must, according to the chronologers, have happened about 747. Its memory therefore was still fresh. And in the colonies, as the oldest foundations were all made by kings, so kingship long went on. So it was in most of the Asiatic cities (see the instances brought together in Duncker's fifth volume, in the Chapter Die Wanderung der Ionier). The most speaking case of all is that at Ephesos, the existence of Kodrid kings there even in the time of Strabo (xiv. 1. 3); καὶ ἔτι νῦν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ὀνομάζονται βασιλεῖς, ἔχοντές τινας τιμὰς, προεδρίαν τε ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ πορφύραν ἐπίσημον τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, σκίπωνα ἀντὶ σκήπτρου καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος. The case that stands out most distinctly in history is that of Kyrênê, with its long succession of kings, recorded by Herodotus and sharing the epinikian praises of Pindar with the tyrants of Syracuse and Akragas. The

attempt of Dêmônax (Herod. iv. 161) to make the royal power nominal without abolishing the office is most instructive as to the way in which the ancient kingship died out. In Cyprus too Herodotus (v. 109-112) records various Greek kings, and we find the restoration of the ancient kingship under Evagoras, who (Diod. xv. 9) insisted on treating with the Great King ὡς βασιλεὺς βασιλεῖ. It is true that Herodotus also calls the earlier Cypriot kings τύραννοι, and that Isokratês, in his Panegyric on Evagoras, many times (40, 64, &c.) applies the same name to his own hero. But the use of the name τύραννος proves much less against a man's lawful kingship than the use of βασιλεὺς proves in favour of it. The Greeks of the centuries between the dying out of the heroic and the rise of the Macedonian kingship were so used to τύραννοι and saw so little of real βασιλεῖς that they used the former name very laxly. In almost every page of the tragedians it is freely applied to the kings of heroic Greece, one of the marked contrasts between their language and that of Homer. The word τύραννος was used carelessly; every use of βασιλεὺς is likely to imply thought. Isokratês does not scruple to call Evagoras τύραννος; but when he means to speak in a thoroughly formal way, he calls Evagoras himself βασιλεὺς and his children ἀνακτες and ἀνασσαί (Evag. 88). These last are rare words in prose, and this use of them sounds like the most modern use of the words "princes" and "princesses."

The existence then of lawful kingship in Greek Sicily does not seem to be wholly impossible. We must not build too much on our King Pollis; but we may fairly ask what should have put him into anybody's head, if he were not a real person. But it must be remembered that, at Syracuse at least, if kingship did exist, it must have been a restoration. It was surely not brought thither by the first settlers. Archias is nowhere spoken of as a king, and he certainly left behind him in Corinth, not a kingdom but an oligarchy, though one of very short standing. But it was an oligarchy made out of the old royal family, and one to which the odd phrase of ἄνδρες μούναρχοι (Herod. v. 92) could be applied. It was a kingly *gens* which had divided the kingship among its members. And the restoration of kingship in a colonial state does not seem very unlikely. The αἰσυμνήτης does not greatly differ from an elective king. Pittakos was αἰσυμνήτης of Mitylênê (Arist. Pol. iii. 14. 9), and in the well-known verses (Bergk, iii. 673)

he is spoken of as reigning (μεγάλας Μιτυλάνας βασιλεύων. Cf. Strabo, xiii. 2, where he is called τύραννος and his rule μοναρχία). Still I know no distinct mention of a Sicilian king other than Pollis, till we come to Skythês of Zanklê. He is distinctly called βασιλεύς by Herodotus (vi. 23; Ζαγκλαῖοι αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ ὄνῳμα ἦν Σκύθης). In two places directly following Herodotus gives Skythês the neutral name of μούναρχος, but he nowhere calls him τύραννος, though he applies that name in the same breath both to Anaxilas of Rhêgion and to Hippokratês of Gela. This really looks, as Bunbury seems to hint in his articles "Scythês" and "Messana" in the two Dictionaries, as if the position of Skythês was somewhat different from that of an ordinary tyrant, and was in fact a survival or restoration of lawful kingship.

The usage of Herodotus with regard to the words βασιλεύς and τύραννος is worthy of careful notice. There is a delicate distinction which has not always been noticed. Thus, for instance, he never, speaking in his own person, gives the kingly title to Polykratês, ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς (iii. 39); but he makes the fisherman (iii. 42) address him ὡ βασιλεῦ. Neither does he give the name to Gelôn, who is τύραννος in vii. 156; but the Athenian envoy addresses him in i 61 ὡ βασιλεῦ Συρηκουσίων. The inference seems to be that a tyrant did not venture formally to take the title of βασιλεύς, but that he was pleased when anybody would call him so. It was much as when Mr. Glossin forbore to call himself "Ellangowan," but gave half-a-crown to the beggar who called him so. This quite falls in with the usage of Pindar, who so freely bestows the royal name on his Syracusan patrons. There is of course the question, which I shall discuss further on (see Appendix XIII), whether Gelôn was formally made king by a vote of the Syracusan people. If so, it is the greatest case of all of the restoration of kingship, as it stands quite distinct from the case of rulers like Agathoklês, Phintias, and the later Hierôn, who took or received the kingly title after kingship had again become familiar in Macedonian times. In any case, if Gelôn did ever receive kingship in a lawful way, it was after the last mention of him in Herodotus, and so does not affect his use of the names. We have the fact that, while Herodotus, speaking in his own person, always calls Gelôn τύραννος, he calls Skythês βασιλεύς and μούναρχος, but not τύραννος. Whether Skythês came of an old kingly stock like

the Battiads of Kyrênê, or whether kingship was restored in his person by a vote of the Zanklaian people, we cannot guess. His name is odd in either case.

We find another king about the same time in Greek Italy in the person of Aristophilidês of Taras, who is mentioned quite casually by Herodotus (iii. 136) in the story of Dêmokêdês, without any hint as to who he was or as to the nature of his kingship. He acts strongly on Dêmokêdês' behalf, as a real chief of the state. But we do not hear of him again; in the rest of the story we hear in the usual way of the action of the Tarantines, without any mention of king or magistrate. And the most curious case of all with regard to the use of *τύραννος* and *βασιλεύς* comes also from Greek Italy. It is found in the application of the words to Têlys of Sybaris (see p. 88). At first sight Herodotus seems to call him indifferently by both names in the same chapter (v. 44). But it has been acutely pointed out by Busolt (ii. 238) that he uses the two names according to the custom of the city whose tale he is telling. The ruler of Sybaris is *βασιλεύς* in the version of the story of Dôrieus told by the men of Sybaris; he is *τύραννος* in the version told by their enemies of Krotôn. This certainly looks as if, in the traditions of Sybaris, Têlys was spoken of as king. Yet, according to Diodôros (xii. 9), Têlys was a demagogue, who rose by the arts commonly attributed to demagogues, and who banished an oligarchy of five hundred. Is it possible that the victorious commons can have hailed their leader as king? In any case, we must repeat, the application of the name *βασιλεύς* to any man (save of course by a poet or other flatterer) certainly proves more one way than the application of the name *τύραννος* to the same man proves the other way.

It is to be noticed that there clearly was for several centuries in the Greek colonies a tendency to personal government in every form of which we see no sign in Old Greece. It is in the colonies that we find the cases which look most like a real keeping on or setting up afresh of the heroic kingship, when in Old Greece it has sunk to the merest survivals. It is again in the colonies, at Katanê or at Mitylênê, that the *αἰσυμνήτης* flourishes. And the tyrant himself flourishes, in Sicily above all, in the time between Hippias and Timophanês, when he was very rare in any part of Old Greece and altogether unknown in the greatest cities (cf. Arist. Pol. v. 4. 8). The latest form of tyrant, often a leader of

mercenaries, is found alike in Sicily and in Old Greece. But in Old Greece he has come in under Macedonian patronage.

To come back to our King Pollis, it may be well to mention that there are others of the name, with some of whom he might be confounded or identified. One of them, a Lacedæmonian admiral, stands out in the broad daylight of Xenophôn's Hellenics (iv. 8. 11, v. 4. 61), and actually comes (see Plut., Dion, 5, Aristeidês, quoted by Phôtios, 432) within our later Sicilian range. But an earlier Lacedæmonian Pollis or Polis appears as one of the leaders in the migration from Peloponnêsos to Crete (cf. Herod. iv. 148). His name is found in two places of Plutarch (De Mul. Virt. 8, *Τυρρηνίδες*, and *Quæstiones Græcæ*, 21), and in two of Konôn (Phôtios, 137, 141). A Pollis who goes from Sparta to Crete and a Pollis who goes from Argos to Sicily might seem to have enough in common for an anecdote-monger either to roll two men into one or to part one man into two.

On the whole it is not easy to come to any certain conclusion as to Pollis and his Syracusan kingship. But the mention of him is at least not likely to be sheer invention, and, if he lived and reigned at all, he is more likely to have been a lawful king than a tyrant of the type of which we shall presently come across so many.

NOTE II. p. 12.

ΓΑΜΟΡΟΙ AND ΚΤΑΛΤΡΙΟΙ.

I HAVE mentioned in the text the chief passages where we get any historical mention of the Syracusan *γαμόροι*. A little more may be said about the name, and about one or two references for which it is not easy to find a historical place.

In the Parian Chronicle, 52 (p. 18, Flach), the *Γαμόροι* are made use of as a date; *ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν μὲν Κριτίου τοῦ προτέρου, ἐν Συρακούσαις δὲ τῶν γεωμόρων κατεχόντων τὴν ἀρχήν*. This would give a date of 590 B. C. Now this cannot be taken to fix the beginning of the ascendancy of the *Gamoroi*, any more than every date of T. R. E. is to be referred to the year 1042 A. D. The *Gamoroi* had, strictly speaking, no beginning apart from the beginning of Syracuse. Still the date must mean something, and it may mean that this was about the time when the *ἀρχὴ τῶν γεωμόρων* came more distinctly into

notice as such by the beginning of opposition to it. But what is to be made of the entry in the Parian Chronicle which goes just before this, that which makes Sapphō flee into Sicily along with the banished γαμόροι of Mitylênê (Σαπφῶ ἐγ Μιτυλήνης εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσε φυγοῦσα σὺν ἄλλοις ὀλιγαρχικοῖς)? See p. 149.

On the name γαμόροι we may notice that Herodotus must have got it from some local source, as he gives it in the Doric form. In some other writers it is γεωμόροι, as in the fragment of Diodōros where he tells the story of Agathoklēs, in the Parian Chronicle just quoted, and in Dionysios (vi. 62), where he makes Appius Claudius speak of their driving out by the commons as the last piece of news; τὰ τελευταῖα ἐν Συρακούσαις οἱ γεωμόροι πρὸς τῶν πελατῶν ἐξηλάθησαν. On the other hand Æschylus has the word in its Doric shape; Suppl. 616. It may there mean land-owners or inhabitants of the land in any shape. Hēsychios under γαμόροι refers to both Æschylus and Herodotus; οἱ περὶ τὴν γῆν πονούμενοι, ἢ μοῖραν εἰληχότες τῆς γῆς· ἢ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγείων τιμημάτων τὰ κοινὰ διέποντες. This would be our Syracusan sense. Further on, with a reference to Kallimachos, he gives γεωμόρος the sense of γεωργός. Julius Pollux (viii. 109-111), under the head δήμαρχοι, has much to say of many matters, and in the end he comes to the γεωμόροι as a class of free *ceorlas* or *bonder*; τρία δ' ἦν τὰ ἔθνη πάλαι, εὐπατρίδαι, γεωμόροι, δημιουργοί (so Plutarch, Thēseus, 25), which seems to come very near to *jarl*, *karl*, and *thrall*. Soudas brings them down to the same level as Pollux, or perhaps to a lower, when he defines γεωμόρος as ὁ περὶ τὴν γῆν κοπιῶν. So the Etymologicon Magnum explains γεωμόρος as γεωργός or γεωπόνος.

But however the word may have been used elsewhere, at Syracuse it clearly means the owners of land, the "landed interest," as opposed to any other. The γαμόροι are the descendants of those who, in the beginning of the settlement, received both lots of land as their own and a right to the profits of the folkland.

The word γαμόρος, in whatever senses it is taken, has at least a clear Greek derivation, which is more than we can say for the name of those slaves or dependents of the γαμόροι who helped to turn them out. Who were the κυλλύριοι in their many spellings, and what is the origin of their name? Herodotus, as we all know, distinguishes them from the δῆμος, and calls them the slaves of the γαμόροι (vii. 155); τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκουσίων ἐκπεσόντας

ὑπό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων καλεομένων δὲ κυλλυρίων. The δήμος are of course the newer settlers, shut out by the γαμόροι from political power and from the possession of land, a class no doubt wholly or mainly Greek. The κυλλύριοι we may take to be, not δοῦλοι or βεσῶας in the very strictest sense, but serfs or villains (in the later sense of that word) of the γαμόροι, dwelling on and tilling their lands, a class no doubt wholly or mainly Sikel. We read in the Lexicon of Phôtios under the spelling Καλλικύριοι ;

οἱ ἀντὶ τῶν γεωμόρων ἐν Συρακόσσαις γενόμενοι πολλοὶ τινες τὸ πλῆθος· δοῦλοι δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι τῶν φυγίδων, ὡς Τιμαῖος ἐν γ'. ὅθεν τοὺς ὑπερβολῇ πολλοὺς Καλλικυρίους ἔλεγον· ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐς ταὐτὸ συνελθεῖν παντοδαποὶ ὄντες, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Συρακοσσίῳ πολιτείᾳ, ὅμοιοι τοῖς παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις Εἰλωσι καὶ παρὰ Θεσσαλοῖς Πενέσταις καὶ παρὰ Κρησὶ Κλαρώταις.

One would like to have the passages from Timaios and Aristotle in full, and specially to know what was said about the φυγάδες. The name must mean the γαμόροι, when the δήμος and the κυλλύριοι had driven them out. Anyhow the analogies with Sparta, Thessaly, and Crete, which doubtless come from Aristotle, are much more to the purpose than the attempt at an etymology of the name. It is curious that further on in the Lexicon there is an abridgement of this same article under the spelling Κιλλικύριοι. As there is a gap in the Lexicon from ἀδιάκριτος to ἐπώννυμοι, it tells us nothing about the γαμόροι. In the other Lexicons there is not much to our purpose, except the reading in the note to Hēsychios; Καλλικύριοι· οἱ ἐπεισελθόντες γεωμόροις· δοῦλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς κυρίους ἐξέβαλον. Soudas copies the article in Phôtios, and adds a proverb; παροιμία καλλικυρίων πλείους· τοῦτο ἐλέγετο, εἴποτε πλῆθος ἤθελον ἐμφῆναι· οἱ γὰρ καλλικύριοι δοῦλοι ἦσαν πλείως τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξέβαλον. So among the professed Παροιμογράφοι, Zênobios (iv. 54, Parœm. Græc. i. 100) has Καλλικυρίων πλείους· οὕτως ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἐπεισελθόντες γεωμόροις καλλικύριοι· ἔνθεν παροιμωδῶς ἔλεγον, εἴ ποτε πλῆθος ἤθελον ἐμφῆναι, ὅτι πλείους ἦσαν τῶν καλλικυρίων· δοῦλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, καὶ τοὺς κυρίους ἐξέβαλον· ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῆς κλήσεως αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ παντοδαπούς εἰς ταὐτὸ συνελθῶν ὥστε τοῖς κυρίοις ἐγκέσθαι.

One may doubt whether there was any real source of knowledge about these κυλλύριοι beyond the passage in Herodotus. His words seem to be the groundwork for the one fact which Aristotle or anybody else had to tell about them. So it is with Dionysios when he likens them to the Roman clients (πελάται), less happily than

the analogies which Phôtios seemingly learned from Aristotle. It seems vain to guess at the origin of the name; its other forms seem a lengthening of the *κυλλύριοι* of Herodotus, perhaps with a desire to bring in something about *κύριοι*. And there is also a notion of multitude which turns up in one or two forms. The really important question is how this seemingly Sikel element in Syracuse fared in the later revolutions. As they cast in their lot with the *δῆμος*, and as there is nothing to show that any part of the *δῆμος* was driven out or enslaved at the entry of Gelôn, I have assumed that they abode to form a class among the inhabitants of Syracuse, a class which doubtless soon lost its distinctness. The *κυλλύριοι* may well have been the beginning of the *Hellenismus*.

The *κυλλύριοι* appear nowhere except at the stage where the *γαμόροι* are driven out. Of the *γαμόροι* we hear once or twice in other relations. We have seen the whole body of *Gamoroi*, the *populus* of Syracuse, sit as a court on an offender (see p. 14). To their driving out there are two references in Aristotle's *Politics*. In v. 4. 1 he tells the story of the quarrel of the two young men, which he brings in with the general remark; *γίγρονται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν, στασιάζουσι δὲ περὶ μεγάλων. μάλιστα δὲ καὶ αἱ μικραὶ ἰσχύουσιν, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις γένωνται*. He then adds, *οἷον συνέβη καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις; μετέβαλε γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ἐκ δύο νεανίσκων στασιασάντων*. Here the *ἀρχαίοι χρόνοι* can hardly mean anything but the whole time of the domination of the *Gamoroi*, though in this case it was the very end of the time. The words *μετέβαλεν ἡ πολιτεία* can refer only to some such change as the driving out of the *Gamoroi*. Plutarch (*Præc. Reip. Ger.* 32) also winds up the story to the same effect; *οὐ μὴν ἔπεισε* [the wise senator, see p. 38], *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τούτων στασιάσαντες, ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς μεγάλας τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἀνέτρεψεν*. The other allusion of Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 3. 5) distinctly refers to the driving out of the *Gamoroi*. Among instances of risings against oligarchies (*οἷον ἔν τε ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, ὅταν πλείους ᾖσιν οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες τῆς πολιτείας, κρείττους γὰρ οἶονται εἶναι*) he reckons *ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ τῆς Γέλωνος τυραννίδος*. It is, I think, plain that the dispute of the two young men was the occasion, though, according to Aristotle's great distinction, certainly not the cause, of the fall of the *Gamoroi*.

NOTE III. p. 30.

MH KINEI KAMAPINAN.

THE fame of the oracle doubtless comes from the reference in Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 701;

"Fatis numquam concessa moveri
Adparet Camarina procul."

Here however there is a clear confusion between the lake and the town. Silius (xiv. 198) of course follows his master;

"Et cui non licitum fatis, Camarina, moveri."

Servius tells the story, and quotes the oracle, *μὴ κίνει Καμάριναν ἀκίνητος γὰρ ἀμείνων*, and adds, "quo contempto exsiccaverunt paludes, et carentes pestilentia, per eam partem ingressis hostibus, poenas dederunt." This may conceivably refer to the coming of the Carthaginians in B.C. 405. Soudas, in the article headed *μὴ κίνει Καμάριναν*, says simply *ἐβλάβησαν*, and adds, *ὅθεν ἡ παροιμία εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ἐαυτῶν βλαβερῶς τι ποιούντων*. He says further; *τινὲς δὲ φασὶ φυτὸν δυσῶδες εἶναι τὴν Καμάριναν, οὗ τοὺς κλάδους ἀνασειομένους ἀηδέστερον ὄζειν*.

NOTE IV. p. 40.

THE TEMPLES IN ORTYGIA.

THE two temples in Ortygia are well known. There is the better preserved one on the highest point in the island, that which is now the metropolitan church, and there is the other nearer the isthmus, of which part only has been brought to light. The former has been always understood to be the temple of Athênê, and the latter has been generally accepted as the temple of Artemis. These dedications are disputed by Schubring (*Die Bewässerung von Syrakus*, *Philologus*, xxii. p. 636, and *Der neu ausgegrabene Tempel in Syrakus*, xxxii. p. 361), who rules the higher temple to be that of Artemis, but does not fix the dedication of the lower temple. He is answered by Holm (*Topografia*, p. 174, *Lupus*, 93), who, successfully, as I think, defends the common view.

Schubring's chief argument is that Ortygia is the special seat of Artemis, not of Athênê. She was Artemis Alpeîôa or Arethousia,

the Artemis out of whose epithet grew the story of Arethousa and Alpheios (Schol. Pind. Pyth. ii. 12; *ᾧθεν Ἀλφειώας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐκεῖ καθιδρύθη*); she had a statue hard by the fountain of Arethousa (Ib.; *ἄλλως, ἱδρυται γὰρ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀρεθούσῃ*). Artemis therefore would be likely to occupy the most prominent site and the one nearest to Arethousa; and this description agrees with the metropolitan church and not with the temple nearer the isthmus. He remarks further on the early style of the commonly called temple of Artemis, as better agreeing than that of the metropolitan church with the story of Agathoklēs in the time of the *Gamoroi*. He argues that the notion that the head temple (as the one that is now the great church clearly was) was dedicated to Athênē arose only from misunderstanding the words of Cicero. He (Verres, iv. 53, 55) mentions both, but has more to say about that of Athênē. His words are; "In ea [Insula] sunt ædes sacræ complures; sed duæ quæ longe ceteris antecellunt; Dianæ una, et altera, quæ fuit ante istius adventum ornatissima, Minervæ." In c. 55 he describes the temple of Athênē, and the pictures which adorned it up to the time of Verres, at some length.

Assuredly the passages from Cicero, while they go a good way to prove that the two temples which we have to deal with are the two of which he speaks, go but very little way to prove which is Athênē and which is Artemis. The orator enlarges on the one which happened to supply him with most materials for his indictment against Verres. Yet the fact that the temple of Athênē should have supplied him with his chief materials, the fact that it was the temple specially chosen for the gifts and memorials of the rulers of Syracuse, may have some weight towards showing that the head temple was that of Athênē. But there is evidence which seems directly to prove that the temple of Athênē stood on the most prominent site in the Island. This is the passage quoted by Athēnaios (xi. 6) from Polemôn, which must be given at length;

Πολέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Μορύχου ἐν Συρακούσαις φησὶν ἐπ' ἄκρα τῇ νήσῳ πρὸς τῷ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἱερῷ ἔκτος τοῦ τείχους ἐσχάραν τινα εἶναι, ἀφ' ἧς φησὶ τὴν κύλικα ναυστολοῦσιν ἀναπλεόντες μέχρι τοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ νεῷ τῆς Ἀθηνῆς ἀόρατον ἀσπίδα· καὶ οὕτως ἀφ' ἱᾶσιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κεραμέαν κύλικα, καθέντες εἰς αὐτὴν ἄνθεα καὶ κηρία καὶ λιβανωτὸν ἄτμητον καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα μετὰ τούτων ἀρώματα.

I must confess that I do not see the meaning of the words *πρὸς*

τῇ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἱερῷ ἐκτὸς τοῦ τεύχους. Holm in the *Topografia* (176, 186) seems to leave the meaning quite uncertain; it may be a temple of Hêra; "a meno che quell' Olympia non fosse la divinità eponima di quella località greca ove si celebravano i giuochi tanto rinomati." In the edition of Lupus (pp. 93, 104, 244) a temple of Hêra Olympia, at the extreme point of the island, if I rightly understand, seems to be assumed. But it is hard to see in what relation the temples of Olympia and Athênê are supposed to stand to one another, or how anything can be at once ἐπ' ἄκρα τῇ νήσῳ and ἐκτὸς τοῦ τεύχους. If one could make Ὀλυμπία masculine, there would be every fitness in speaking of the temple of Athênê ἐπ' ἄκρα τῇ νήσῳ as standing opposite to the Olympieion ἐκτὸς τοῦ τεύχους; but it would be hard to get this meaning out of the Greek as it stands, and it is in no case easy to make out what the exact ceremony was. I used to think that they sailed from some point near Polichna, having filled the cup at the Olympieion. And something like this seems to be the notion of Schubring in two other passages (Achradina, pp. 40, 41, and Bewässerung, 628). He holds that Zeus οὐρανός or "Imperator" (Cic. Verr. v. 57) was a god of the winds, while Athênê in the Island was, as Tritogeneia, a sea-faring power (see Preller, G. M. i. 123). This Zeus of the winds dwelled, not in the new Olympieion of the second Hierôn, but in the old one on Polichna. He and Athênê in this character were thus fittingly brought together for this purpose. This all suits excellently, if we could only get it out of the Greek. And Schubring is further hampered by his theory that the temple of Athênê was not, in the usual sense of the words, ἐπ' ἄκρα τῇ νήσῳ. He is therefore driven to construe those words (Achradina, 41) "gegenüber der Spitze der Insel," which I do not understand as applied to his site. The other words, πρὸς τῇ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας, he translates "in Olympia Polichne," which I am still further from understanding. I am not fond of tinkering texts which we cannot understand; but one may sometimes fall into the lowlier frame of mind of thinking that what the author wrote must have been different from what is in the printed book, and one may thereby relieve oneself from the task of trying to understand. This seems more becoming than either to construe the words as Schubring does or to call in a Hêra Olympia without further evidence. One thing is perfectly plain. Wherever the cup was filled, it was thrown into the sea at the point whence the shield of Athênê could no longer be seen.

The reference to the temple of Athênê is perfectly clear. There must have been an armed figure of the goddess, the highest object in the city, and therefore the last to be seen by those who put to sea. And this can apply only to the site of the great church, not to the site of the temple near the isthmus.

It is another argument in favour of the claim of Artemis to the lower temple that her brother Apollôn had some rights there (see p. 43). This appears by a very ancient inscription on the steps of the temple (see Schubring, *Bewässerung*, 637; *Neu aufg. Tempel*, 363; *Topografia*, 163; *Lupus*, 80). It will be found at length in Röhl, *Inscriptiones præter Atticas*, p. 145. There seems to be a good deal of questioning, into which it does not concern me to enter, about the latter part of the inscription. But the former part seems fairly clear ;

ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ ΤΟ Π
ΕΑΟΝΙ.

I should hardly have made the last word out for myself, but when experts tell me that we must read Κλεομένης ἐποίησε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι (Schubring seems to see *Gelôn* rather than Apollôn), I can believe that it does. And that is enough to prove the point.

I do not see much strength in Schubring's other arguments, most of which are noticed by Holm. I am always afraid of too much trusting to the scholiasts on Pindar ; but I should certainly read the passages from them as implying that the *ιερόν* and the *ἄγαλμα* of Artemis there spoken of were distinct, that the statue was close to Arethousa, and that the temple was elsewhere. There is surely nothing wonderful in a temple—of course implying a statute—and another statue, without a temple, in another place, belonging to the worship of the same deity. The style of the temple which we call Artemis is undoubtedly older than the style of that which we call Athênê. But the style of Athênê is surely primitive Doric, quite capable of coming within the time of the *Gamoroi*, though the style of Artemis is earlier still. Why the first founders did not at once place Artemis on the highest point has not been revealed to me. If Archias had set down his own memorials like Winthrop, we should know many things which we now have to guess at.

NOTE V. pp. 43, 139.

ACHRADINA.

IN arguing the points of controversy which have arisen with regard to this part of Syracuse, we must distinguish between a question of words and a question of things. The date and the application of the word *Achradina* is one thing. The process by which the quarter commonly so called was taken within the Syracusan city, and the possible question whether the whole of it ever was so taken in, is another thing. These last are most important points in the history of Syracuse; and we can come to our conclusions about them, whether we apply the name *Achradina* to the whole of the quarter concerned or to part of it only.

I had come to my own conclusions as set forth in the text, when I was startled by an article by Mr. Haverfield in the *Classical Review* for March 1889, the main object of which seems to be to show that the name *Achradina* belongs to the lower part only of the quarter to which it is commonly applied. In most, if not all, plans of Syracuse, the name takes in both the high ground between the inlet of Santa Bonagia or Panagia and the Latomiaï, and also the low ground between the Latomiaï and the isthmus and the Great Harbour. *Achradina* thus takes in the whole eastern end of the hill of Syracuse, its whole face towards the sea, as well as the lower coast between the hill and the isthmus, including the Little Harbour. Its west side is marked on the upper ground by the cut wall commonly called the wall of *Gelôn* (see pp. 44, 140), which must have been afterwards carried down to the Great Harbour at a point which would take in the docks. Mr. Haverfield argues that the name applies only to the lower ground. He holds that, "previous to 415, the fortified Syracuse lay to the south of *Epipolæ*." By this I understand him to mean that at that time what is commonly called Upper *Achradina* was not fortified. That would make the so-called wall of *Gelôn* later than the year 415. He says too that "in no passage" is *Achradina* "described as an elevation of any kind." He says further that "the chief writers who use the name are Diodorus, Livy, and Cicero;" and he adds that "the orator is the first to mention it." Yet we find in Polybios, viii. 6, how Marcus [Marcellus] ἐποιεῖτο τὸν ἐπίπλου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχραδινήν. (It is said that the text has been tampered with by some

epitomator; but there seems no doubt as to the word which concerns us.) And Livy (xxiv. 34), in describing the attack of Marcellus on Achradina, and the defence by Archimédès, says, "Natura etiam juvabat loci, quod saxum, cui imposita muri fundamenta sunt, magna ex parte ita proclive est, ut non solum missa tormento, sed etiam quæ pondere suo provoluta essent, graviter in hostem inciderent." The Roman siege has its difficulties, to which we shall come in due time. Perhaps the words which Livy uses may seem inadequate to describe the rocky eastern shore of the hill of Syracuse. But they are still more inapplicable to the low rocks by the Little Harbour.

Plutarch too, dealing both with the time of Marcellus and with the earlier time of Timoleôn, speaks of Achradina in words which clearly take in both the upper and the lower level. In Tim. 18 the Corinthian Neôn

ἐκράτησε καὶ κατέσχε τὴν λεγομένην Ἀχραδινὴν, ὃ κρᾶτιστον ἐδόκει καὶ ἀθραυστότατον ὑπάρχειν τῆς Συρακουσίῳ μέρος πόλεως, τρόπον τινὰ συγκειμένης ἐκ πλείωνων πόλεων. εὐπορήσας δὲ καὶ σίτου καὶ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀφῆκε τὸν τόπον, οὐδ' ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἀλλὰ φραζάμενος τὸν περίβολον τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς καὶ συνάψας τοῖς ἐρύμασι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν διεφύλαττε.

*Ακρα and ἀκρόπολις here, it must be remembered, mean the Island (see vol. i. p. 352).

In the Life of Marcellus (18) the name of Achradina yet more distinctly takes in all Syracuse on the mainland, except Tycha and Neapolis—which last name most likely means Temenitès. Marcellus has got over the wall;

ἔμεινε δὲ τὸ καρτερώτατον καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον (Ἀχραδινὴ καλεῖται) διὰ τὸ τετειχίσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἔξω πόλιν, ἧς τὸ μὲν Νέαν, τὸ δὲ Τύχην ὀνομάζουσι.

Mark that ἡ ἔξω πόλις, which in Thucydides' day meant Achradina, as opposed to the Island, now means the newer quarters, as opposed to the Island and Achradina together. But Achradina here must take in the eastern part of the hill; for Lower Achradina and Tycha cannot be said to be built against one another. But even without these more distinct descriptions, it is enough that Livy describes the place attacked by Marcellus as a high place, and that not only Livy, but Polybios, called that place Achradina.

The fullest modern discussion of the points touching Achradina is Schubring's paper bearing that name in the *Rheinisches Museum*,

vol. xx. It is spoken of also by Holm (G. S. i. pp. 126, 204, 388), and in Holm and Cavallari's *Topografia* (Lupus, 27, 28, et seqq.). Schubring begins by saying that the general belief had been that Achradina took in both the upper and the lower ground, as defined above—Göller, for instance (p. 49), seems not to have doubted it—and he defends that belief against a paper of Cavallari published in 1845, which I have not seen and of which the author himself has not a copy, but which is more than once referred to by Grote. Schubring refers to Cavallari's paper as maintaining exactly the opposite doctrine to that of Mr. Haverfield, namely that Achradina meant only Upper Achradina and not Lower. This is exactly the description given by Grote (vii. 333), who refers to Cavallari;

"This fortified high land of Achradina thus constituted the outer city; while the lower ground situated between it and the inner city or Ortygia, seems at this time not to have been included in the fortifications of either."

He goes on to speak of the use of the lower ground as a place "partly for religious processions, games, and other multitudinous ceremonies, partly for the burial of the dead." That is, he conceives Achradina to have remained a distinct outpost down to the time of the Athenian siege, while I believe that it lost that character in the days of Gelôn.

Schubring himself takes, one is tempted to say, needless pains to prove that Achradina took in the lower ground as well as the upper, a fact which will come before us over and over again in the course of our history, above all in the time of Dionysios. But, in so doing, he has made a most valuable collection of all the passages bearing on the history of Lower Achradina and all that was in and near it, the *agora*, the docks, the later Olympieion, and everything else to do with the matter. In his paper with the less attractive heading *Die Bewässerung von Syrakus*, he has also several references to Achradina as to other parts of the city, which bear more than the paper directly dealing with Achradina on the way in which Achradina, thus defined, came to become part of the city which began on Ortygia.

My own notions, as set forth in the text, as to the nature and time of the process, and the relation of Achradina to what I conceive to have been the other detached outposts, have been suggested by various remarks of Holm, though I do not know that he ever fully commits himself to it as a complete view. His views as to Polichna

(see vol. i. p. 361), whether we accept them or not, come in to help us. Polichna may or may not have been a twin town with Ortygia; it was in any case a detached fortified outpost guarding one important road. I conceive Achradina and Temenitès to have held the same position on other roads. Achradina and its appearances and remains are fully described in the Topografia (Lupus, p. 27 et seqq.). The historical question is argued in the second part (Topografia, p. 170, Lupus, pp. 87 et seqq., 98 et seqq.). Holm fully admits that Upper Achradina was occupied before Gelôn's time, and that the Latomiaî (Top. 178, Lupus, p. 95) formed part of its defences. He remarks (Topografia, p. 171, Lupus, p. 88) with great force that, when the coast-line of the Little Harbour was different from what it is now, Upper Achradina may have been almost as near to the Island as Lower. He argues (Top. 181, Lupus, 98, 99) that the western wall of Upper Achradina is not, as Schubring held it to be, the work of Gelôn, but that Gelôn first brought Upper Achradina and Ortygia together by fencing in Lower Achradina. Holm's view therefore is essentially the same as mine; and he brings out also clearly, though a little casually, the relations which I suppose to have existed between Achradina and the other outposts of Polichna and Temenitès (Top. p. 166, Lupus, 84-87). Schubring too (Bewässerung, 618) brings out the position of Temenitès, if not as a military post, yet as a detached suburb surrounding the temple.

We therefore see in the words of Thucydides (vi. 3), First, the Island; *ἡ νῆσος, ἐν ᾗ νῦν οὐκέτι περικλυζομένη ἡ πόλις ἢ ἐντός ἐστιν*, Secondly, the Outer City, Achradina, Upper and Lower, to which I must add in Thucydides' day Tycha; *ὑστερον χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ ἔξω προστειχισθείσα πολυάνθρωπος ἐγένετο*. This *προστειχισμός* I understand to be the work of Gelôn. He joined Ortygia and Upper Achradina by fortifying Lower Achradina. This enlarged enclosure was again enlarged during the struggle with the Mercenaries (see pp. 306, 312, and Appendix XXX) by the addition of Tycha. The whole formed in the year 415 before Christ a city as great as Athens—*πόλις οὐδὲν ἐλάσσων αὐτῇ γε καθ' αὐτὴν τῆς Ἀθηναίων* (Thuc. vii. 28). It is inconceivable that these words could have been used of a fortified Syracuse confined to the south of Epipolai.

As for the date of the first settlement on Achradina I do not know that there is anything to fix it. It is older than Gelôn; it need not be younger than Archias, though it must

be younger than Archias' first settlement. Schubring and Holm agree to place it before the year 664 B. C., the date of the settlement at Akrai, on the ground that the nearer outpost would be older than the more distant. And there is evidence which strikes me as stronger than it seems to strike Holm (*Top.* p. 178, *Lupus*, 95), to show that there were Latomiai before the year 648, and occupied ground hard by them. In that year, so Pausanias (v. 8. 8) records, Lygdamis of Syracuse was victor in the pankration. He must have deeply impressed the memory of his physical presence on the traditions of his own city; for Pausanias doubted whether he ought to accept the belief of the Syracusans that Lygdamis was of the same height as the true Hellenic Hēraklēs (εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Θηβαίῳ μέγεθος παρισούτο ὁ Λύγδαμις ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, λεγόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων ἐστὶ). It concerns us more that this athlete of the seventh century had a monument near the Latomiai: *τούτῳ πρὸς ταῖς λιθοτομίαις ἐστὶν ἐν Συρακούσαις μνῆμα*. It is argued that the monument of Lygdamis need not have been of the age of Lygdamis. But the presumption at least surely is that Pausanias is speaking of a contemporary monument. It is argued further that the reference to the Latomiai merely means that there were Latomiai there in Pausanias' day, and that Pausanias used the name merely to mark the place of the tomb. But there are so many Latomiai at Syracuse that to say that a thing is near the Latomiai proves nothing. It is far more likely that the meaning is that the tomb was made near Latomiai then existing. If this be so, we distinctly see the Latomiai in the middle of the seventh century, less than a hundred years after the foundation of the city. The occupation and fortification of Achradina is therefore carried back at least to that time.

I hold then that Polichna, Temenitēs, and Upper Achradina, were all, from a very early but unfixed time, detached outposts of the city in the Island. Upper Achradina was joined to the Island under Gelôn by the fencing in of Lower Achradina. Temenitēs came to be joined on through the operations of the Athenian siege. Polichna, at its greater distance, never was joined on at all. The joining on of Tyche and Neapolis seems to be quite another story; they do not seem ever to have been detached outposts. That Euryalos was not a detached outpost from the beginning is one of the chief puzzles of our story.

The force and origin of the name Achradina we have to make out for ourselves from its use. The derivation from *ἀχράς* seems likely enough, though Schubring very properly warns us (*Achradina*, 54) that there is no authority for it. The only attempt at a definition is in a very confused entry in Stephen of Byzantium, from which we certainly do not learn much;

Ἀχραδινή, νῆσος ἔχουσα πόλιν πρὸς ταῖς Συρακούσαις, ἣν ἐπολιόρησε Μάρκος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀχραδινὴ μοῖρα Συρακουσῶν. Χάραξ δὲ χώραν αὐτὴν καλεῖ καὶ νῆσον· τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀχραδιναῖος καὶ Ἀχραδίνος.

It is surely enough that the name is constantly applied, as by Diodôros and Plutarch, to the lower ground, and that it is also, as by Polybios and Livy, applied to the upper ground. That is to say, it takes in both. It does not prove much to say that it is not used by Thucydides. Neither does he speak of Ortygia or of Tycha. He does (vi. 75, 100, vii. 3) speak of Temenitês, because Temenitês played a part of its own in the operations of the Athenian siege, in a way that neither Ortygia nor Achradina played, or, as established parts of the city, could well have played. It is rather more curious to note that Diodôros and Plutarch, who use the name freely elsewhere, do not use it in describing the Athenian siege. This just suggests the thought that, as the name was not used by Thucydides, so neither was it used by Philistos in his account of the siege. If so, the reason may be the same in his case. There is nothing to make us think that, when Diodôros used the name in describing the driving out of Thrasyboulos, he was carrying back a later name to an earlier time. There was much more opportunity for mentioning Achradina by a separate name in that story than there was in that of the Athenian siege. And the name, whatever its origin, does not sound as if it had been invented in later times.

The fullest picture of Achradina is that which Cicero (*Verr.* iv. 53) gives of it in his day, which is clearer as a picture than as a piece of topography;

“*Altera autem est urbs Syracusis, cui nomen Acradina est; in qua forum maximum, pulcherrimæ porticus, ornatissimum prytæneum, amplissima est curia, templumque egregium Jovis Olympii; ceteræque urbis partes una lata via perpetua, multisque transversis divisæ, privatis ædificiis continentur.*”

Most of the particular things here spoken of, the *agora*, the *prytaneion*, the later Olympieion, were undoubtedly in the Lower Achradina, but this does not shut out the "altera urbs" from taking in the Upper Achradina also. The long wide street it would now be hard to trace; but it may well have climbed the hill.

A question has further been raised as to the present state of the greater part of Upper Achradina. It is certain that the first question on walking along any part of it is, Where are the houses gone? It is very hard at first sight to believe that this desolate-looking region, with the rugged stone constantly coming to the surface, can ever have been part of an inhabited city. The remark was made fifty years back by Mr. Gladstone, and it is preserved by Mr. Dennis in his Hand-book. It must indeed occur to every one. But we soon get used to the undoubted sites of buildings, the foundations cut in the solid rock. Sometimes large spaces are cut out, which can have been only for temples or other large public buildings; there are other smaller cuttings which must have been for houses. It is certain that they are not equally scattered over the whole hill. The signs of houses are very thick at the south-east near the Capuchin monastery; further on, just beyond the gorge of the *Due Fratelli*, there is a group of cuttings for large buildings, but none of which one can be quite sure that they are meant for houses. There is another group at the extreme north, close by the gorge of the Panagia. But we need not suppose that dwellings were equally thick on every part of Achradina, any more than on every part of Epipolai. There they certainly were not, even after the building of the wall of Dionysios. Nor is there any need to suppose that every house had a cut foundation.

The most striking piece of wall-building or wall-cutting in this part of Syracuse is the western wall which I hold to be older than Gelôn (see p. 40). But a wall, built or cut, ran along the whole cliff, and it becomes historical in the Roman siege. Large fragments may be traced; there are some pieces near the gorge of the *Due Fratelli*, and some very marked bits rather further to the north. I do not profess to fix the date of this wall; but, if it was not made before the time of Dionysios, he was sure to make it.

The most amazing notion about Achradina, after that of the island in Stephen of Byzantium, is that it was the same as *Polichna*. Such seems to be the belief of a German commentator on Pindar,

Mezger, *Siegeslieder*, p. 43; "Gleichzeitig mit Ortygia, vielleicht sogar schon vorher, scheint auch auf dem Festlande die Höhe südlich vom Anapos bebaut worden zu sein, welche später den Tempel des olympischen Zeus trug, in dem noch zur Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges das Verzeichniss der Bürger aufbewahrt wurde [see the passage of Plutarch referred to in vol. i. p. 361]; dieser Stadttheil hiess Achradina." He had perhaps confounded the earlier and the later Olympieion.

NOTE VI. p. 60.

CHARÔNDAS OF KATANÊ.

THE Katanaian lawgiver Charôndas is one of those men whose names have become very famous while hardly anything is really known about their actions. The chief thing that we can say about him is negative. The account of Diodôros, who has moved him to Thourioi in the fifth century B.C., is a confusion quite as great as the confusion which we shall presently come to, by which Pausanias moved Anaxilas of Rhêgion the other way, from the fifth century to the seventh. And it is far less easy to explain. In the story of Anaxilas, wild as the chronological error is, we can see how it came about. But how came a lawgiver of so thoroughly primitive a type as Charôndas to get quartered in so modern a state of things as an Athenian colony of the time of Periklês? To carry back an ancient lawgiver into times yet more ancient, to make him the author of laws of a date much more modern than his own—both these are familiar processes. But here a primitive lawgiver and his laws with him are carried forward into a very modern period, a process to which it is not so easy to find a parallel. One may perhaps risk the guess that, as Charôndas was said to have legislated for several cities besides Katanê, Sybaris may in some accounts have been one of them. Then, when Thourioi occupied the place and took up the traditions of Sybaris, but without taking the name, the new city may have claimed the lawgiver of the old one, and may have spoken of him by its own name. If Charôndas legislated for Sybaris, to call him the lawgiver of Thourioi would be no more wonderful than when one hears men speak of "France" and "England" before any Frank or Angle settled in Gaul or Britain. The next stage would be for those who sought for greater accuracy of description to try to mend matters by bringing

Charôndas within the times of the existence of Thourioi. This is the stage which we find in Diodôros. But the chronological confusion need not hinder us from using the account in Diodôros as being of as much or as little value as our other scattered notices of the primitive lawgiver of Katanê.

The earliest mention of Charôndas seems to be in the Republic of Plato, x. p. 600. His birth-place is not mentioned; but he is taken for granted as a lawgiver standing to Italy and Sicily in the same relation in which Solôn stood to Athens; *σὲ δὲ τίς αἰτιᾷται πόλις νομοθέτην ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι καὶ σφᾶς ὠφελῆκεναι*; *Χαρῶνδαν μὲν γὰρ Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία, καὶ ἡμεῖς Σόλωνα*· *σὲ δὲ τίς*; He is mentioned several times in Aristotle's Politics; but the passage which has been commonly thought to tell us most about him (ii. 12. 5, 7) is now unluckily thought to be spurious or interpolated (Newman, Politics, ii. 376). Here he is described as a native of Katanê, and as having legislated, not for Italy and Sicily generally, but for the Chalkidian cities only (*νομοθεῖται δ' ἐγένοντο Ζάλευκός τε Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ἐπιζεφυρίοις καὶ Χαρῶνδας ὁ Καταναῖος τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς Χαλκιδικαῖς πόλεσι ταῖς περὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν*). He was a pupil (*ἀκροατής*) of Zaleukos, as Zaleukos and—strange to say—Lykourgos were of Thalês. The only thing peculiar to his legislation was his law about false witnesses, in which he first brought in the action called *ἐπίσκηψις*, afterwards well known at Athens. It is further remarked that his legislation was more minute and precise than that of later times (*Χαρῶνδου δ' ἴδιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ πλὴν αἱ δίκαι τῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν (πρῶτος γὰρ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐπίσκηψιν), τῇ δ' ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ γλαφυρώτερος καὶ τῶν νῦν νομοθετῶν*). There is another mention of him in the Politics (i. 2. 5), from which it seems that we owe to him the delightful word *ὁμοσίπνοι*, the fellow to *ὁμόκαποι* and *ὁμογάλακτες* (cf. Julius Pollux, viii. 111, under *δήμαρχοι*). In iv. 11. 10 Charôndas is quoted as illustrating the position that the best lawgivers were men of middle rank in their several cities (*τοὺς βελτίστους νομοθέτας εἶναι τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν*); but as the others spoken of are the high-born Solôn and the kingly-born Lykourgos—with the odd excuse *οὐ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεύς*—this does not tell us much. A little way on further (iv. 12. 6) he appears among those who legislated in an aristocratic spirit, with the object of taking in the commons by measures seemingly, but only seemingly, in their interests. The instance in the case of Charôndas is that, in case of failure to attend as judges, or rather jurymen (*δικασταί*), he laid

on a heavy fine in the case of the rich and a lower in the case of the poor. It is of course meant that such a provision would have a popular look, but that it would really tend to fill the juries with rich men.

We do not learn much about Charôndas from these notices of Aristotle. For our purposes it does not much matter whether the passage at the end of the second book is Aristotle's writing or not. Whether written by Aristotle or by an early pupil, it would represent the received belief of the age and nothing more. The passage is as good evidence as we are likely to get for Charôndas' birth at Katanê, and the careful confining of his legislation to Chalkidian cities contrasts favourably with Plato's loose talk about Italy and Sicily. Only the specimens of his laws which Aristotle gives have no very primitive sound. They seem better fitted for the full-grown commonwealths, aristocratic or democratic, of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

The Katanaian birth of Charôndas is asserted by the writer known as Herakleidês of Pontos (25), who says that the Rhêgines had an aristocratic constitution, and used the laws of Charôndas (*πολιτείαν δὲ κατεστήσαντο ἀριστοκρατικὴν, χίλιοι γὰρ πάντα διοικοῦσιν* [see p. 343, and below, Appendix XXXIII], *αἰρετοὶ ἀπὸ τμημάτων νόμοις δὲ ἐχρῶντο τοῖς Χαρώνδου τοῦ Καταναίου*). He goes on to mention the tyranny of Anaxilas, which is one of Bentley's arguments (Phalaris, 363) to disprove the date given to Charôndas by Diodôros, by showing that he lived before Anaxilas. The statement of Ælian (V. H. iii. 17) that he gave laws to Rhêgion when he was banished from Katanê may be a piece of independent tradition, or it may be a mere surmise from the account of Herakleidês. Charôndas here comes in a list of philosophers who played a part in public life (*ἐπολιτεύοντο οὖν καὶ φιλόσοφοι, κ.τ.λ.*), along with Zaleukos, Solôn, and others; *ἐπὶ νῶρθωσαν γὰρ τὰ κοινὰ Ζάλευκος μὲν τὰ ἐν Λοκροῖς, Χαρώνδας δὲ τὰ ἐν Κατάνῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ, ὅτε ἐκ Κατάνης ἔφευγε*. Another of the passages quoted by Bentley to remove Charôndas from Thourioi is the long extract from Theophrastos in John of Stoboi (xliv. 22), where he quotes several of the Thourian laws, and contrasts them with the legislation of Charôndas, in this case on the subject of ready money (*ἢ ὥσπερ Χαρώνδας καὶ Πλάτων; οὔτοι γὰρ παραχρῆμα κελεύουσι δίδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν, ἐὰν δέ τις πιστεύσῃ, μὴ εἶναι δίκην, αὐτὸν γὰρ αἴτιον εἶναι τῆς ἀδικίας*). The astonishing passage in Stephen of Byzantium (*Κατάνη*), which makes Charôndas legislate for Athens (*ἀπὸ Κατάνης Χαρώνδας*

ὁ διάσημος τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι νομοθετῶν) is explained by Holm (i. 401) to refer to Thourioi as an Athenian colony. But this is surely a little harsh. This passage is not the only one in which Charôndas is connected with Athens; for Athênaios (xiv. 10), on the authority of Hermippos of Smyrna, a writer of the third century B.C., in his treatise *περὶ Νομοθετῶν*, speaks of his laws as being sung at Athens at the wine (*ᾗδοντο δὲ Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ οἱ Χαρόνδου νόμοι παρ' οἶνον*). This is not exactly what we should have looked for; but it seems to show that the laws of Charôndas were composed in verse. And we find a yet more startling mention of the laws of Charôndas as sung at a much greater distance from Katanê than Athens. Bentley (373, 374) refers to the passage of Strabo (xii. 2. 9), where the people of Mazaka—afterwards Cæsarea—in Kappadokia appear as using the laws of Charôndas, and seemingly as having them sung; *χρῶνται δὲ οἱ Μαζακηνοὶ τοῖς Χαρόνδα νόμοις, αἰρούμενοι καὶ νομφῶδόν, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἐξηγητὴς τῶν νόμων, καθάπερ οἱ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις νομικοί*. The passage is puzzling; we should like to know how the laws of Charôndas came to take root and to be so abiding in a distant and barbarian land, and we should like to know exactly what the Mazakene νομφῶδός did. Still it would seem that there was at Mazaka in Strabo's day something in verse which passed for the laws of Charôndas.

These latter passages say nothing as to the birthplace of Charôndas. I do not know that (except in Diodôros) he is anywhere referred to as a Thourian, save only by Valerius Maximus (vi. 5, Ext. 3), where he tells the story of his death, much as in Diodôros. Cicero refers to him twice, once (Legg. i. 22) in a general way, along with his usual companions, Lykourgos, Solôn, and Zaleukos. In the second place (Legg. iii. 2), he is quoted as laying down the rule that men should not only obey their rulers, but should love and honour them ("nec vero solum obtemperent obedientque magistratibus, sed etiam ut eos colant diligentque præscribimus, ut Charondas in suis facit legibus"). This agrees with what King Cnut says in his letter from Rome.

From all this we may surely infer that Charôndas was in some sense a citizen of Katanê, and that he gave laws to that city and to some others in Italy and Sicily. Beyond this we can say very little. The suggestion of Holm that he was not of Katanaian but of Dorian birth rests simply on the Doric form of his name, like

Pagôndas and Epameinôndas. The ending in *das*, he argues, would not have been used in Chalkidian Katanê. There is something in this objection, which does not seem to have occurred to any earlier scholar. Charôndas may have been a citizen of Katanê only by adoption, though in that case it is a little odd that he should be called *Katanaïos*. It is further to be noticed that whoever put together the *προοίμια νόμων* which pass for sayings of Charôndas in John of Stoboi, xliv. 40, must have looked on the natural language of Charôndas as being Doric. For he starts with a few Doric forms like *τὼς βουλευομένως*, and brings in one or two such now and then, as if to assert a principle, though he goes on for the most part in ordinary Greek. Is it possible, after all, that Charôndas was really of Sybaris and adopted at Katanê? This would account for the Thourian legend. In such a case he would be sure to be claimed for Thourioi, even though the actual laws of Thourioi were quite unlike his.

If we are thus uncertain as to the birthplace of Charôndas, we are still more in the dark as to his date. A general consent places him after Zaleukos, but who shall venture to fix a date for Zaleukos? Some make Zaleukos the teacher of Charôndas; some make Charôndas, some even make Zaleukos himself, into scholars of Pythagoras. That is to say, in anything to do with Italy or Sicily Pythagoras must be brought in at all hazards. As Phalaris could not get on without him, as even Numa Pompilius could not get on without him, so neither could Zaleukos and Charôndas. In such chronology as this we are out of all reach of archons and olympiads. Grote (iv. 561) gives us the whole range of the sixth century B.C. to find a date for Charôndas. That may do well enough; but I should not have refused if he had added the seventh. We can only say that he belongs to the dim primitive period of Sicilian history, that he goes with Panaitios and Phalaris rather than with Gelôn and Anaxilas.

As for the matter of his laws, the remark of Aristotle, if it be Aristotle, that the only special thing about them was the law of *ἐπίσκηψις* is hardly borne out by the other references made by himself and others. The law about ready money, quoted by Theophrastos, has a primitive and original sound. The most difficult statement is that of Aristotle which makes Charôndas take in the commons by a law professedly popular but really oligarchic. This

surely savours of a later state of things than we can fancy existing at Katanê in his day. But the motive may be only Aristotle's surmise, as Grote seems to suggest in his note at vol. iv. p. 561; the matter of the law sounds ancient enough. Enforced attendance at assemblies is a thoroughly primitive notion (see Domesday in the very first page for the men of Kent), and it was long after carried out at Athens in a very primitive fashion (Aristoph. *Acharn.* 22). This is the only one among these laws or fragments of laws which has any kind of political character. It reads as if the *Gamoroi* of Katanê had not been driven out, but had been compelled to admit the commons to some share of political rights. Charôndas may well have been the lawgiver of a young democracy.

Of the laws which may be called rather social than political Diodôros (xii. 12-18) has preserved the substance of a good many in prose, his own prose of course, and in c. 14 he gives the substance of some in another shape, namely in the Iambic trimeters into which they were thrown by the comic poets (*ἀμφοτέρας δὲ τὰς προειρημένas πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν δι' ἐμμέτρου ποιήματος μεμαρτυρήκασιν*). But the ingenuity of Bentley (Phalaris, 374) has, out of one of these reports of Diodôros in prose and verse (xii. 12, 14), with the help of a quotation in Athênaios (xv. 50, No. 14 in the collection of *Skolia*), put together part at least of a genuine law of Charôndas in the original metrical shape. Diodôros reports the law of Charôndas *περὶ τῆς κακομιλίας* in both shapes. It was *νόμος ἐξηλλαγμένος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομοθέταις παρεωραμένος*, containing provisions for a *δίκη κακομιλίας*, with befitting penalties. It is the *προοίμιον* of this which Bentley put together;

[Χαρώνδου] λόγον, ὃ 'ταῖρε, μαθὼν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλει,
τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχου γνοὺς ὅτι δειλῶν ὀλίγη χάρις.

The Attic singers may have touched up the language and metre a little; but we surely have here the genuine ring of the "lex horrendi carminis." It was Bentley too (378) who discerned the trimeters in the first two lines of the law (Diodôros, xii. 14) which shut out from political life the man who gave his children a step-mother. It is most likely that Diodôros got at most of the laws in this way at secondhand, without seeing any original text. But the substance of these primitive provisions is surely genuine. They breathe the full spirit of the ancient lawgiver, whose business it is, not merely to make a political constitution, but to tell

his people how they are to behave in all matters. There is the law which I gave as a specimen in the text (see p. 60), which allowed divorce, but only with a condition which a good deal lessened the value of the privilege. One is perhaps a little startled at the zeal of the lawgiver of the sixth century B.C. for the promotion of reading—does *γράμματα* always imply writing? (c. 13)—but it may perhaps be explained by the very fact that the accomplishment was a rare one. Then there is the law which Diodôros (c. 15) so greatly admired, which ordains that the orphan's estate should be looked after by his father's kinsfolk, who had an interest in improving it, while the orphan himself should be looked after by his mother's kinsfolk, who had no interest in shortening his possession of it. Then, while other lawgivers punished the coward in war with death, Charôndas (c. 16) made him sit three days in the *agora* in woman's clothes. Lastly, there is the provision (c. 17) that the proposer of a new law should come into the assembly with a halter round his neck, and the law against bearing arms in the assembly which I have already referred to (see p. 62) and which is said to have cost the lawgiver his life. All are of the primitive type; it is inconceivable that they can come from the real statute-book of Thourioi in the days of Herodotus and Lysias. It is yet more inconceivable that they are sheer inventions, "transparent gauze" or what not, of poor Diodôros. They are genuine fragments, modified no doubt a good deal in the handling, which comic poets and others had handed down from the days of Charôndas to the days of Diodôros.

The laws preserved by Diodôros are after all real laws, though often dealing with subjects which we now look on as lying beyond the reach of legislation. In this they differ from the collection of vague moral and religious precepts preserved by John of Stoboi (xliv. 40) under the heading *Χαρώνδα Καραναίου προοίμια νόμων*. These are not laws, but sermons or proverbs according to their length, in which no faith can be put, and which we may be sure are a forgery of a late time, "neo-Platonic" or otherwise. One towards the end, beginning *γυναικα δὲ τὴν κατὰ νόμους ἕκαστος στεργέτω* (cf. S. Paul ad Eph. v. 33), is remarkable; it seems aimed in a hidden way at the favourite vice of Old Greece.

NOTE VII. p. 64.

PHALARIS AND THE BRAZEN BULL.

THERE is something very striking in the great renown of Phalaris compared with the very slight real knowledge which we have about him. The sources are endless, but they are all incidental. Not only is there no contemporary narrative—for that we should not look in the sixth century B. C.—; but, owing to the loss of those books of Diodôros in which the acts of Phalaris must have found a place, we have no consecutive narrative of any kind. We should be thankful for the most meagre annals—“*Annales brevissimi*”—which would enable us to put together a few undoubted facts in an ascertained order. How little we really know about Phalaris is curiously shown by the very short space which he fills in the narrative of Grote (iv. 509, 510). Grote’s practical mind felt no call to collect and harmonize the scattered notices about Phalaris, or to speculate as to how or why he became such a favourite subject of legend and talk of every kind. What Grote finds to say about Phalaris goes into less than two pages; but those two pages are precious, as we see that he more than leans to belief in the reality of the bull. There is certainly no reason to doubt the historical reality of Phalaris, and the evidence for the bull is very strong. The direct evidence is strong; there is also the argument that, if the bull were real, we at once understand, what otherwise is so hard to explain, the deep and lasting impression which a man of whom so little is really known has made on men’s minds from his own time till now. Without his bull, Phalaris would be no more than a hundred obscure tyrants in other Greek cities. Once grant the bull, and we at once see why he has lived in men’s mouths from the days of Pindar onwards. About a tyrant who was guilty of so strange a freak of tyranny it was worth while to collect or to invent anecdotes and to point moral warnings. It was even worth while, in a spirit of ingenious contradiction, to devise orations and to forge letters to prove that the lord of the brazen bull was not quite so black as he had been painted.

The date of Phalaris seems to be now generally agreed on within a few years. The arguments of Bentley (Dissertation on

the Epistles of Phalaris, p. 27 et seqq.) may be thought to have set that question at rest. The first statement in the Chronicle of Eusebius (Roncalli, i. 323) which places his tyranny about 655 (Ol. xxxi. 2, "Phalaris apud Agrigentinos tyrannidem exercet") and his fall about 622 (Ol. xxxix. 3, "Phalaridis tyrannis destructa") cannot be received, as both these dates come before the foundation of Akragas in 580. Of this alleged earlier date Clinton (F. H. i. 236) seems to take no notice, but only of the later date assigned by Jerome (Roncalli, i. 326), namely B. C. 570 (or 565, see Bentley, p. 28), which is also accepted by Bunbury (Dict. Biog., Phalaris); "Græciam (?) Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit xvi annos." This will fix his reign to about B. C. 570-554. So Soudas (Φάλαρις) places him in the fifty-second Olympiad, though his value is a little lessened by the words that follow about the letters, and by his speaking of him as *τυραννίσας Σικελίας ὅλης*. We are thus able to fix the date of Phalaris with as near an approach to certainty as we are likely to get in such a matter. I would not rely on any statement as to the date of Stêsichoros, as the evidence for bringing Phalaris and Stêsichoros into any relation with one another is more than doubtful.

This date being accepted, and the received date of the foundation of Akragas being accepted also, one consequence follows which seems not to have struck some of the chief writers on the subject (see Bentley, 322; Bunbury, Dict. Biog., Phalaris; see on the other hand Siefert, Akragas, 60). If Phalaris seized the tyranny ten years after the foundation of the city, he could not have been a native of Akragas. All the natives of Akragas at that time must have been young children. It proves nothing to pile together passages in which Phalaris is spoken of as *Ἀκραγαντίνος* or "Agrigentinus;" for he doubtless was a man of Akragas in the only sense in which anybody else then could be, a citizen but necessarily not a native. We should most naturally look for his birthplace in Gela, the metropolis of Akragas; but the statement that he was a native of Astypalaia, though it comes from no better source than one of the forged letters (xxxv. p. 128, ἐγὼ ὡς ἐμᾶντὸν οἶδα Φάλαριν Λεωδάμαντος υἱὸν, Ἀστυπαλαίεια τὸ γένος, πατρίδος ἀπεστερημένον; cf. Arsenios, Ionia [Violetum], 466), comes under the rule that, while the spurious document is of no value for the points which it seeks to establish, it may (or it may not) be of value for incidental points. It is always possible that the forger, either of the false

Phalaris or of the false Ingulf, may have had before him some sources of information which we have not. Phalaris could not have been born at Akragas. He may very well have been born at Astypalaia; and it is hard to see what should have put Astypalaia into the forger's head if he had not seen some record or tradition to that effect. If he had named any of the great cities of Sicily or of Greece, this argument would not apply; but, when it comes to Astypalaia, it is brought under the rule "*credo quia impossibile.*" Siefert quotes the passage, and accepts the birth-place, and Grote, who (v. 274) wonders at the consideration which Siefert shows to the letters, accepts it without remark. It really proves nothing to quote, as Bentley does, such an incidental notice as that of Cicero (Verres, iv. 33), where Scipio, on giving back the bull to the Agrigentines, says, "*æquum esse illos cogitare, utrum esset Siculis utilius, suisne servire an populo Romano obtemperare, cum idem monumentum et domesticæ crudelitatis et nostræ mansuetudinis haberent.*" Phalaris, wherever he was born, had become a Sikeliot and an Akragantine.

A curious, but not very important, question has been raised about his name. Among the dark sayings of Lykophrôn (Alexandra, 717) we read, in speaking of the Sirens and the Campanian coast,

*τὴν μὲν Φαλήρου τύρσις ἐκβεβρασμένην
Γλάνις τε βείθοις δέξεται τέγγων χθόνα.*

One might have taken no notice of this, were it not for the scholiast, who says, *οὗτος ὁ Φάληρος τύραννος ἦν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τοὺς ἐπιξενουμένους πρὸς αὐτὸν δεινῶς κολάζων καὶ ἀναιρῶν, μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν β. Αἰτίων,*

τὴν κείνου Φάλαρος πρῆξιν ἀπελάσατο.

(The longer scholia of Tzetzés are to the same effect.)

Kallimachos, as we shall see, has more than one mention of Phalaris; but surely this hardly proves that the *Φάληρος* of Lykophrôn has anything to do with our *Φάλαρις*.

I do not know that a father is assigned to Phalaris anywhere but in the passage just quoted from the forged letters. When John Tzetzés (Chil. i. 643) says that Stêsichoros

*διήχθρευσεν Φαλάριδι τῷ Ἀστυπалаίῃ
ἀνδρὶ τῆς Ἐρυθείας μὲν, πατρὶ δὲ τοῦ Πανρόλα,
νιῶ τοῦ Λεωδάμαντος, Ἀκράγαντος τυράννου,*

he is simply following the letters, as when further on he talks about Tauromenion. So he himself says,

αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ τῶν Φαλάριδος ἐκείνου τοῦ πανσόφου
ἐπιστολῶν σοι γέγραφε ταύτην τὴν ἱστορίαν.

But the mother of Phalaris, though nameless, plays some part in the story, which shows that Phalaris was not looked on as very advanced in life. In Cicero (Div. i. 23) she dreams a dream, not—according to the approved practice—before his birth, but at a time when he must already have risen to some measure of importance. He had dedicated some images of the gods in his house, among them a statue of Hermès holding a *patera* in his hand. Out of this *patera* the gods seemed in the dream to pour out blood upon the earth. The blood bubbles up, and fills the whole house; “Quod matris somnium immanis filii crudelitas comprobavit.” Cicero tells the story on the authority of Herakleidēs of Pontos, an author from whom (Frag. Hist. Græc. ii. 223) we get some other notices of Phalaris, and specially another of his mother. When the tyranny was upset, she was burned, seemingly in the bull (ἐνέπρησεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς φίλους). This looks as if Herakleidēs, if his works were perfect, would have something more to tell us about the mother of Phalaris.

And now as to the great question of all, the brazen bull itself. It does seem hardly possible to get over the distinct witness of Pindar, followed by every later writer. Pindar is as early a witness and as well informed a witness as we could reasonably look for. A notice from Stésichoros would doubtless have been better still. But the mention of the bull by Pindar at least amounts to proof that the story was fully believed in Sicily about eighty years after the fall of Phalaris. It is perhaps a little odd that the mention of it is found in an ode (Pyth. i. 184) addressed to Hierôn, and not in one of those addressed to Thêrôn. The poet takes Croesus—could he have known the story recorded by Herodotus in i. 92?—as the model of a mild ruler as opposed to the cruelty of Phalaris;

οὐ φθίνει Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἀρετή·
τὸν δὲ ταύρῳ χαλκῆφ καντήρα νηλέα νόον
ἔχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντῇ φάτις,
οὐδὲ νιν φόρμιγγες ὑπαρβόφαι κοινωνίαν
μαλθακὰν παίδων δάροισι δέκονται.

Diodôros, who, though he wrote so long after, represents the earlier Sicilian writers whom he had before him, naturally mentioned the bull in the lost books where Phalaris came in chronological order. This we shall see from fragments presently to be quoted. He has also more than one incidental reference to the bull in other places. In xix. 108, having occasion in his narrative to mention the hill of Eknomos near the mouth of the southern Himeras (see vol. i. p. 65), he says that this was the place where the bull was kept. He adds, with an etymology in which few are likely to follow him, that the spot took the name of *Ἐκνομος* from the unlawful deeds of the tyrant (τὸν Ἐκνομον λόφον, ὃν φασι φρούριον γεγενῆσθαι Φαλάριδος· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ λέγεται κατεσκευακέναι τὸν τύραννον ταῦρον χαλκοῦν, τὸν διαβεβοημένον πρὸς τὰς τῶν βεβασανισμένων τιμωρίας, ὑποκαομένου τοῦ κατασκευάσματος· διὸ καὶ τὸν τόπον Ἐκνομον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ἀσεβείας προσηγορεῖσθαι). In another place (xiii. 90), when describing the Carthaginian sack of Akragas in 408 B. C., he says that the bull of Phalaris (ὁ Φαλάριδος ταῦρος) formed part of the spoil. He then goes on to argue against Timaios; τοῦτον τὸν ταῦρον ὁ Τίμαιος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις διαβεβαιωσάμενος μὴ γεγενῆσθαι τὸ σύνολον, ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τύχης ἠλέγχθη. The fortune which confuted Timaios was the bringing back of the bull from Carthage by the younger Scipio, and the sight of it at Agrigentum by Diodôros himself (Σκιπῖων γὰρ . . . ἐκπορθήσας Καρχηδόνά, τοῖς Ἀκραγαντίνοις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, τῶν διαμεινάντων παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, ἀποκατέστησε τὸν ταῦρον, ὃς καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἱστοριῶν γραφομένου ἦν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι). Polybios too (xii. 25) argues against Timaios. He first tells the story of Phalaris and the bull (see below, p. 464), and then describes Timaios as denying both that the bull brought from Carthage was the genuine bull of Phalaris, and even that there ever had been any bull of Phalaris at all. He himself argues that the bull brought from Carthage was genuine, because it had the door in the shoulder through which the victim was put in;

Τούτου τοῦ ταύρου κατὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν Καρχηδονίων μετενεχθέντος ἐξ Ἀκράγαντος εἰς Καρχηδόνά, καὶ τῆς θυρίδος διαμενούσης περὶ τὰς συνωμίας, δι' ἧς συνέβαινε καθίσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν, καὶ ἑτέρας δι' ἣν ἐν Καρχηδόνι κατεσκευάσθη τοιοῦτος ταῦρος οὐδαμῶς δυναμένης εὑρεθῆναι τὸ παράπαν, ὅμως Τίμαιος ἐπεβάλετο καὶ τὴν κοινὴν φήμην ἀνασκευάζειν καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων ψευδοποιεῖν, φάσκων μήτ' εἶναι τὸν ἐν Καρχηδόνι ταῦρον ἐξ Ἀκράγαντος μήτε γεγενῆσθαι τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ πόλει.

It seems plain, as it did to Bentley (p. 512), that both Polybios and Diodôros meant to charge Timaios with saying that there never was any bull of Phalaris at all. To this Diodôros thinks it answer enough to say that the bull was brought back from Carthage by Scipio. Polybios further infers the genuineness of Scipio's bull. But Polybios seems further to imply that Timaios said something about the bull which Scipio brought from Carthage (*τὸν ἐν Καρχηδόνι ταῦρον*). But if the bull brought back by Scipio in B. C. 146 was the bull that was carried off in B. C. 408, Timaios, living about B. C. 352-256, could have known the bull only by hearsay, unless he went to Carthage to see it. But neither of Timaios' critics quotes his exact words; and there is another report of them from which it would seem that Timaios neither denied the existence of Phalaris' bull, nor said anything about any bull at Carthage. This is shown by a reference to him in the scholiast on Pindar (Pyth. i. 185), from which it appears that what he really said was that the original bull of Phalaris was thrown into the sea when his tyranny was overthrown, and that a bull shown in his own time at Akragas was not the real bull, but—a statement most precious to the mythologer—a harmless image of the river-god Gelas. The words are;

Τὸν τοῦ Φαλάριδος ταῦρον οἱ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι κατεπόντωσαν, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος. τὸν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει δεικνύμενον μὴ εἶναι τοῦ Φαλάριδος, καθάπερ ἡ πολλῶν κατέχει δόξα, ἀλλ' εἰκόνα Γέλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

Nothing can be plainer. And I really do not see why Bentley (p. 512) should have spoken quite so scornfully of any who should prefer the scholiast on Pindar to Diodôros and Polybios (on the other hand see Ebert, *Σικελίων*, p. 69 et seqq.). In this case the scholiast is not guessing, but quoting Timaios, and seemingly quoting him accurately. The very significant bit about the river-god must be a genuine bit of Timaios; so must the statement that the real bull of Phalaris was thrown into the sea. No scholiast could ever have invented or dreamed either of them. One point remains. Diodôros says that the bull which Scipio brought back was taken to Carthage in B. C. 408. Polybios does not say this, and it is not clear that he means it. As far as dates go, the bull which was shown at Akragas in Timaios' day might have been the bull which Scipio brought back. For it might have been taken to Carthage, not in B. C. 408, but when Akragas was a Carthaginian possession after the time of Timaios. And it may be that Polybios

means this when he says; τοῦ ταύρου κατὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν Καρχηδονίων μετενεχθέντος ἐξ Ἀκράγαντος εἰς Καρχηδόνα. But it is not likely that the bull which Timaios took for an image of the river-god could have had the door in the shoulder on which Polybios relied as the sure sign of the bull of Phalaris. There may very well have been two bulls. Phœnician subtlety was surely equal to making a bull after any model, if Greek or Roman visitors to Carthage were found to be seeking for one. The immediately important point is that Timaios in no way denied, but asserted, that Phalaris had a brazen bull, and that he burned people in it. We have thus an universal consent in favour of the bull reaching from Pindar downwards.

The way in which the bull was used is minutely described by Polybios, and the description quite agrees with the few words of Pindar. The man was put into the hollow bull; then a fire was lighted beneath, and the sufferer was roasted to death (*πανταχόθεν παροπτόμενον καὶ περιφλεγόμενον διαφθείρεσθαι*). His cries of pain were by some mechanism made to imitate the roaring of the bull (*κατὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀλγηδόνης, ὅποτε βοήσειεν, μυκηθμῷ παραπλήσιον τὸν ἦχον ἐκ τοῦ κατασκευάσματος προσπίπτειν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν*). Diodôros, in his ninth book, mentioned the name of the artist, Perillos or Perilaos, and the story that he was himself put to death by his own engine. This appears from a fragment (ix. 19) which must be greatly abridged; *ὅτι Περίλαος ὁ ἀνδριαντοποιὸς Φαλάριδι τῷ τυράνῳ κατασκευάσας βούν χαλκοῦν πρὸς τιμωρίαν τῶν ὁμοφύλων αὐτοῦ πρῶτος ἐπειράθη τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς τιμωρίας*. John Tzetzes (*Chil. i. 646 seqq.*) refers to Diodôros, as well as to Pindar on one side and to Lucian (to whom we shall come presently) on the other, as authorities for the bull;

*γράφει περὶ τοῦ ταύρου δὲ Λουκιανὸς ὁ Σύρος,
Διόδωρος καὶ Πίνδαρος σὺν τούτοις τε μυρίοι.*

He gives the story of Perilaos at length. We find it also in the scholiast on Pindar (*Pyth. i. 185*), whom we quoted a little time back. He further quotes a passage of Kallimachos; *κατασκευάσαι δὲ αὐτὸν φασὶ Περίλαον καὶ πρῶτον ἐν αὐτῷ κατακαῆναι, καὶ Καλλίμαχος*·

*πρῶτος ἐπεὶ τὸν ταῦρον ἐκαίνισεν, ὃς τὸν ὄλεθρον
εὔρε τὸν ἐν χαλκῷ καὶ πυρὶ γιγνόμενον.*

The same story appears in Ovid (*Art. Am. i. 653*), where, by a familiar comparison, he couples Phalaris with the mythical Bousiris;

"Et Phalaris tauro violenti membra Perilli
 Torruit, infelix imbuat auctor opus.
 Justus uterque fuit, neque enim lex æquior ulla est,
 Quam necis artifices arte perire sua."

He tells the story at greater length in the *Tristia*, iii. 11. 39, where he evidently refers to the same bull as that described by Polybios. The artist is made to say to the tyrant;

"Munere in hoc, rex, est usus sed imagine major:
 Nec sola est operis forma probanda mei.
 Adspicis a dextra latus hoc adapertile tauri?
 Huc tibi, quem perdes, conjiciendus erit.
 Protinus inclusum lentis carbonibus ure:
 Mugiet, et veri vox erit illa bovis."

When he asks for a reward, Phalaris puts him into the bull;

"Nec mora; monstratis crudeliter ignibus ustus
 Exhibuit querulos ore tremante sonos."

One may add Valerius Maximus, ix. 2, Ext. 9, and, as John Tzetzés says, *σὺν τοῖτοῖς τε μυθίοις*.

It is worth noticing that in the fragment of Diodôros the bull is said to have been made *πρὸς τιμωρίαν τῶν ὁμοφύλων*, while in the scholiast on Lykophrôn Phalaris appears as *τοὺς ἐπιξενουμένους πρὸς αὐτὸν δεινῶς κολάζων καὶ ἀναιρῶν*. This is a stage in the growth of legend. If Phalaris did put men into a brazen bull, they were no doubt his political enemies at Akragas. He was a Greek tyrant imitating Phœnician ways, but he was a Greek tyrant after all. As soon as men had begun to liken him to Bousiris (see p. 71), Echetos (see Arsenios, 461), Gêryonês, and other purely mythical oppressors, he was conceived as, like them, the enemy of strangers. Instead of a Greek tyrant somewhat outdoing the usual measure of a Greek tyrant's cruelty, he becomes an ogre or a two-headed giant. We find him in this stage in Plutarch's *Parallela*, 39, directly after stories of Bousiris and Gêryonês. He tells the story of Perillos—with him he takes the Latin form—as follows;

Φάλαρις, Ἀκραγαντίνων τύραννος, ἀπότομος τοὺς παριόντας ξένους ἐστρέβλου καὶ ἐκόλαζε. Πέριλλος δὲ τῇ τέχνῃ χαλκουργὸς, δάμαλιν κατασκευάσας χαλκῆν, ἔδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὡς ἂν τοὺς ξένους κατακαίῃ ζῶντας ἐν αὐτῇ· ὁ δὲ μόνον τότε γενόμενος δίκαιος, αὐτὸν ἐνέβαλεν. ἔδωκε δὲ μυκηθμὸν ἀναδιδόναί ἢ δάμαλιν. ὡς ἐν δευτέρῳ Αἰτιῶν.

When Phalaris had once got this kind of reputation, it was easy to charge him with unusual cruelties. He uses other forms of fire besides the brazen bull. He puts people into caldrons, and, if the Latin translator of Herakleïdēs of Pontos is right in his version, he made them undergo the supposed fate of Empedoklēs against their will. He was (Her. 37) *παρανομία πάντας ὑπερβάλλον*. He not only slew many—other tyrants did that—but he slew them with strange tortures (*τιμωρίαις παρανόμοις ἐχρήσατο*). The brazen bull comes in among others; *τοὺς μὲν εἰς λέβητας ζέοντας, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τοὺς κρατήρας τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπέστελλε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς χαλκοῦν ταῦρον ἐνέβαλλε καὶ κατέκαιεν*. I suppose the *κρατήρες* (which we shall hear of again) are, as the Latin translator takes them, those of Ætna. From this the transition to Phalaris' cannibal-diet is perhaps a little sudden. His alleged eating of sucking children is brought in in the most grotesque fashion in Athēnaios (ix. 54), in a discourse on the eating of sucking creatures in general, pigs, lambs, fawns, and any other. We are suddenly carried to Perseus and Archēmoros at that stage of their lives, though it does not appear that any tyrant proposed to eat either of them; then comes what concerns us; *Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ βίων εἰς τοῦτο φησιν ὀμώτητος Φάλαριν τὸν τύραννον εἰλάσαι ὡς γαλαθηνὰ θοινᾶσθαι βρέφη*.

As to the extent of the dominions of Phalaris, there is really no distinct evidence for making them reach beyond the territory of Akragas. It is simply the wild exaggeration of a late writer when Soudas says, *Φάλαρις Ἀκραγαντίνος, τυραννήσας Συκελίας ὅλης*. Phalaris has been very largely accepted as having ruled at Himera, and it is of course possible that he may, as his successor Thērôn certainly did, have made himself master of Himera as well as of Akragas. But, if so, it must have been by a conquest of Himera made in the character of lord of Akragas. For there is in truth nothing to connect Phalaris with Himera, except the story in Aristotle's Rhetoric referred to in p. 66. In that story there is no mention of Akragas, no conquest of Himera; Phalaris is a man of Himera who makes himself tyrant of Himera in the usual way by asking for a guard. It is plain that Aristotle has put one name for another, either Himera for Akragas, or Phalaris for some tyrant of Himera. The latter is more likely, as the mention of Stêsichoros is enough to fix the story to Himera. It would be a very easy confusion to bring in the well-known name of Phalaris

instead of the doubtless much less known name of the real Himeraian tyrant. Nothing was easier (see Grote, v. 286) than to put the name of one tyrant for another, and we have indeed found it so throughout our story. Perhaps the greatest achievement in that way is that of Nonnos, commentator on Gregory of Nazianzum (whom I am sure I should never have thought of but for the memorable account of him given by Bentley, p. 24), in which the story of the bull is so told that Dionysios takes the place of Phalaris, while Phalaris himself takes the place of Periklaos. We might know more about the matter if we had in full the passage from Philistos (see Theôn, Progym. ii. 4; C. Müller, Fragm. i. 187) where he told some fable about a horse. But no name is preserved of either the tyrant or the city. And there is yet another version of the story of Stêsichoros, in which the obscure tyrant of Himera has yielded his place, not to Phalaris but to Gelôn (Conon. Narrat. 42; Westermann, *Μυθογράφοι*, p. 144; Phôtios, 139, Bekker). Gelôn here becomes a demagogue (*Γέλων ὁ Σικελιώτης, τυραννίδι ἐπιθέσθαι διανοούμενος, Ἱμεραίων ἐθεράπευε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ κατὰ τῶν δυνατῶν ὑπερεμάχει*), asking for a guard and so forth, and Stêsichoros tells the citizen the fable, just as he does in Aristotle. This tale no one need refute; but it is useful as showing how little the story in Aristotle goes to prove any connexion between Phalaris and Himera. The tale is a mere confusion of names, which may have been somewhat helped by the real connexion, though of quite another kind, between Thêrôn and Himera. In fact there is no real evidence to show that Phalaris was a conqueror anywhere, or that he ruled anywhere except over Akragas and its territory. He is indeed said to have conquered Leontinoi. It is possible that this may have come from Hêrakkleidês or whatever was the source from which Hêrakkleidês got the story about Phalaris throwing people into *κρατῆρες*. But the only actual mention of a conquest of Leontinoi by Phalaris comes as an explanation of a proverb, *αἰὲ Λεοντῖνοι περὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας*. On this the commentary of Arsenios (22) is, *ἐπὶ τῶν αἰὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκειμένων οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Λεοντῖνοι περὶ πότους ἐσχόλαζον. Φάλαρις δ' αὐτοὺς καταπολεμήσας εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας ἔρριψεν, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ παροιμία*. (So in the *Parœmiographi*, Diogen. ii. 203; Mant. i. 33.) Here again it is to be supposed that the *κρατῆρες* are those of Ætna. But it is not quite clear whether the meaning is that there were two explanations of the saying, or that Phalaris is conceived

as practising a grim joke, throwing those who were busy about every-day *κρατῆρες* into the *κρατῆρες* of the burning mountain. Here again, just as in the brazen bull and in the story of the caldrons, fire is looked upon as Phalaris' instrument of torture.

The casual allusions to Phalaris, many of which we have come across already, are simply endless; their number shows how much he was in people's minds in all ages. The story of the bull is perhaps enough to account for this; but we have further to explain the growing up of another conception of Phalaris which is quite contrary to the earlier and no doubt genuine tradition. This is that which sets Phalaris before us as a just and mild ruler, who, if he ever was led into any cruelties, was led into them against his will. This view of course reaches its height in the famous forged Letters. After Bentley's matchless demonstration, it might seem needless to say a word about them. One simply wonders how anybody could have been so easily taken in. It is amazing that any one who had the faintest glimmering of Greek history or Greek literature could have believed in the genuineness of an elaborate collection of letters in the later Attic dialect attributed to a prince of an age when one is thankful for a line or two of an inscription written from right to left, a prince too who, if he did write anything, could not fail to have written in an early form of Doric. It is amazing that men should not have seen the spuriousness of writings which speak of Phintías, Halæsus, and Tauromenion, ages before those cities were founded. It is most amazing of all that, after Bentley had proved his case, men should have thought that the victory lay the other way, and that Pope should have made the great scholar the subject of a jeering couplet. Yet all this is not more wonderful than what we have seen in our own days. There is at least one man who, after all the labours of Palgrave, Riley, and others, asserts the genuineness of the false Ingulf, who must therefore believe that William the Conqueror tried to root out the English language, that Ingulf studied at Oxford in the time of Eadward the Confessor, and that he was presented to the Emperor Alexios Komnénos twenty years before that prince began to reign. And later still, the more grotesque forgery of the "Battle Abbey Roll"—a forgery so transparent that, when I wrote the History of the Norman Conquest, it never came into my head to speak of it—has been gravely dealt with on the

hill of Senlec itself, and Edinburgh and Quarterly reviewers have treated text and commentary with much solemnity. If Ingulf and the Battle Abbey Roll can appear again, Phalaris may appear also. Still, till he does, there is no need to do Bentley's work over again, and the spuriousness of the letters may be taken for granted.

Still several questions arise out of the letters. In the case of any forged writing, it is always possible that the forger may have had materials before him which are now lost, and therefore that the forgery may accidentally preserve some scraps of truth. It has become almost an axiom that a forged charter is no evidence for the point which it wishes to establish, but that it may easily be evidence for any incidental points on which the forger was likely to be well-informed, and about which he had no motive to deceive. Considering the vast mass of Sicilian history which is lost, it cannot be ruled to be impossible that the forger may have had the means of knowing some facts which we do not know, and may have sometimes used his opportunities. I have ventured (see p. 65) to hint that we may have such a case in the statement of the letters that Phalaris came from Astypalaia. And beyond all this there is the main question of all, what put it into anybody's head to forge letters in the name of Phalaris. It is not like forging letters for Euripides or Plato or anybody who was likely to have written letters. A Sicilian tyrant of the sixth century is such a strange person to fix upon. Phalaris must somehow have got a reputation as a writer of letters or as a writer of some kind before any one could be taken in by this particular forgery. There is of course the question whether the existing letters were forgeries in a bad sense, distinctly designed to deceive, or whether they were, like many writings of the kind, simply rhetorical exercises, written without any evil purpose. We shall very soon come to examples of such, of which Phalaris himself is the subject; but it may be thought that the existing collection of letters is too large and elaborate to admit of such a judgement of charity. Anyhow people were taken in very early. Phôtios (Ep. 207) refers to letters which in his day passed for letters of Phalaris; but he at least had his doubts. A scholar like him was not so easily deceived as some others. Nor is it absolutely certain that Souidas (Φάλαρις) refers to the present letters, when he says, not without a kind of truth, that Phalaris *ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὰς πᾶν θάυμασις*; but the chances are that he does. When we turn to John of Stoboi, we

find that all his references (viii. 68, xlix. 16, 26, lxxxvi. 17, Exc. Joan. Dam. i. 12) are clearly to the letters as they now stand (2, 80, 92, 144). So we have seen that John Tzetzês quotes them as undoubted authority. And of course it is not wonderful that so late a writer as Arsenios (Ἰώνια, 466) gives us three sayings of Phalaris, all of which come from the letters (27, 107, 144). The extracts are of course rich in beautiful sentiments; some of them set forth the evils of tyranny from the experience of one who knew all about it.

Now how did this new version of Phalaris spring up? We must look for its origin in the love of rhetorical display and in a certain spirit of ingenious contradiction. The process of "rehabilitation"—that, I believe, is the right "literary" word—has always a certain kind of attraction about it, and it began early. It began most likely in sheer love of display. More cleverness could be shown in asserting a manifest paradox than in upholding a truth that nobody doubted (see Polyb. xii. 26 b). The ἥττων λόγος of Aristophanês has always had many votaries, and in no age has it been easy to tell how far their support has been conscious. Among the writings of Isokratês we have one which undertakes the defence of the monster of old times whom so many coupled with Phalaris, of Bousiris himself. One Polykratês, it seems, had written a defence of Bousiris and a discourse against Sôkratês. Isokratês takes him in hand to show him what the counsel for Bousiris ought to say. So it was with Phalaris. He had got so bad a reputation that clever men who had nothing better to do than to practise their cleverness made it an exercise of skill to see whether something could not be said on behalf of one who had had so much said against him. In the first stage there would be no attempt to deceive, or to do anything worse than to show off. People would admire the cleverness of the ἥττων λόγος, but they would still remember that it was the ἥττων λόγος. In a later stage, whether the writer meant to take them in or not, he did take them in, as we see by the cases of Soudias and John of Stoboi. The former stage is surely to be seen in the two discourses headed with the name of Phalaris which go under the name of Lucian. Whether they are his or not is of comparatively little moment. We have seen (see p. 71) how Lucian spoke of Phalaris when he had no special call to speak otherwise; if he really wrote the two discourses, the fact that he had so spoken

would add a little keenness to what he now said on the other side.

The two discourses are worth looking at with some care when we come, from finding out what little we can about the real acts of Phalaris, to this later stage of seeing what people said about him long after. There is no reason to think that they were written with the least purpose to deceive. They are simply exercises to show how cleverly a man could talk on a side which he knew to be wrong. The first discourse is made in the name of Phalaris by his *θεωροί*, who are sent by him to Delphoi to offer the brazen bull to Apollôn. They speak of him by the neutral style of *ὁ ἡμέτερος δυνάστης*; he himself speaks delicately of his *ἀρχή*; but he presently lets it out that other people spoke of him as *τύραννος*, and he is even obliged to speak of himself as belonging to that class (c. 8; *ἡμῖν τοῦτο πολλῶ ἀναγκαιότερον τοῖς τυράννοις*). He explains that many envious and slanderous people spoke ill of him; but he has a good defence. The writer has forgotten, like most other writers, that neither Phalaris nor his enemies could have been born at Akragas; he is conceived (c. 2) as having been born and brought up in the city *ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ τῶν ἀφανῶν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι ὦν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος εὖ γεγονὼς καὶ τραφεὶς ἐλευθερίως καὶ παιδείᾳ προσεσχῆκός*). There were divisions in the city (*διήρητο δὲ ἡμῶν τότε ἡ πόλις*), in which Phalaris had always taken the popular side (*δημοτικὸν ἐμῶν παρέχων*) and had practised every virtue of a citizen. But when his enemies plotted against him and sought to slay him, he seized power (*ἐπιθέμενος τῇ ἀρχῇ*) in self-defence and with the approval of all good citizens (*ἐπαινοῦντες ἄνδρες μέτριοι καὶ φιλοπόλιδες*). Under his rule (c. 3) the city was free from disputes (*ἐγὼ δὲ ἄρχων, ἡ πόλις δὲ ἀστασίαστος ἦν*); his government was mild, no slaughters took place, no banishments, no deeds of lust or violence, no illegal action of his body-guard (*δορυφόρων ἐπιπέμψεις*). He kept the people in good-humour with shows, feasts, and doles (*τὸν δῆμον ἐν θεαῖς καὶ διανομαῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ δημοθουναῖς διηγόν*), and he adorned and strengthened the city with fortifications, buildings, and aqueducts. In this boast we seem to see an echo of the story told by Polyainos (see p. 67) which makes Phalaris rise to power through a contract for building. He had even (c. 4) thought of giving up his power (*περὶ τοῦ ἀφείναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ καταθέσθαι τὴν δυναστείαν ἔσκόπουμην*). But his enemies (c. 4) plotted against him in every way. They collected arms; they sent embassies to Athens and Sparta

—Sparta, ancient queller of tyrants, is better conceived than Athens; they designed Phalaris for some frightful fate, as they confessed under torture (δημοσία στρεβλούμενοι ἐξείπον). From all these dangers he escaped by the favour of the gods, specially of the god of Pythô, who revealed things to him in his dreams (μάλιστα γὰρ ὁ Πύθιος ὀνειράτα τε προδείξας καὶ μηνύσοντας ἕκαστα ἐπιπέμπων). He was driven to take care of himself and to punish those who plotted against him. Tyrants were a much mistaken class; some, himself of course among them, were the best and gentlest of rulers; but once call a man a tyrant, and he was supposed to belong to the bad class, and men sought to slay him. This argument, drawn out at some length, is of some importance as showing how the word *τύραννος* still (c. 7 et seqq.) referred, not to the way in which power was used, but to the way in which it was gained. Phalaris had no pleasure in killing people or in beating them, quite the other way; but any man would rather put another to death than, by saving that other alive, be put to death himself. Yet he had spared many out of old friendship (παλαιᾶς συνηθείας πρὸς αὐτοὺς μνημονεύσας), some of whom he names (c. 9), Akanthos, Timokratês, and Leôgoras his brother. Of these, Akanthos—Ἀκανθὸν τουτονί he is called—seems to be himself one of the envoys, so that he must be conceived as a conspirator whom the mild treatment of Phalaris had turned into a friend. The names suggest some curiosity; one would like to know whether they come from any tradition or any earlier writing, or whether they were simply invented by Lucian for dramatic effect. Then (c. 10), with a seeming reference to the tale which represented him as a Bousiris to strangers, Phalaris appeals to the many guests who have visited Akragas, who would report what good treatment they had received from him. At this stage Pythagoras could not be kept out; the sage had heard a bad report of Phalaris; but, when he saw the truth, he left him with mingled feelings of admiration and sadness (ἀλλὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀκηκόω· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπειράθῃ, ἀπῆλθεν ἐπαίνων με τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἑλεῶν τῆς ἀναγκαίας ὀμότητος). At last (c. 11) comes the story of the bull. Perilaos, a native craftsman, skilful in his art, brought it to Phalaris, who at first simply admired the workmanship, and said that it was worthy of being sent as a gift to Apollôn. The artist then explained at length what was its real object, and the mechanism by which the cries of the sufferers were to make music for the enjoyment of Phalaris (ἡ βοή

δὲ διὰ τῶν αὐλῶν μέλη σοι ἀποτελέσει οἷα λιγυρώτατα καὶ ἐπαυλήσει θρη-
νῶδες καὶ μυκήσεται γοερώτατον, ὥς τὸν μὲν κολάζεσθαι, σὲ δὲ τέρπεσθαι
μεταξὺ κατωλούμενον). Phalaris, wroth at the proposal (c. 12), sets the
engine to work on Perilaos himself; but designing the bull for an
offering, he has him taken out before he is quite dead (ἔτι ἔμπνου καὶ
ζῶντα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξαιρεθῆναι κελεύσας, ὥς μὴ μιάνειε τὸ ἔργον ἐναποθανόν).
His body is cast out unburied, and Phalaris sends the bull as an
offering. The θεωροί wind up (c. 14) with a few words of their own,
in which they pray the Delphians to accept Phalaris and his offer-
ing, and press their own claims to be listened to as men of Akragas,
Greeks and Dorians.

One or two things may be noticed in this discourse. One illus-
trates the difficulty (which we find also in the speeches which Hero-
dotus puts into the mouths of Gelôn and the envoys from Athens
and Sparta, see p. 179) of finding a nomenclature which exactly
suits the relations between colonies and their motherland. The
Akragantines are Greeks and boast of being so (c. 14); Ἑλληνές
τε ὄντες καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Δωριεῖς. Yet they use, not only Ἑλλάς, but
Ἑλληνες, in a sense simply geographical (c. 4), in which Akragas
has no share; ἐπεκαλοῦντο εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ
Ἀθηναίους, and afterwards (c. 17) ἀκούω καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἑλληνσι
πολλοὺς γενέσθαι τυράννους σοφούς, κ.τ.λ. Of course there was a
sense in which Akragas or any other place where Greeks had
settled was part of Ἑλλάς; Peloponnêsos and the neighbouring
lands were not the whole of Ἑλλάς, but only ἡ συνεχὴς Ἑλλάς. But
in ordinary speech Ἑλλάς was the geographical name of a certain
part of the earth's surface of which Akragas formed no part. And
if Akragas, Syracuse, any other Greek settlements, were parts
of Ἑλλάς, they were only scattered parts; Sicily, as a whole, was
no part of Ἑλλάς; it was only in the neighbouring mainland that
there was a μεγάλη Ἑλλάς stretching from sea to sea. And when
Ἑλλάς was opposed to the land of the Akragantines, it is not won-
derful that Ἑλληνες, as the name of its inhabitants, should be op-
posed to the Akragantines themselves, Ἑλληνες as they were.

There is in the discourse a curious reference to a punishment of
sacrilege seemingly practised at Delphoi. The envoys say (c. 6)
that, if the Delphians blamed Phalaris for the severities forced on
him by necessity, they were as if any one should see a temple-
robber hurled from the rock near Delphoi, and, instead of thinking
of his crime—ὥς νύκτωρ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν παρῆλθε καὶ κατέσπασε τὰ ἀναθήματα

καὶ τοῦ ξοάνου ἤψατο—should blame the cruelty of the Delphians, in that they, Greeks and pretenders to a sacred character ("Ἕλληνες τε καὶ ἱεροὶ εἶναι λέγοντες), could bear to inflict such a punishment on a fellow-Greek, and that hard by the temple.

The second piece headed "Phalaris" is supposed to be a speech made by an orator in the Delphian assembly. Some one (c. 6) had spoken against receiving the bull, on the ground of the cruelties of Phalaris. But he who so spoke had not been at Akragas; those who had been there spoke differently. The orator (c. 1) speaks of Phalaris as ἀνὴρ δυνάστης εὖσεβῶν, and presently (c. 5) as μόναρχος. He argues that Apollōn must approve of him and his offering, or he would not have given his envoys a successful voyage. But the Delphians have nothing to do with his goodness or badness; it was not usual to debate about receiving an offering or to discuss the character of him who offered it; they took all that came. The question (c. 11) does not touch Phalaris only and his bull, but all kings and rulers and every body else who consult the oracle and make offerings (οὐ Φάλαρις τύραννος εἰς οὐδὲ ταῦρος οὗτος οὐδὲ χαλκὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ πάντες βασιλεῖς καὶ πάντες δυνάσται ὅσοι νῦν χρῶνται τῷ ἱερῷ, κ.τ.λ.). The Delphians (c. 7) were priests and not judges; they had to offer sacrifices and to help to set up offerings; they need not trouble themselves whether people beyond sea had a good or a bad tyrant (τοῦτ' οὐ Δελφοῖς ἀναγκαῖον πολυπραγμονεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἀντὶ ἱερέων ἤδη δικασταὶ εἶναι ἀξιούμεν, καὶ δέον θύειν καὶ τὰλλα θεραπεύειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ συνανατιθέναι εἰ πέμψεί τις, σκοποῦντες καθήμεθα εἰ τινες τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως τυραννοῦνται). Again we see the possibility of a righteous tyrant; and this while the word is still used in its strictly Greek sense; the "tyranni" of the Empire had not yet begun.

Nothing can be plainer than that these two pieces are mere rhetorical exercises, mere displays of cleverness in argument, written without any intention to deceive anybody as to matters of fact. There is an element of satire in both speeches, and it comes out very strongly in the second. They were written as a conscious paradox, which the writer no doubt greatly enjoyed. But the speeches are witnesses to the interest which still attached to the name of Phalaris. If not out of these very speeches—which, it must be remembered, are distinctly referred to by John Tzetzés (see above, p. 464)—certainly out of some other writings of the same class, grew the famous forgery of the letters. I say forgery, without ruling whether the writer really meant to

deceive. As a matter of fact, he did deceive, as is shown by John of Stoboi and John Tzetzés. Lucian, or whoever it was, amused himself with a clever paradox. The paradox took, and grew into a favourable tradition about Phalaris, opposite to the older and truer picture. In such a state of mind the letters, nothing like so clever as the speeches of Lucian, were welcomed and believed.

The tendency arose rather early to connect Phalaris with other names which were famous in Sicilian history or legend without much regard to chronology. Of this the story about Stêsichoros is an early case. Stêsichoros and Phalaris might have come across one another, though certainly not in the way in which they do in the legend; it was the celebrity of the two names which brought them together in this impossible fashion. One trembles at writing the word Pythagoras; according to the most likely chronology, the connexion of Pythagoras with the Greek colonies of the West came after the time of Phalaris. Still the temptation to bring the two men together was great. It was doubtless strengthened by the stories of the relations between Plato and Dionysios, elder and younger. One tyrant suggested the other, and one philosopher suggested the other. In the speeches of Lucian, Pythagoras is brought in, according to this spirit, as an admiring and sympathizing visitor of the tyrant. Such a part would of course not do for those who clung to the elder tradition of Phalaris; if Pythagoras had anything to do with him, it must have been in quite another way. In the *Life of Pythagoras* by Iamblichos (c. 32), Pythagoras appears as the destroyer of the tyranny of Phalaris, and the mysterious Hyperborean Abaris, a person about whom it was safe to say anything, is brought in with him. Never perhaps were so many words wasted in telling a story which after all is told without a single detail. But we gather (§ 221) that an oracle of Apollôn declared that Phalaris would be destroyed whenever his subjects should become stronger and united (*τεκμήριον μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν χρησμῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, τότε τὴν κατάλυσιν διασημαινόντων τῷ Φαλάριδι γενήσεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅτε κρείττονες καὶ ὁμονοητικώτεροι γένοιντο καὶ συνιστάμενοι μετ' ἀλλήλων οἱ ἀρχόμενοι*). This they became through the preaching of Pythagoras (*οἳ οὖν καὶ τότε ἐγένοντο Πυθαγόρου παρόντος διὰ τὰς ὑφηγήσεις καὶ παιδεύσεις αὐτοῦ*). The preaching which had this good effect was naturally displeasing to Phalaris — *ὠμότατος τῶν τυράννων* — but Pythagoras preached boldly to the tyrant himself, suspecting (c. 217)

that Phalaris would condemn him to death, but knowing that he was not destined to die at the hands of Phalaris (*ὑποπτεύων μὲν ὅτι Φάλαρις αὐτῷ ῥάπτει θάνατον, ὅμως δὲ εἰδὼς ὡς οὐκ εἴη Φαλάρει μορσιμος*). The matter of his discourse throws no light on the character of Phalaris or on the politics of Akragas; but Phalaris does in the end condemn both the wise men, Pythagoras and Abaris, to death; they are happily rescued by the rising of the people against him on that very day, in which the tyrant is slain and they are delivered.

This story (on which see Bentley, 47, 48, 501, 516) is much less satisfactory reading than the clever argument of Lucian. We specially miss the bull; a deliverance of the two sages from the very belly of hell, whether wrought by miracle of Apollôn or by the human agency of Akragantine revolutionists, might have been made something of. Pythagoras appears as going about upsetting tyrannies everywhere (c. 10, 32), among which—for Iamblichos did not foresee the coming of Bentley—he finds one to upset at unborn Tauromenion. In this last blunder, as well as in the bringing in of Pythagoras and Abaris, we get a distinct point of connexion between Iamblichos and the letters. Among these last is one (77) from Phalaris to Abaris, and another (79) to Pythagoras, in both of which the tyrant, victim of slander, sets forth his own virtues and asks for a visit from the sage. Between them comes a letter of stern rebuke from Abaris to Phalaris, which seems to be doubly spurious, not only not the work of Abaris, but not even the work of the original forger. These points of coincidence show that the forger must either have read the Life of Pythagoras or else must have drawn his Abaris and Pythagoras, as well as his Tauromenion, from some common source. One might guess that he had not read the discourses of Lucian, or he would surely have brought in the implied story of Akanthos, out of which something effective could easily have been made. And one wonders that he made no use of the story of Charitôn and Melanippos. It is possible that, if the forger was a Christian, he may have thought that tale, in its actual shape, not edifying; but it could with very little trouble have been changed into something as harmless as the story of the treatment of Damôn and Pythias by Dionysios.

When once the philosophers had come in, it was easy to put the name of one for another. To make Zênôn of Elea a contemporary of Phalaris was a wilder freak of chronology than any

that we have yet come across; but so he appears in the story in Valerius Maximus (iii. 3, Ext. 2). Here Zênôn is put to all manner of tortures by Phalaris, that of the wooden horse (*eculeus*) among them. He confesses nothing, but exhorts the people of Akragas to rise, on which they stone Phalaris. As in the story in Iamblichos, we miss the bull, and his absence seems to show that this is no genuine legend of Phalaris, but a confusion with another story in Diogenês Laertios (ix. 4. 5), borrowed from a fragment of Diodôros (lib. 10). In this Zênôn acts in the same way towards a tyrant, so it is to be supposed, of his own Eleia, called either Nearchos or Laomedôn. The confusion of names and places is very much the same as in Aristotle's story about Stêsichoros.

The general story of the fall of Phalaris seems to be fairly well ascertained. No philosophers play any part in it. For the Pythagoras of sophistic invention we have to substitute the Têlemachos of genuine tradition. But the question is still left open to us whether we are to look on Têlemachos as a patriot or as a rival tyrant, whether he stood to Phalaris in the relation of Timoleôn to Dionysios or only in that of Gelôn to the sons of Hippokratês.

NOTE VIII. p. 98.

THE EVENTS AFTER THE EXPEDITION OF DÔRIEUS.

WERE any wars waged by Carthage or by the Phœnician towns in Sicily which had become Carthaginian dependencies against Gelôn or any other Sikeliot ruler or commonwealth at any time between the failure of the Spartan attempt at settlement on Eryx and the great Carthaginian invasion which ended in the battle of Himera? In the absence of any general consecutive narrative of Sicilian affairs—for one part of them we have now a consecutive narrative in Herodotus—we have again to seek our answer to this question in a number of scattered notices. As the evidence is not very clear, I have not ventured on any distinct narrative in the text; I thought it safer to consider the matter in the present shape. The subject has a good deal of interest in itself, and it becomes of greater importance since a scholar whose opinions cannot be slighted has made use of the doubtful statements about it to dispute the received date and circumstances of the battle of Himera itself.

The first piece of evidence to which we naturally go on the subject is the speech put by Herodotus (vii. 158) into the mouth of Gelôn when answering the Athenian and Lacedæmonian envoys in B. C. 480. As the speech is commonly understood, Gelôn is made distinctly to assert that he had been engaged in a war with Carthage before the coming of those envoys, and that that war was waged specially to avenge the death of Dôrieus. His words are;

Αἱτοὶ δὲ ἐμὲν πρότερον δεηθέντος βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπάψασθαι, ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους νέικος συνήπτο, ἐπισκῆπτοντός τε τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδew πρὸς Ἑγεσταίων φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι, ὑποτείνοντός τε τὰ ἐμπόρια συνελευθεροῦν, ἀπ' ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ὠφελίαι τε καὶ ἐπανρέσιες γέγονασι.

It needs no proof that Gelôn, or Herodotus in his name, here refers to something which Herodotus conceived to have happened before the coming of the envoys. He speaks of a well-known past event, of the nature of which we might wish that he had told us more, but of the general date of which, as something happening before 480 B. C., there can be no doubt. He makes Gelôn speak of a war with Carthage in which he had already been engaged; he cannot possibly refer to the great Carthaginian invasion and the battle of Himera, which Herodotus records some chapters later (165-167). Herodotus may, as some think, have given a wrong date to the battle of Himera; he may, though it is not likely, have divided a single Carthaginian war into two; but he clearly believed that Gelôn was at war with Carthage twice, once before the embassy and once after it. I therefore cannot understand how Holm (G. S. i. 416) can use these words of Herodotus in c. 158 as argument against the date—the same day as Salamis—which Herodotus himself in c. 166 gives to Himera. He adds indeed “dass Herodot selbst diese Worte anders versteht, ist kein Hinderniss meiner Denkung.” Now it may be possible to prove Herodotus to be altogether wrong in his story; but it is beyond belief that he could have misunderstood his own meaning in this way. There are in short two questions. First, Did Herodotus give a wrong date to the battle of Himera? This question does not concern us till later in our story. Secondly, Was Herodotus mistaken in asserting an earlier war between Gelôn and the Carthaginians? This is the question which we have to deal with now.

Herodotus then distinctly affirms, through the mouth of Gelôn,

that Gelôn himself waged a war with the Carthaginians and the men of Segesta, with the avowed purpose of avenging the death of Dôrieus. The result of this warfare was, he says, to set free certain havens, from which setting free the cities of Old Greece had derived great advantage. I freely confess that I do not know what this last part of the story means. It was doubtless so clear to Herodotus, or to those who told him the story, that it did not seem to need any explanation. I cannot venture, with Grote (v. 292), to read ἡμῖν for ὑμῖν. I confine myself to the general statement of a war in which it is implied that Gelôn was victorious. It is implied further that Gelôn had to withstand an invasion; for he complains that, when he asked for help from Old Greece, none came. As far, he says, as the Greeks of Old Greece had done anything, Syracuse and all Greek Sicily might be a possession of the barbarians (οὔτε ἐμεῦ εἵνεκα ἤλθετε βοηθήσοντες οὔτε τὸν Δωριέος φόνον ἐκπρηξόμενοι· τὸ δὲ κατ' ὑμέας, τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροιςιν νέμεται). Of course there is no need to suppose that any barbarian host came to Syracuse or anywhere near Syracuse. All that Gelôn means is that he drove back Punic invaders of some part of Greek Sicily, which invaders, if he had not driven them back, might have reached Syracuse or any other part.

There is indeed a difficulty as to the date, a difficulty of which Holm himself, who asks triumphantly "Aber wann?", does not seem to see the stress. Dôrieus perished not very long after 510 B. C. Gelôn did not become master even of Gela till 491. A Phœnician advance threatening Greek Sicily generally, a Greek war waged to avenge the death of Dôrieus, must surely have happened before the latter date. But Kleandros was tyrant as early as 505; Gelôn was a chief officer under his successor Hippokratēs, and seemingly under Kleandros also (see below, Appendix XI). What if Gelôn refers to a war in which he may well have played a leading part, though not in the highest command as himself tyrant? Herodotus might easily make a slip of this kind in dates and names. He or his informants might make Gelôn speak of a war as happening during his own reign when it had really happened during the reign of one of his predecessors. They would hardly make Gelôn speak of a war which was yet to come as if it had happened some years before.

And the inference which we naturally make from the works of Herodotus really falls in with the account which Diodôros gives of the foundation and history of Hêrakleia. That account is indeed

very confused. It comes in casually in the mythical part of his history, and he most likely put his narrative straight when he came to the right place for it in one of the lost books. He describes (iv. 23) the wrestling of Hêraklês and Eryx, and the lease granted to the then inhabitants till such time as a Hêracleid should come to claim his inheritance. He then adds ;

ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι· πολλαῖς γὰρ ὕστερον γενεαῖς Δωριεὺς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καταντήσας εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπολαβὼν ἔκτισε πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν. ταχὺ δ' αὐτῆς αὐξομένης, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι φθονήσαντες ἅμα καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ ποτε πλείον ἰσχύσασα τῆς Καρχηδόνας ἀφέληται τῶν Φοινίκων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' αὐτὴν μεγάλας δυνάμεις καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἐλόντες κατέσκαψαν.

He adds ; ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς οὐκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν.

In all this Diodôros was most likely writing from memory. When he came to the more minute research needed for the direct narrative of the enterprise of Dôrieus, he no doubt found out his mistake. That mistake I take to be that for the moment he forgot the actual fate of Dôrieus, and fancied that what was done by his follower Euryleôn was done by himself. What Diodôros tells us about Hêracleia becomes perfectly intelligible, if we take it of the Minôa occupied by Euryleôn. Minôa was afterwards called Hêracleia. Surely it was now that it took the name. Dôrieus meant to make a Hêracleia on one site. Euryleôn did make a Hêracleia on another site. Except in this casual mention of its destruction, we do not hear of Hêracleia again till deep in the fourth century, after it or its site had been ceded to Carthage in B.C. 383. That is to say, the Hêracleia founded by Euryleôn was destroyed by the Carthaginians in the war which Gelôn speaks of in Herodotus. If it was ever rebuilt as a Greek place, perhaps as an outpost of Akragas, it passed to Carthage by the treaty with Dionysios, and it rose to its later importance as a Phœnician town. As such, it was known in Greek as Hêracleia, and in Phœnician as *Ras-Melkart*. So far the statements of Herodotus and Diodôros really fit well into one another. But it must be remembered that all the statements are incidental. Such is not only that of Diodôros, but those of Herodotus also, both the speech of Gelôn in the seventh book and the account of Euryleôn in the fifth. In this last Herodotus describes the occupation of Minôa or Hêracleia by

Euryleôn; he makes no mention of its later fate, which we get in a confused way out of Diodôros.

We ask further what was the position of Segesta at this time, and still more what was that of Selinous. I do not exactly understand Placc (die Tyrannis, i. 288), when he says;

“Händel hatte indessen Gelôn, wie dieser bei Herodot sagt, schon früher mit ihnen [Karthagern] gehabt, indem Egesta sich in den Schutz derselben begab, er aber daran dachte, die Karthager unter Mitwirken des griechischen Stammlandes völlig von der Insel zu vertreiben; nur war es nicht zu Feindseligkeiten gekommen.”

Segesta was an ally of Carthage in the battle with Dôrieus, and neither Gelôn nor any other Greek could have any interest in settling the relations between the two barbarian cities. A far more interesting question is what was the position of Selinous just at this time. The story of Dôrieus so nearly repeats that of Pentathlos that we are almost tempted to assume that it must have repeated it in one point more, and that Selinous must have been an ally of Dôrieus in his warfare with Carthage and Segesta. But, as a matter of fact, no such alliance is spoken of. We hear nothing of Selinous in any quarter trustworthy or otherwise, between the tyranny of Thêrôn which followed the great defeat by the Phœnicians (see p. 81) and the tyranny of Peithagoras which we find existing directly after the fall of Dôrieus. Nor does Herodotus bring in Carthaginians or Phœnicians of any kind as at all affecting Selinous, when he describes the rise and fall of Euryleôn's power there. Our next notice of Selinous is that from which we learn the relations of the city at the time of the war of Himera (Diod. xi. 21). How do we explain the difference between the Selinous which is the zealous ally of Pentathlos in his warfare with the Phœnicians and the Selinous which at least engaged to help the Phœnician invader in his war against Gelôn and Thêrôn of Akragas? Between those two dates Selinous must have fallen into the position of a dependent ally of Carthage. This could not have happened immediately after the death of Pentathlos, when Carthage had as yet no Sicilian dominion. But it may very well have followed the defeat of Dôrieus, perhaps not at the very moment, but within a few years. The foundation of Hêracleia, the revival of the scheme of Greek colonization which had just been thwarted, could hardly have frightened Carthage quite so

much as Diodóros says; but it would be a special motive for action. The revolutions of Selinous, the tyranny and overthrow of Euryleôn, would give the opportunity. Then Carthage comes down on both the towns which Euryleôn had held. Hêrakleia is destroyed; Selinous becomes a dependency of Carthage. Greek Sicily in general is threatened. Then comes the war of which Gelôn speaks, the war waged by the Greeks of Sicily, by Gela at all events, against the Carthaginians to avenge the death of Dôrieus. Help is sought for in Old Greece; but in vain. But Gelôn or some other champion from eastern Sicily, most likely Gelôn acting as lieutenant to one of his predecessors in the tyranny, hinders the storm from spreading further eastward. He even obtains by treaty some commercial advantages which were useful to Old Greece as well as to Sicily. But he is obliged to leave Hêrakleia a ruin, and Selinous a dependency of Carthage.

Something like this was clearly meant by Herodotus, and something like this fits in with our very scanty notices elsewhere. Even if it is needful to suppose that Herodotus, or those from whom he got his story, made Gelôn claim to himself some of the acts of Hippokratês or Kleandros, this is much easier to believe than that he was capable of the monstrous confusion and contradiction which is attributed to him in the view taken by Holm.

Duncker (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, vi. 664) has an account which I could wish that he had drawn out more fully, but which agrees with my own notions so far as to admit the general fact of an earlier war with Carthage in which Gelôn took a part. This, he truly holds, is shown by the words put into his mouth by Herodotus. But he must either allow a very long time between the death of Dôrieus and the action of Gelôn, or else he has not noticed the chronological difficulty which I have spoken of above. For he not only makes Gelôn apply to Leônidas, who did not become king of the Lacedæmonians till B. C. 491, but speaks of him as "Fürst von Syrakus," which he did not become till B. C. 485. The application to Leônidas comes from the passage in Justin, xix. 1, which, in the last text of Rühl, stands thus;

"Itaque Siciliæ populis propter adsiduas Karthaginiensium injurias ad . . Leonidæ fratrem regis Spartanorum, concurrentibus grave bellum natum, in quo et diu et varia victoria præliatum est."

Duncker must have read "Leonidam," according to the conjectural emendation mentioned by Meltzer, i. 492. He takes this passage of Justin and the speech of Gelôn in Herodotus to refer to one and the same application to Sparta. I had always thought that the passage in Justin referred to the expedition of Dôrieus, and that his name had dropped out of the text. An invitation to Dôrieus from Selinous or any other Sikeliot city is likely enough; they must have known well that he was coming. As Duncker puts it, when the request to Leônidas was refused, then "Gelon nahm es auf sich, weiteren Erfolges der Karthagen auf Sicilien entgegen zu treten." Cf. vii. 217.

The passage in Justin is followed by the strange story of the embassy of Darius to Carthage;

"Dum hæc aguntur, legati a Dareo, Persarum rege, Karthaginem venerunt adferentes edictum quo Pœni humanas hostias immolare et canina vesci prohibebantur mortuorumque corpora cremare potius quam terra obruere a rege jubebantur; petentes simul auxilia adversus Græciam, cui inlaturus bellum Dareus erat. Sed Karthaginienses auxilia negantes propter assidua finitimorum bella, ceteris, ne per omnia contumaces viderentur, cupide paruere."

I confess that I am a little surprised at the respect with which this story is treated by Meltzer (i. 207, 499), Duncker (iv. 527), and Busolt (ii. 259), who charges it on Timaios, whose criticism on the brazen bull might have pleaded for him. Duncker even warns us that it must not be supposed, because he accepts this "Verhandlung" between Darius and Carthage, that he at all accepts an alliance between Xerxes and Carthage. On the other hand, the story seems to me to be a jumble between the alliance of Xerxes with Carthage and the story of Gelôn requiring the Carthaginians to give up human sacrifices. Darius is made to sin against his own religion by requiring fire to be used to consume dead bodies. The only point the least in favour of the story is that eating dog's flesh does seem (see Meltzer, i. 499) to have been an usual custom of some of the Libyan tribes, though surely not of the Carthaginians. Duncker (iv. 527) seems to put the transaction as early as B.C. 512. I should have thought that, if anything of the kind happened at all, it must have been just before Marathôn.

It certainly seems to me most likely that one of the results of

this first Punic war on the part of Syracuse was that Selinous now became a dependency of Carthage. But it would be hard to prove the case either way. Duncker (vii. 379), just before the battle of Himera, makes Selinous join Carthage then for the first time; "Es trat in den Schutz Karthagos." He then adds in a note, "Hamilkar konnte nicht den Selinuntiern doch nicht gebieten, ihm ihre Reiter zu schicken, wenn die Stadt nicht zuvor zu Karthago getreten war." Benndorf (die Metopen, 8) makes Selinous join Carthage out of revenge for the destruction of her metropolis Megara by Gelôn. See pp. 131, 240. Curtius (G. G. ii. 439) knows that they came "aus Hass gegen Akragas." Why?

NOTE IX. pp. 115, 317.

ANAXILAS AND THE NAMING OF MESSANA.

It hardly needed the ingenuity of Bentley (Phalaris, p. 149 et seqq.) to point out that Pausanias (iv. 23) has made a confusion as to the date of Anaxilas quite as great as that which Diodôros (see above, p. 451) has made as to the date of Charôndas. He has moved him back from the early years of the fifth century B.C. to the first half of the seventh. We may feel pretty sure that this story, like the narrative of the Messenian wars to which it is a supplement, comes from the lost Messenian epic of Rhianos.

In this version the second Messenian war is over. Eira has been taken, according to Pausanias' chronology, in B.C. 668 (Ol. 28. 1). The remnant of the Messenians, under the sons of Aristomenês, Gorgos and Mantiklos, are planning settlements in various parts. One of their schemes is to occupy Sardinia, described, as usual, as the greatest and most fortunate of islands (*Σαρδῶ κτήσασθαι μεγίστην τε νῆσον καὶ εὐδαιμονίᾳ πρῶτην*). At that time Anaxilas was tyrant of Rhêgion; he was fourth in descent from Archidamidas, who had migrated from Messênê to Rhêgion at the time of the taking of Ithômê which ended the first Messenian war (724 B.C. according to the chronology of Pausanias, iv. 13. 7). He now sent and invited the Messenians of the second dispersion to settle in Italy. When they came, he told them that he had a quarrel with the Zanklaians who had a fair city and territory in Sicily; this he

promised to give to them as their new home, if they would join with him in driving out its present possessors (*ἐλθοῦσιν ἔλεγεν ὡς Ζαγκλαῖοι διάφοροι μὲν εἰσιν αὐτῷ, χώραν δὲ εὐδαίμονα καὶ πόλιν ἐν καλῷ τῆς Σικελίας ἔχουσιν, ἃ δὴ σφίσιν ἐθέλειν ἔφη συγκατεργασάμενος δοῦναι*). The Messenians agree; Anaxilas gives them a passage to Sicily; he fights against the Zanklaians by sea, and they by land; each is successful, and Zanklê is besieged by land and sea. Presently the wall is taken, seemingly by storm (*ἀλικομένου ἤδη τοῦ τείχους*); the Zanklaians take sanctuary in temples and at altars. Then Anaxilas exhorts the Messenians to slay the suppliants and to make slaves of the rest of the people of Zanklê, men, women, and children (*Ἀναξίλας μὲν οὖν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις παρεκελεύετο τοὺς τε ἱκετεύοντας Ζαγκλαίων ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ παισὶν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι*). But the Messenian leaders, Gorgos and Mantiklos, shrink from such a crime. They had themselves suffered unrighteously at the hands of men of their own kin; let not the lord of Rhêgion constrain them to sin in the like sort against fellow-Greeks (*παρητοῦντο Ἀναξίλαν μὴ σφᾶς ὑπὸ συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν πεπονθότας ἀνόσια, ὅμοια αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ἑλλήνας ἀναγκάσαι δρᾶσαι*). The Messenians bid the Zanklaians at the altars rise; they exchange oaths and occupy the city in common, changing the name from Zanklê to Messênê (*τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ἀνίστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βωμῶν, καὶ ὅρκους δόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων λαβόντες ἕκησαν ἀμφοτέροι κοινῇ ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει μετέθεσαν Μεσσήνην ἀντὶ Ζάγκλης καλεῖσθαι*). All this was done about B.C. 664 (Ol. 29). And the witness of the story in Pausanias' day was the temple and statue of Hêraklê's Mantiklos, the foundation of the Messenian Mantiklos, outside the walls of Messana (*Μάντικλος δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίοις τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔστιν ἐκτὸς τείχους ὁ θεὸς ἰδρυμένος, Ἡρακλῆς καλούμενος Μάντικλος*).

It is perfectly clear that the kernel of this tale is the real account of the treatment of the Zanklaians in B.C. 493 by Anaxilas, Hippokratês, and the Samians. The date is changed; Messenian exiles are put instead of Samian exiles; the refusal of the Samians to kill the Zanklaians handed over to them by Hippokratês appears in a poetical form; they are now made suppliants at altars. How much the Persian recovery of Ionia and the events which followed it were in the mind of the inventor of the tale is shown by his bringing in a proposal to settle in Sardinia, which is made up, almost word for word, out of two stories in Herodotus. The

first is i. 170, where Bias of Priênê counsels the Ionians to found a Pan-Ionian city in Sardinia, and there to dwell, *νήσων ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους* (cf. v. 124). The other is v. 106, where Histiaios promises Darius to bring *Σαρδῶν, νήσον τὴν μεγίστην*, under tribute to him. Rhianos, or whoever it was, worked these details from the real story of the Samians into his imaginary story of the Messenians. There were several things to suggest the carrying of Messenian exiles to Zanklê. There was the later name of the city; there was the probable fact (see vol. i. p. 586) that Messenians of the dispersion after Aristomenês did settle at Rhêgion, and that under the auspices of Zanklê. It was a very slight change to settle them at Zanklê itself, where they most likely did show their faces. As for the details of the settlement, the story of the Samians stood ready to be transferred. Moreover Anaxilas himself, for a reason which we shall come to directly, is spoken of as Messenian (Herakleides, Pont. xxv. Frag. Hist. Græc. ii. 219). This last was quite enough to suggest bringing him into the story at the expense of chronology. One would have hardly thought it necessary at this time of day to prove the falsehood of the Messenian story and of the date in the seventh century. Yet in the Dictionary of Geography, art. *Messenia*, the Messenian settlement appears with the date 668 B.C. but without any mention of Anaxilas, the article on whom, by the way, in the Dictionary of Biography, not having the letters E. H. B. at the end, is of the very feeblest. But the oddest thing is that, under the article *Messenia*, the story is told with a reference to the article *Messana*, which, being marked by those letters, of course gives the right account with the right date.

I have written thus far with full confidence; I have a further suggestion to make which may be thought more daring. While the details of the story in Pausanias—that is, as I hold, the account in the poem of Rhianos—are clearly taken from the settlement of the Samians, it is possible that the story itself may have been suggested by a real event somewhat later. We have the fact that Zanklê did change its name to Messênê, or rather Messana. This is witnessed by Herodotus (vii. 164) when, telling the story of Kadmos of Kôs (see pp. 110, 182), he says that he joined with the Samians in occupying *Ζάγκλην τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὐνομα*. This surely does not mean that the Samians changed the name to Messênê, which they could have no motive for doing, but only that

the city which was called Zanklê when Kadmos settled there was called Messênê when Herodotus wrote. Thucydides (vi. 4) records the settlement of the Samians; and adds that they were driven out by Anaxilas (see p. 115) and that he changed the name of the city to Messênê;

Τοὺς δὲ Σαμίους Ἀναξίλας Ῥηγίνων τύραννος οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ξυμμίκτων ἀνθρώπων οἰκίσας Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πατρίδος ἀντωνόμασε.

This, as I have noticed in the text, is a somewhat singular and sentimental motive for a change of name. It is dangerous to dispute the authority of Thucydides; but there is really some reason to think that the city was still called Zanklê for some years after the time of Anaxilas. Diodôros (xi. 48), recording the death of Anaxilas in 476 (see p. 241), still calls him *ὁ Ῥηγίου καὶ Ζάγκλης τύραννος*; and in c. 76 *Ῥηγίνοι μετὰ Ζαγκλαίων* drive out his sons (see p. 315). This is placed in the archonship of Euippos, which should be 461 B.C., but the dates in Diodôros just then are a little confused (see Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* ii. App. c. 8). Directly after this comes the general settlement of Sicily, and now, for the first time, we hear of Messênê. The mercenaries and strangers and *ξύμμικτοι ἄνθρωποι* are set to dwell *ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ* (see p. 316). From this time we hear no more of Zanklê. This looks very much as if this was the time when the change of name took place; it even looks, if one may say so, as if Thucydides had transferred the settlement of the mixed multitude from the time which followed the fall of the sons of Anaxilas to the time of Anaxilas himself. Note further that the third Messenian war in Peloponnêsos (467-457) was at any rate going on about this time, and that, as the dates in Diodôros cannot be exactly trusted, and as the settlement would hardly be carried out in a single year, nothing is more likely than that, when the Messenian exiles were finding homes at Naupaktos and other places, another body of them should be settled at Zanklê, and should give their name to the place. This seems more likely than the reason for the name given by Thucydides. And there must be some reason why Diodôros—who, we must always remember, represents the earlier Sicilian writers, and who is always careful, if not always correct, in his nomenclature—suddenly at this point changes from Zanklê to Messênê. It would be an objection if we could believe that Mikythos, in the inscription of his offerings at Olympia (see p. 302, and below,

Note XXIX), spoke of Messana by that name. Pausanias (v. 26. 5), in arguing, one hardly sees why, against statements of Herodotus which do not contradict his own, says that those inscriptions imply Mikythos' possession of Rhêgion and Messana; Ἑλληνίδας αὐτῷ πόλεις Ῥηγίων τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ Μεσσήνην δίδωσιν. It is clear that these are not literal copies of the inscriptions. Messana could not be described as ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ πορθμῷ Μεσσήνη till after the foundation of the Peloponnesian city of the name. The word on the offerings may quite well have been Ζάγκλη, for which Pausanias substituted Μεσσήνη after the manner of modern translators.

If we accept this date for the change of name, the story which Pausanias has borrowed from Rhianos becomes all the clearer. Rhianos took a real Messenian settlement at Zanklê in the fifth century B.C. and carried it back into the seventh.

The early coins of Messana have the legends MESSENION and MESSANION (Coins of Sicily, pp. 100, 101), mostly with the letters running from left to right, but some of each follow the older way. The spelling MESSENION (Μεσσηνίων in the later alphabet) seems the older; but the Doric spelling prevailed, as is shown by the Latin form *Messana*. The modern *Messina* of course comes from Μεσσήνη. This had most likely come into use in Byzantine times; it is Μεσσήνη and Μεσσίνη in the Greek charters of the Norman kings. That the spelling should fluctuate soon after the new settlement and change of name is not wonderful. Some remnant of the Samians or some other Ionians of some kind must have been there to bring in the Ionic spelling for a while, but the Dorian majority prevailed in the end. Of course the Doric form belongs equally to the Peloponnesian and to the Sicilian Μεσσάνα; but for Sicilian purposes it is convenient to keep the form *Messana*, made familiar by its Latin use, for the Sikeliot city.

Some of the Messanian coins have a running hare on one side and Nikê crowning mules in a chariot on the other. For the meaning of this Julius Pollux (v. 75) quotes Aristotle; Ἀναξίλας ὁ Ῥηγίνος οὔσης, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν, τῆς Σικελίας τέως ἀγόνου λαγών, ὁ δὲ εἰσαγαγὼν τε καὶ θρέψας, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ Ὀλύμπια νικήσας ἀπήνη, τῷ νομίσματι τῶν Ῥηγίωνων ἐνετύπωσεν ἀπήνην καὶ λαγών. (We see Hierôn eating hare in p. 262.) There must here be some confusion between the Sicilian and Italian dominions of Anaxilas; but the explanation is most likely legendary; if I am right as to the change

of name, it must be so, unless Messana under its new name copied a Rhégine coin.

And now for a word or two as to Anaxilas himself and his connexion with the elder Messênê, which, as we have seen, even led to his being called Μεσσήνιος. He appears in Aristotle (Pol. v. 10. 4), along with Panaitios and Kleandros, as one of the tyrants who rose to power by upsetting an oligarchy. But what kind of oligarchy did he upset? Strabo (vi. 1. 6) quotes from Antiochos of Syracuse his account of the founding of Rhêgion, and the share taken in it by Messenian exiles. Though the settlement was Chalkidian and its founder brought from Chalkis, yet the descendants of these Messenians formed, according to Antiochos, an exclusive body out of whom the magistrates, or at least the generals, of Rhêgion were always chosen. This privilege lasted till the rise of Anaxilas. The words are; διόπερ οἱ τῶν Ῥηγίων ἡγεμόνες μέχρι Ἀναξίλα τοῦ Μεσσηνίων γένους ἀεὶ καθίσταντο. The word ἡγεμόνες, not an usual one to express magistracy in a Greek commonwealth, must mean at least as much as I have just said. It might possibly mean more; it may imply something like a dynasty, whether under the title of kingship or not. Reading the passage by the light of our other knowledge, we may understand the words to mean that Anaxilas put an end to this superiority, whatever it was, on the part of the Messenian families in Rhêgion or some of them. But the words by themselves might have been read to mean that Anaxilas was the last of a Messenian dynasty in Rhêgion. The other account is that of Hêrakleidês of Pontos (see above, p. 486), who, as I have already said, speaks of Anaxilas himself as a Messenian, that is, we must suppose, a member of one of these Messenian families. This must also be the meaning of Thucydides (vi. 4) when he says that Anaxilas changed the name of Zanklê to Messana after the name of his own ancient country (ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πατρίδος). Hêrakleidês does not mention any superiority of the Messenians in Rhêgion. After mentioning the joint Chalkidian and Messenian settlement, he goes on; πολιτείαν δὲ κατεστήσαντο ἀριστοκρατικὴν· χίλιοι γὰρ πάντα διοικοῦσιν, αἵρετοὶ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων, νόμοις δὲ ἐχρώντο τοῖς Χαρώνδου τοῦ Καταναίου, ἐτυράνησε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀναξίλας Μεσσήνιος. A senate of a thousand, chosen—it is not said by whom—out of possessors of a certain amount of property, is a very different thing from the

exclusive predominance of certain families. It is a form of government which might mark a stage of transition from exclusive oligarchy to democracy (see p. 349, and below, Appendix XXIX). But it is perhaps a little too artificial for the times before Anaxilas, whom Aristotle would seem to have conceived as upsetting an oligarchy of the more old-fashioned type. It is to be noticed that the writer uses the word *διοικοῦσι* in the present; so, if we were sure that these scraps came from the elder Hērakleidēs, we might suppose he was describing the constitution of Rhêgion in the fourth century B.C. Antiochos, reported by Strabo, is much higher authority, though his meaning may not be perfectly clear.

We have a few other notices of Anaxilas. Dionysios of Halkarnassos, in a fragment (xix. 4), speaks of him as seizing the akropolis of Rhêgion, a thing which might be taken for granted of any tyrant in any city that had an akropolis. He gives no further details. From one of the scholiasts on Pindar, Pyth. ii. 34, it would seem that he himself ruled in Zanklê and that he placed his son Kleophrôn or Leophrôn as deputy-tyrant in Rhêgion (*Ἀναξίλας καὶ Κλεόφρων ὁ τούτου παῖς Ἰταλίας ὄντες τύραννοι ὁ μὲν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τῇ Σικελικῇ, ὁ δὲ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ τῷ περὶ Ἰταλίαν*). We should certainly have expected the partition of power to be the other way, and the statement may be a mere confusion of expression. The phrase of *Ἰταλίας τύραννοι* is also odd. Is it because the power of Anaxilas began in Italy, or did the scholiast reckon Sicily to Italy? In another scholion on Pyth. i. 98 he is *Ἀναξίλαος ὁ τῶν Ῥηγίων βασιλεὺς*.

The war of Anaxilas and his son against Lokroi (see p. 240) must be the same which is referred to in the dark story in Justin, xxi. 3; "Cum Reginorum tyranni Leophronis bello Locrenses premerentur, voverunt, si victores forent, ut die festo Veneris virgines suas prostituerent." Such a sacrifice—to Ashtoreth, one would think (see below, Appendix XXV)—would be even greater at Lokroi, where women held so great a place, than elsewhere. If there is any truth in this tale, one might see a reference to it in the emphatic mention of the *Ζεφυρία Δοκρὶς παρθένης* in Pindar, Pyth. ii. 18 or 35. It might have been held that the terms of the vow did not apply when the Lokrians were delivered without victory.

It is hard to believe that this Kleophrôn or Leophrôn—the names must be the same—who was capable of acting such a part as this, could have been one of the young sons of Anaxilas who

succeeded under the guardianship of Mikythos. And the authority of Herodotus is certainly higher than any other. We must therefore suppose that Leophrôn died before his father, and that there is some confusion when Dionysios, Exc. 10 (p. 2359, Reiske), after a short mention of Anaxilas, adds, *Λεόφρωνι τῷ παιδί τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέλιπε*. There is another mention of Leophrôn in Athênaios, i. 3, where he appears as an Olympic victor, celebrated, like his father, in an ode of Simônîdês. Others are spoken of who made the sacrifice and feast; *τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίησε Λεόφρων Ὀλυμπίασιν, ἐπινίκιον γράψαντος τοῦ Κείου Σιμωνίδου*.

Justin (iv. 2), speaking of the tyrannies in Sicily, contrasts Anaxilas as a just ruler with the cruelty of the others ("postquam singulæ civitates in tyrannorum imperium concesserunt, quorum nulla terra feracior fuit, horum ex numero Anaxilaus justitia cum ceterorum crudelitate certabat"). And that Anaxilas left behind him a certain reputation for good government might appear from the easy succession of his sons under the care of Mikythos.

All this is quite possible. The foreign policy of Anaxilas seems as bad as it could be; but that is consistent with a mild rule at home. Lewis the Twelfth was the Father of his People in France; Italy looked on him in another light.

There is a saying of Anaxilas or attributed to him preserved by John of Stoboi (xliv. 17), which falls in with this possible better side of him; *Ἀναξίλαος ὁ τύραννος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί τῆς τυραννίδος μακαριώτατον, ἔφη τὸ μηδέποτε εὐεργετοῦντα νικηθῆναι*.

NOTE X. pp. 116, 131, 214, 241, 242, 245.

CHROMIOS SON OF AGÊSIDAMOS.

CHROMIOS is a case of a man who was of no small importance in his own day, and who, as such, had his deeds recorded by the historians of Sicily, but whose name would, as far as we are concerned, have utterly perished, if he had not won victories in the games. As he had that luck, he was commemorated in two odes of Pindar. The odes by themselves tell us something, and the scholiasts who undertook their interpretation have preserved to us some passages of lost writers in which Chromios is mentioned.

The two odes addressed to Chromios are, in the common reckoning, the first and the ninth Nemean; but the victory commemorated in the latter ode was clearly won, not at Nemea, but in the Pythian games at Sikyôn. The scholia to these odes naturally contain a good deal about their subject, and there are some other notices of Chromios in the scholia to other odes.

The name of Chromios' father comes from Nem. i. 29 (43). From the prominence given in the first ode to the legend of Hêraklês it has been reasonably enough inferred (Mezger, *Pindars Siegeslieder*, 98) that he claimed a Herakleid descent. There can be no doubt that he was originally a citizen of Gela. It is absurd enough when a scholiast (Nem. i. 8) says, this time without any Timaios to quote, *Χρόμιος ἡνίοχος ἦν 'Ιέρωνος παιδόθεν* οὗτος ἄτε δὴ βασιλεῦσι συνὼν καὶ ἄριστος ὦν τὴν ἵππικὴν ἐπλούτησε καὶ ἤρξατο ἀποστὰς τοῦ 'Ιέρωνος καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἵπποτροφεῖν. It is a more rational scholiast who, on Nem. ix. 95, infers from Timaios that he was an *ἐταῖρος* of Gelôn. His first appearance is at the battle by the Helôros, when, as another scholiast in the same page (Abel, 277) oddly puts it, *συνεμάχησε Γέλωνι συμμάχῳ τοῦ 'Ιπποκράτους ὁ Χρόμιος καὶ ἡρίστευσεν*. I cannot understand why Mr. Lloyd (p. 322) should have fancied that Chromios was fighting on the Syracusan side. The only thing the least like it is that the comparison with Hektôr might better suit a defeated warrior. The passage, Nem. ix. 39 (94), runs thus in Bergk;

. . . λέγεται μὲν Ἐκτορι μὲν κλέος ἀνθῆσαι Σκαμάνδρου χεύμασιν
ἀγχοῦ, βαθυκρήνοισι δ' ἀμφ' ἀπταῖς Ἐλῶρον,
ἔνθα Ῥέας πόρον ἄνθρωποι καλέοισι, δέδορκεν
παιδὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιδάμου φέγγος ἐν ἀλικίᾳ πρώτῳ.

'Ρέας is a mere guess. The scholiasts read, with the manuscripts, *'Ραείας*. The word puzzled them, but one at least thought it had something to do with *Ἄρης*, if only because of the battle. *'Ρέας πόρος* is said to mean the Ionian sea, with reference to the *μέγας κόλπος Ῥέας* in *Æsch. Prom. 837*. But it is hard to see what that has to do with the battle of the Helôros, which must have been fought a good way inland, though Mezger does say, "*ἐνθα*" an der Mundung." Surely "*ford of Arês*" is much more to the purpose. It is a likely enough name for a passage of the river, which it would be vain to look for now.

Timaios mentioned Chromios at the battle of the Helôros. The scholiast says (Nem. ix. 95);

περὶ τούτων τὸν ποταμὸν συνέστη Ἴπποκράτει τῷ Γελῶν τυράννῳ πρὸς Συρακοσίους πόλεμος· ὁ δὲ Γέλων οὐ οὗτος ἑταῖρος [the MS. reading is Γέλων οὗτος ἕτερος ὅς] ἱππάρχει τότε Ἴπποκράτει· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ φησὶ τῷ πολέμῳ εἰκὸς τὸν Χρόμιον ἐπιδείξασθαι πολλὰ ἔργα κατὰ τὴν μάχην. περὶ δὲ τούτου τοῦ πολέμου Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ δεδήλωκε· καθάπαξ γὰρ, φησὶν ὁ Δίδυμος, οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην μάχην ἔχομεν εὐρεῖν παρὰ τὸν Ἑλωρον τῶν συνηκατότων τῷ Χρομίῳ τυράννων, οἳ μὴ σὺν Ἴπποκράτει τοῦ Γέλωνος πρὸς Συρακοσίους.

I suppose the correction of the text must be allowed; but one would like to know what Timaios really wrote.

Pindar, in the lines immediately following those just quoted above, speaks of other exploits of Chromios by land and sea;

πολλὰ μὲν ἐν κονίᾳ χέρσῳ, ἐν δὲ γείτονι πόντῳ φάσομαι.

And so in 34 (80);

. . . Χρομίῳ κεν ὑπασπίζων παρὰ πεζοβόαις ἵπποις τε ναῶν τ' ἐν μάχαις.

The sea-fight is doubtless that by Kymê (see p. 250), and I must see a reference to expected danger from Carthage (cf. Pyth. i. 73 (140)) in the *πεῖρα ἀγάνωρ φοινικοστόλων ἐγχείων* (28 or 35), even if I use a small φ in deference to experts.

Chromios of course moved to Syracuse with Gelôn. To this fact we owe the striking local opening of the first—the real—Nemean ode, which has come before us as part of the topography of the city (see vol. i. p. 353). The scholiasts too are rich in matter bearing on the mythical origin of the *ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ*. We have to thank them for several speculations about Alpheios and Ἀρτεμις Ἀλφειῶα (see vol. i. p. 356). But we are now more concerned with the picture of the house of Chromios at Syracuse, and of Pindar at its gate waiting for his dinner and singing meanwhile; Nem. i. 20 (30);

ἔσταν δ' ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις
 ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελπόμενος,
 ἔνθα μοι ἀρμόδιον
 δείπνον κεκόσμηται.

How high Chromios stood with Gelôn is shown by his marriage with the tyrant's sister, and by his being left as a guardian of the tyrant's son along with Aristonous (see p. 214). So witnesses Timaios, as quoted by the scholiast on Nem. ix. 95;

ὥς δὲ καὶ ὁ Γέλων τῷ Χρομίῳ ἐχρήτο ἑταίρῳ δῆλον πάλιν ἐξ ὧν φησι Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ γράφῳ οὕτως· ἐπιτρόπους δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς μετ' ἐκεί-

von [Polyzēlos, one would suppose] κατέστησεν Ἀριστόνου καὶ Χρόμιον τοὺς κηδεστάς. τοῦτοις γὰρ ὁ Γέλων δέδωκε τὰς ἀδελφάς.

Mr. Lloyd (323) suggests that Chromios and Aristonous were brothers; there seems no evidence one way or the other.

Chromios, comrade and brother-in-law of Hierôn no less than of Gelôn, remained in equal favour with Hierôn after his accession. Chromios therefore could not have taken the part of Polyzēlos (see p. 236 and Appendix XXIII). He was employed in the honourable and successful mission by which Lokroi was secured against the threats of Anaxilas (see p. 241). So at least says the scholiast on Pyth. ii. 34; Ἀναξίλα τοῦ Μεσσήνης καὶ Ῥηγίου τυράννου Λοκροῖς πολέμουντος, Ἰέρων πέμψας Χρόμιον τὸν κηδεστὴν διηπειλήσεν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ καταλύσαιτο τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ Ῥήγιον στρατεύειν.

When Hierôn gave himself out as founder of Ætna, Chromios was one of those who received the citizenship of the new city. Both the odes are addressed to him as Chromios of Ætna. And the references to Ζεὺς Αἰτναῖος (i. 6), and by implication in ix. 28-30=66-70, must surely refer to this. That he did not, any more than Hierôn himself, break off his connexion with Syracuse, is plain from the opening of the Nemean ode (i) already quoted. The opening of the Sikyonian ode (ix) speaks in the like sort of the house of Chromios at Ætna;

κωμάσομεν παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος Σικυώνοθε, Μοῖσαι,
τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν, ἔνθ' ἀναπεπτάμεναι ξείνων νενίκανται θύραι,
ὄλβιον ἐς Χρομίον δῶμ'.

Zeus is also implored (29 (70)) to bless the citizens of Ætna generally;

μοῖραν δ' εὖνομον
αἰτέω σε παῖσιν δαρὸν Αἰτναίων ὑπάζειν.

As it happened, there was hardly time for any παῖδες Αἰτναίων to grow up before the lawful owners of the soil came back (see p. 323). The μοῖρα εὖνομος must be compared with the dreams in Pyth. i. 61 (129) about the position of the young Deinomenês as constitutional king of Ætna (see pp. 245, 274). In that character Chromios was to act as his Mayor of the Palace. Such at least would seem to be the meaning of the scholiast at the beginning of the ninth Nemean; ὁ Χρόμιος οὗτος φίλος ἦν Ἰέρωνος, κατασταθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς Αἴτνης ἐπίτροπος. One would like to know what became of him when the Deinomenid dynasty, overthrown at Syra-

cuse, kept his hold on the two towns which successively bore the name of Ætna.

The date of the two odes has been largely discussed by the commentators on Pindar. Among recent writers Mezger (98 et seqq.) has much to say, and Mr. Bury in his edition of the Nemean odes (Introduction to Nem. i. and Appendix C). The Nemean ode is certainly older than the Sikyonian. It was clearly written when Pindar was in Sicily. Both were written, as the description of Chromios as "of Ætna" shows, after Hierôn's foundation of Ætna in B.C. 476. The Nemean ode contains the greater amount of general local matter; the Sikyonian enlarges more on the personal exploits of Chromios. Neither, as Mr. Bury remarks, contains any mention of Hierôn. The commentators seem pretty well agreed, though Mr. Bury has some doubts, that the Nemean victory of Chromios was in B.C. 473. The ode, and the visit of Pindar which it implies, would come as soon as might be after.

I should, unlike Mr. Bury, understand the opening words of the Sikyonian ode as implying a visit of Pindar to Chromios in his house at Ætna, as the Nemean implies a visit to him in his house at Syracuse. The starting of Pindar from Sikyôn in company with the Muses is of course a figure in either case. The allusions in the Nemean are mainly Syracusan; we hear of *Ζητὸς Αἰρναίου χάρις*, and that is all. It is in the Sikyonian ode that we get the blessings on the *παῖδες Αἰρναίων* and the distinct mention of *ἀ νεοκτίστα Αἷρνα*. I must confess that these last words would have led me, if I had had no guides, to fix both odes, and therefore the visit of Pindar, to a time nearer to B.C. 476. But the evidence of the odes to Hierôn seems to show (see Bury, Appendix C) that Pindar was not in Sicily till B.C. 474. The exact date of his visit concerns his commentators more than it does me. He assuredly did go thither.

The commentators on the poet, old and new, naturally know a great many things, both about Chromios and about other matters, which a mere historian of facts cannot be expected to know. Sometimes one is even tempted to think that they know more than the poet himself ever thought of.

NOTE XI. p. 123.

THE FIRST RISE OF GELÔN.

OUR earliest mention of Gelôn comes from a passage in Herodotus (vii. 154), where unluckily something seems to have dropped out of the text. It runs thus ;

ἔχοντας δὲ Ἴπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων, ἐὼν Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱροφάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταϊκοῦ ὃς ἦν δορυφόρος Ἴπποκράτεος . . . μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἵππου εἶναι ἱππαρχος.

This must be compared with a fragment of Timaios (85, C. Müller, i. 213), preserved by a scholiast on Pindar, Nem. ix. 95 ;

ὅτι μὲν οὖν Γέλωνα ἱππαρχεῖν κατέστησεν Ἴπποκράτης, σαφὲς ὁ Τίμαιος ποιήσει γράφων οὕτως· Ἴπποκράτης δὲ μετὰ τὴν Κλεάνδρου τελευτὴν, ἅμα μὲν τοῦ Γέλωνος ἐν τῇ τεταγμένῃ μεμνηκότος, ἅμα δὲ τοῖς Γέλφοις χαρίσασθαι βουλόμενος, μεταπεμφόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλέσας πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ἀπάντων τῶν ἱππέων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκείνῳ παρέδωκεν.

This and the place in Herodotus clearly refer to the same event. But we do not know what the event was. The unhappy *lacuna* in Herodotus hinders us from knowing more than that, after the accession of Hippokratēs, Gelôn, in company with Ainêsidamos and many others, did something. The valour displayed by Gelôn, which led to his appointment to the command of the cavalry, would seem to have come a little later. For there immediately follows the list of Hippokratēs' conquests and Gelôn's share in them ;

πολιορκέοντας γὰρ Ἴπποκράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους, καὶ πρὸς Συρηκουσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων συχνούς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι πολέμοις ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος.

When we look to Timaios to fill up the gap, we find him, as reported by the scholiast, disappointingly meagre ; but then we do not feel at all certain that we have his exact words. Some (see Abel, 276) have found a *lacuna* here also. Anyhow some fighting somewhere followed the death of Kleandros, in which Gelôn kept his post, seemingly when some others did not. Herodotus may have gone on to say that Ainêsidamos kept his post as

well. Also Gelôn was very popular with the Syracusans, more so, it would seem, than Hippokratês. It would even seem that Hippokratês used the popularity of Gelôn to strengthen his own power.

Here is hardly material even for guessing. But it would be pleasant if one could think that we have found another reference to the Punic war after the death of Dôrieus. And one is even tempted to ask whether some faint echo from the same quarter may not be heard amid the astounding confusion of a scholiast on the ninth Nemean (93) who makes the battle of Helôros a victory over Carthaginians (*ἐνίκησε γὰρ [Χρόμιος] ἐνταῦθα Καρχηδονίους συμμαχῶν Γέλωνι τῷ τυράνῳ τῷ Ἱπποκράτους διαδόχῳ*). But this may only be a jumble between Helôros and Himera. Anyhow the scholiast has found defenders. See Abel, 275.

On the other hand, when we remember that Kleandros was killed, it is not unlikely that some disturbances in Gela followed before Hippokratês got full possession of the tyranny. The good will of the people towards Gelôn might almost make us think that he took the popular side. Is it possible that Hippokratês came into power by a kind of compromise, of which the promotion of the popular favourite was a condition?

Anyhow Herodotus does not say that Gelôn was a *δορυφόρος* of Hippokratês, but only that Ainêsidamos was. And it is odd to translate *μουναρχίη* by "tyranny," *τυραννίς* by "reign," and *δορυφόρος Ἱπποκράτους* by "in the king's body-guard."

NOTE XII. p. 131.

GELÔN'S TREATMENT OF MEGARA AND KAMARINA.

THE fact of the destruction of Kamarina by Gelôn comes from the clearest of evidence. It is recorded by Herodotus, vii. 156; *Καμαριναίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν πολίητας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέσκαψε*. So Thucydides witnesses also (vi. 5); *αὐθις ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἀνάστατος γενομένη*. The destruction was also recorded by Philistos in his third book (Fr. 17; C. Müller, i. 187), as appears from the scholiast on Pindar, Ol. v. 19; *Φίλιστος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φησὶν ὅτι Γέλων Καμάριναν κατέστρεψεν Ἱπποκράτης δὲ πολεμήσας Συρακουσίους καὶ πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τούτους ἀποδοῦναι*

ἔλαβε τὴν Καμάριναν καὶ συνῴκισεν αὐτήν. It is of course the Scholiast, not Philistos, who puts things in wrong order. If one likes to speculate, Thucydides may have heard the story from Philistos, or both Thucydides and Philistos may have taken it from Antiochos.

None of these writers comparatively near the time give us any motive for the act. What was at least its occasion we learn from a very unexpected source. Æschinês, in his speech against Ktésiphôn (190), makes mention of Glaukos in a singular way. The orator contrasts Dêmôsthenês with some of the worthies of past times, and adds; καίτοι πυνθάνομαί γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν ὡς οὐ δίκαια ποιω̄ παραβάλλον αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα· οὐδὲ γὰρ Φιλάμμωνα φήσει τὸν πύκτην Ὀλυμπιάσι στεφανωθῆναι νικήσαντα Γλαῦκον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνων πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγωνιστάς. On this the Scholiast (ed. Schulz, Lips. 1865) says of Philammôn, with strange confusion; πύκτης διάσημος Ὀλυμπιονίκης. ἐνίκησεν ἑκατοστῇ πεμπτῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι. ἦν δὲ τῷ σώματι μέγας, καὶ ἀποθανόντος Ἱπποκράτους τοῦ Λεοντίνων τυράννου διεδέξατο τὰ πράγματα, καὶ κατασταθεὶς ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἐν Καμαρίνῃ καταψηφισαμένων αὐτοῦ Καμαριναίων θάνατον ἀνέρεθῃ. Of Glaukos he adds, Καρύστιος ἦν οὗτος. It is odd to call Hippokratês tyrant of Leontinoi; and it is plain that the Scholiast must have meant that Glaukos, not Philammôn who won his victory in the year 394, acted under Gelôn. But I think we may safely accept the story as a fact about Glaukos. It is the kind of tale which a later writer would neither dream nor invent; it must come from Antiochos or some other good lost source.

In this case the later writer helps very well to supply the cause of a fact recorded by the earlier. We are less lucky with our later helper in the case of Megara. Herodotus (vii. 156) tells us distinctly how Gelôn dealt by Megara;

Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκούμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκέοντας ἀπολέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἄγων ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, πολίητας ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων, οὐκ ἔοντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐξυγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης.

I know not how to fit into this clear statement of Herodotus the not very clear story told by Polyainos, i. 27. 3; Γέλων τὸ Μεγαρικὸν βουλόμενος καταλύσαι ἐποίκους μὲν ἐκάλει τοὺς ἐθέλοντας Δωριέων, Διογνήτῳ δὲ τῷ Μεγαρέων ἄρχοντι χρήματα παρὰ δύναμιν ἐπέταξεν· ὁ δὲ

τοῖς πολίταις. οἱ δὲ τοῖς τέλεσιν ἐπαγορεύοντες ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν τὴν ἐν Συρακούσαις ὑπήκουσαν ὑποβαλόντες αὐτοὺς τῇ Γέλωνος δυναστείᾳ. This must mean something; but it is hard to see what. It must have some reference to the removal of Megarian citizens to Syracuse, but it is hard to see in what way.

The transplantation of the Megarians is also recorded by Thucydides, vi. 4; *ἔτι οἰκήσαντες πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακόσια ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τυράννου Συρακοσίων ἀνέστησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ χώρας*. The date is thus fixed to 483 B.C., but it is singular that Thucydides does not mention the grant of Syracusan citizenship to the *παχέες* = *grossi*, of Megara. To the later state of Megara he refers elsewhere. In vi. 49 we hear of Μέγαρα, ἃ ἦν ἐρήμα, ἀπέχοντα Συρακουσῶν οὔτε πλοῦν πολὺν οὔτε ὁδόν. In vi. 94 we again hear of the destruction by Gelôn, with the addition, Συρακόσιοι αὐτοὶ ἔχουσι τὴν γῆν.

NOTE XIII. pp. 137, 202.

GELÔN AS GENERAL AND KING.

As a rule, it is vain to ask as to the formal position of any Greek tyrant, because, as tyrant, he had no formal position. But it is always possible that with the illegal position of tyrant he may have combined the title of some lawful magistracy. And there are signs in some cases that it was so. I hope to show in due time that Dionysios reigned at Syracuse under cover of the office of *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*, and there are some grounds for thinking that the same was the case with Gelôn. And appearances which are at least worth discussing further suggest, with more likelihood than in other cases, that Gelôn may have been formally elected king.

We must remember the peculiar circumstances under which Gelôn acquired the dominion of Syracuse. He came in as a conqueror from outside; but as a conqueror who seems to have been admitted without resistance, and, as I have argued (see pp. 128, 136), under some kind of compact. A formal title of some kind is therefore more likely in his case than in the case of those tyrants who rose to power by fraud or violence within the city. One might not go so far as Mitford, who (ch. x. sect. i. vol. ii. p. 219, ed. 1835) was as certain about the whole matter

as the author of the last German theory on any subject. He knew that "the expedient in which both parties [*Gamoroi* and commons] concurred was to appoint Gelôn supreme moderator between them, making him king of Syracuse." But that he was admitted with the rank and powers of *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* seems not unlikely.

One cannot attach the slightest importance as a matter of fact to the story told by Polyainos (i. 27. 1) in which Gelôn is looked on as a Syracusan rising to the tyranny in the usual fashion in his own city. He is chosen general with full powers (*στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ χειροτονηθείς*) in the war with Hamilkar, here called Imilkôn. He gives in his accounts (*εὐθύνας δὸς τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς*) and appears unarmed (*γυμνός*) before the armed people (cf. the law of Charôndas referred to in p. 62). After some talk, they elect him general again, and he becomes tyrant (*οὕτω δὲ παρακληθείς δεύτερον στρατηγήσαι ἀντὶ στρατηγοῦ τύραννος ἐγένετο Συρακουσίων*). This is evidently the same scene as that which Diodôros (xi. 26) describes on Gelôn's return from Himera (see p. 202), which ends with the people saluting Gelôn as *king*. The whole circumstances are misconceived; but Polyainos must have found the title of *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* applied to Gelôn somewhere, as indeed it is incidentally given to him by Diodôros, xiii. 94. We read there that one motive for making Dionysios *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* was that Syracuse had done such great things under Gelôn as holder of that office; *πρότερον Καρχηδονίων τὰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας περὶ τὴν Ἰμέραν νενικῆσθαι στρατηγοῦντος Γέλωνος αὐτοκράτορος*. With this before us, it seems not unlikely that Diodôros recorded the appointment of Gelôn to that office in his lost tenth book. The office is one which would do very well to cloak the reality of tyranny. It conferred large legal powers; it supplied an easy means of illegally enlarging those powers. It was by abusing the powers conferred upon him under that lawful title that Dionysios was able to seize the tyranny. All this suggests the thought that both Gelôn and Dionysios may have used the title in any formal document, and even that it may have been renewed by periodical elections like the renewed grant of extraordinary powers to Augustus. A submissive assembly, with the spearmen ready to act if needed, would vote anything. We have unluckily no records of any formal acts of the Syracusan state, in other words, no inscriptions, of this period. The words on Hierôn's helmet (see p. 251)

belong to inscriptions of another class, where we do not look for formal titles even from an acknowledged king.

But in the case of Gelôn the question is complicated by the further question of Gelôn's alleged kingship. If the kingly office was conferred on him at all, it was doubtless on his return from the victory of Himera (see p. 202). That he was made king by a formal vote is certainly not implied in his being greeted in a moment of enthusiasm as *εὐεργέτης, σωτήρ, καὶ βασιλεύς* (Diod. xi. 26). But Diodôros certainly seems to have thought that such a vote was passed. The next time (xi. 38) that he has to speak of him, he brings him in with some solemnity as *ὁ βασιλεὺς Γέλων*; Gelôn bequeaths a *βασίλειά* to Hierôn, and, by a slip of forgetfulness, we are told (xi. 38) that Gelôn *ἐπταετὴ χρόνον ἐβασίλευσε*. The same language is applied to Hierôn, and even to Thrasyboulos (xi. 67) in recording his fall. That Pindar constantly calls Hierôn *βασιλεύς* (a point on which I shall say something in Appendix XXVII) proves very little in itself; it may perhaps be held to prove a little more when we notice that, among all his praises of Thêrôn, he never applies the title to him. The only other person to whom he gives it is Arkesilas of Kyrênê, an acknowledged king. What Herodotus would have called Gelôn, if he had had any stories to tell of him after Himera, we cannot say. I cannot help looking on the words *ὁ βασιλεὺς Συρηκοσίων* in the mouth of the Athenian envoy (see p. 177 and Appendix XIX) as more or less sarcastic; but, if the title came into common use in the last days of Gelôn and was continued under Hierôn, it might easily get used before its time in a Syracusan story. We should specially like to know whether Diodôros found any such distinction even in Timaios, much more in Philistos or Antiochos. That would of course settle the matter; only we cannot know by mere guessing. As it is, it may be that Diodôros has somehow transferred the kingship of the second Hierôn back to the first Hierôn and to Gelôn. The fragment of Timaios quoted by the scholiast on Pindar, Ol. ii. 29, certainly seems to apply the name *βασιλεύς*, not only to Hierôn, but also to Thêrôn (see Appendix XXIII and XXX). But can we be certain that we have the author's genuine words? The second Hierôn, there is no reason to doubt, was made king by a vote, as Agathoklês had before taken the title, with or without a vote. But this was in times when the Macedonian princes had made kingship again familiar to the Greeks; and Agathoklês certainly took the title

to put himself on a level with the Macedonians. We cannot argue back from these cases to times when kingship anywhere among Greeks, unless at Kyrênê, was a mere survival.

On the whole, I would not positively deny the kingship of Gelôn and Hierôn; but it seems much safer not to assert it. The greeting may pass for a kind of idolatrous homage, applying to a man epithets which strictly belonged only to the gods. In Macedonian times we get plenty of this, as in the famous hymn to Démétrios *καταβάτης* in Athênaios (vi. 63; cf. Plut. Dem. 10). And something of the kind is heard of earlier, as the worship paid to Lysandros at Samos, and the change of the local feast of the Hêraia into Lysandria (Plut. Lys. 18; Athen. xv. 52).

It is not to be forgotten that it is quite possible that the power of Gelôn may have been confirmed by a legal vote after the battle, without bestowing on him the title of king. He may have come in by a compact, and yet not as *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* or with any formal title. In any case the lord of Gela was *de facto* master of Syracuse, as he was of several other cities. Only he chose to make himself much more at home at Syracuse than elsewhere. That is all. A later stage, which would naturally come either just before or just after the battle, would be to turn this irregular and invidious kind of power into something known to the law. A grant of the powers of *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* would just meet the case. It is therefore open to us to believe that Gelôn was made *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* when he first came in, and that he was made king after the battle of Himera. It is also open to us to believe that he never was king, but that he was made *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* in the scene described by Diodôros, of which Polyainos seems to have got hold of a confused report. I cannot believe that he came into Syracuse as king. And in any case it is well not to be over-positive any way.

Plass (Die Tyrannis, i. 294) seems to have no doubt as to the kingship conferred after the battle. "Der Name eines gesetzlichen Königs wurde ihm gegeben."

NOTE XIV. p. 133.

AGÊSIAS OF STYMPHALOS.

ABOUT this Agêsiās the scholiasts on Pindar have a good deal to say; but it is not much to the purpose. I certainly cannot understand the words *συνοικιστήρ τῶν κλειῶν Συρακοσῶν* (Ol. vi. 6 or 8) as meaning nothing more than that Agêsiās was a descendant of a companion of Archias. The scholiast's way of talking seems wonderfully simple; *τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀληθές· οὐ γὰρ οὗτος συνόκισε τὰς Συρακούσας· ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐγκώμιον εἵληφεν· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ Ἀγησίας τῶν συνοικισάντων.* Or again; *συνοικιστήρ τε, ὅτι οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ σὺν Ἀρχίᾳ παρεγένοντο ἐν Συρακούσαις, οἱ Ἰαμίδαι, ἀφ' ὧν εἰκὸς παραλαβεῖν τινας.* Surely *συνοικιστήρ* must mean something more than this. It would have more force if one could suppose that Agêsiās, especially if a settler from elsewhere, had done something which entitled him to claim a share in Gelôn's honours as founder of the enlarged Syracuse. And though Agêsiās is called *ἀνὴρ Συρακόσιος* in v. 18 or 30, this would prove no more than the like name applied to Hierôn and others, or than the name *Αἰτναῖος* applied to both Hierôn and Chromios. The lines towards the end, all about the two homes of Agêsiās, certainly read more naturally of one who had made himself a new home at Syracuse without giving up his old home at Stymphalos, than of one whose only connexion with Stymphalos was that his mother came thence. Hierôn and Chromios again suggest an analogy; v. 98 or 165;

*σὺν δὲ φιλοφροσύναις εὐηράτοις Ἀγησία δέξαιτο κῶμον
οἴκοθεν οἴκαδ' ἀπὸ Στυμφαλίων τειχέων ποτινισσόμενον
ματέρ' εὐμήλοιο λείποντ' Ἀρκαδίας.*

If this means nothing more than that Agêsiās was the son of a Syracusan father and a Stymphalian mother, he must have kept up a closer connexion than usual with his mother's city.

On the other hand, it seems clear that the mother of Agêsiās was Stymphalian; v. 77 or 130;

*εἰ δ' ἐτύμως ὑπὸ Κυλλάνας ὄροις, Ἀγησία μάτρωιες ἄνδρες
ναιετάοντες ἐδώρησαν θεῶν κάρυκα, κ.τ.λ.*

But this would not necessarily prove that his father was not Stymphalian, if his mother's forefathers were in any way the

more eminent. To judge by the ode, the *μάτρως ἄνδρες* were certainly Iamids; it is not clear that the father of Agêsias was, whether his own birth was Stymphalian or Syracusan. Altogether the ode seems better to suit a foreign settler like Phormis than a native Syracusan. Anyhow I cannot accept the scholiast's explanation of *σιννοικιστήρ*. It seems a mere guess, and a weak one. The word must mean something more. He is more likely to have preserved a fact in what he says about the death of Agêsias; see p. 309.

There are one or two notable things in the ode which concern us more directly than the beautiful story of the birth of Iamos. There is the flattery of Hierôn, from which the odes to Chromios are free. But it is a fine passage (92 or 156), and it well brings out the worship of the goddesses of Sicily;

ἐπὶ δὲ μεμᾶσθαι Συρακοσσᾶν τε καὶ Ὀρτυγίας
τὰν Ἱέρων καθαρῷ σκάπτῳ διέπων,
ἄρτια μηδόμενος, φοινικόπεζαν
ἀμφέπει Δάματρα, λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἱερτάν,
καὶ Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος.

NOTE XV. p. 140.

THE MOLE AND BRIDGE OF ORTYGIA.

THAT before the time of Thucydides Ortygia had ceased to be an island is implied in the words of his which are quoted in p. 139. By Strabo's time it had become an island again, but it was joined to the mainland by a bridge. So he witnesses when speaking of Syracuse (vi. 2. 4); ἡ δ' Ὀρτυγία συνάπτει γέφυρα πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον πρόσγειος οὖσα. But it is from Strabo also that we learn how the union which Thucydides implies was made, and he helps us to an approximate date. He is speaking (i. 3. 8) generally of such changes, whether by filling up or cutting through; ἐνταῦθα [at Leukas] μὲν δὴ διακοπαὶ χειρότμητοι γεγόνασιν· ἀλλαχόθι δὲ προσχώσεις ἢ γεφυρώσεις, καθάπερ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Συρακούσαις νήσου· νῦν μὲν γέφυρά ἐστιν ἡ συνάπτουσα αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον· πρότερον δὲ χῶμα, ὥς φησιν Ἰβυκος, λογαίου λίθου, ὃν καλεῖ ἐκλεκτόν.

This shows that the mole was made in the time of Ibykos. For

he clearly speaks of it as a new thing in his day. His exact words have been luckily preserved to us by a scholiast on Pindar, Nem. i. 1. See Boeckh, ii. 427; Bergk, iii. 244; Abel, Scholia, 17. In Bergk's edition the lines stand thus;

... παρὰ χέρσον
λίθινον ἐκλεκτὸν παλάμασι βροτῶν
πρόσθε δὲ νιν πεδ' ἀναριτῶν
ἰχθύες ὠμοφάγοι νέμοντο.

There has been some questioning as to the meaning of ἀνηριτῶν, νηριτῶν (several spellings). It is enough for Sicilian history that a mole of stones was built where fish had been wont to swim, and that the work was done somewhere about the middle of the sixth century B.C. We get near to this by the date of Ibykos (see p. 154). He seems to have been specially struck with the fine cutting of the stones. It was doubtless an early example of such care applied to a work of that kind.

On the strength of this mole one of the scholiasts on Pindar (Pyth. ii. 9) makes Ortygia a peninsula; Ὀρτυγίαν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Σικελίας χερρόνησόν φασιν· αὕτη γὰρ νῆσος οὖσα τὸ πρότερον συνήφθη ταῖς Συρακούσαις. Compare the same scholiast on the beginning of the ode.

The bridge spoken of by Strabo was as old as the time of Cicero. At the beginning of the great description of Syracuse (Verr. iv. 52) he says; "Eorum portuum conjunctione pars oppidi quæ appellatur insula, mari disjuncta angusto, ponte rursum adjungitur et continetur."

The good Fazello (i. 169) sums up the changes in a curious way, and carries on the tale to his own day;

"Prima igitur pars Chersonesus est, quæ ab initio Omethermon, quod simile balneo est Latinis; mox Ortygia, denique Naxos græce, latine vero Insula dicitur. Hæc cum ab Ætolis primum, deinde a Siculis, et demum a Græcis fuit occupata, peninsula erat, et nondum tota mari circumflua, ut ex Thucydide et Strabone meminimus. Postea vero exuperante mari abrupto Isthmo, insula est facta, et reliquis partibus angusto ponte adjuncta, ut Cic. memorat. Apposita Syracusis insula (lib. primo inquit Strabo) quæ hoc tempore ponte continuatur ad terram, prius quidem ager erat Logæo ex lapide, quem electum vocat Ibycus. Verum non manu facta est, sed exaggeratione. Hæc Strabo. Mea vero ætate, et pluribus ante annis ex congestis deletæ urbis, ac proximæ arcis ruinis

iterum in peninsulam redacta, tenui Isthmo Siciliæ erat adjuncta."

He goes on to mention the cutting of the present channels by Charles the Fifth. Now that the gateways of the Emperor have been so brutally destroyed, the channels and bridges are meaningless, and it would save trouble to come back to the state of things recorded by Ibykos.

NOTE XVI. p. 149.

STÊSICHOROS OF HIMERA.

STÊSICHOROS was so closely connected with Himera that Pausanias, who, in x. 26. 1, refers to him as Stêsichoros, in 26. 9 refers to him again as "the Himeraian;" *κατὰ τοῦ Ἱμεραίου τὴν ᾠδὴν*. But, as he was not in strictness Stêsichoros, so, according to some accounts, he was not in strictness a man of Himera. The change of name comes from Hêsychios of Milêtos (Flach, 201, and C. Muller, iv. 194), who is followed by Souidas; *ἐκλήθη δὲ Στησίχορος ὅτι πρῶτος καθαρχία χορὸν ἔστησεν, ἐπεὶ πρότερον Τισίας ἐκαλεῖτο*. For his father we have the choice of several names, Euphorbos, Euphêmos, Eukleidês, Hyetês, and finally Hesiod himself. Eukleidês, as Holm remarks, is the name of one of the founders of Himera (see vol. i. p. 411); but he could not have come from Matauros. The descent of Stêsichoros from that town is mentioned as one version by Hêsychios, and by Stephen of Byzantium, in whose geography Matauros is in Sicily (*Μάταυρος πόλις Σικελίας, Δοκρῶν κτίσμα . . . Στησίχορος Εὐφήμου παῖς, Ματαυρίνος γένος, ὁ τῶν μελῶν ποιητής*). Hêsychios mentions another account which brought him from Pallantion in Arkadia. In Plato, Phædrus, p. 244, he is *Στησίχορος ὁ Εὐφήμου Ἱμεραῖος*.

The parentage of Stêsichoros as the son of Hesiod and Klymenê is distinctly set forth in the alleged fragment of Aristotle's Politics (115 C. Müller, ii. 144). This is the story which is referred to by Thucydides (iii. 96), and which is told in different ways by Pausanias (ix. 31. 5) and Plutarch (Sept. Sep. Con. 19). We are not concerned with the exact relations between Hesiod and Klymenê, as we may be sure (see Mure, Hist. Greek Lit. iii. 232) that Stêsichoros could be said to be their son only in a figurative sense. We may believe that the story about the nightingale is no less

figurative. It is prettily told in the **Ἐκφρασις* of Christodóros in the Anthology ;

Στησίχορον δ' ἐνόησα λιγύθορον, ὃν ποτε γαῖα
 Σικελίῃ μὲν ἔφερβε, λύρῃ δ' ἐδίδαξεῖν Ἀπόλλων
 ἁρμονίην ἔτι μητρὸς ἐνὶ σπλάγχχοισιν ἰόντα·
 τοῦ γὰρ τικτομένοιο καὶ ἐς φάος ἄρτι μολοῦντος
 ἔκποθεν ἱερόφοιτος ἐπὶ στομάτεσσιν ἀηδῶν
 λάθρη ἐφεζομένη, λιγυρὴν ἀνεβάλλετο μολπὴν.

(The epithet of the *μολπή* brings us within the range of Plato's pun about *λίγυιαι* and *Δίγυες* in Phædrus, p. 237.)

Hēsychios gives Stēsichoros two brothers, Helianax and Mamertinos. According to Strabo (vi. 1), there was a town *Μαμέρτιον* in Bruttium, and its gentile was, Sikel-fashion, *Μαμερτίνος*. The real name seems to be *Mamerkos*, another Italian name which we shall come across in Sicily. This appears from Proklos on Euclid (ii. 19), who quotes Hippias of Elis. (Some read Ameristos, which is less likely.) Hēsychios perhaps had something about the "Mamertina civitas" in his head. Mamertinos was *γεωμετρίας ἔμπειρος*, while Helianax was *νομοθέτης*.

Of the tomb at Katanē Hēsychios says ;

οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Παλλαντίου τῆς Ἀρκαδίας φυγόντα αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν φασὶν εἰς Κατάνην, καὶ ἐκεῖ τελευτῆσαι καὶ ταφῆναι πρὸ τῆς πύλης ἣτις ἐξ αὐτοῦ Στησιχόρειος προσηγόρευται.

Souidas adds, under πάντα ὀκτώ ;

οἱ μὲν Στησίχορόν φασιν ἐν Κατάνῃ ταφῆναι πολυτελῶς πρὸς ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Στησιχορείοις λεγομέναις πύλαις. καὶ τοῦ μνημείου ἔχοντος ὀκτὼ κίονας καὶ ὀκτὸ βαθμοὺς καὶ ὀκτὼ γωνίας.

Julius Pollux (ix. 100) quotes the same proverb, but removes the tomb to Himera ;

Στησίχορος ἐκαλεῖτό τις παρὰ τοῖς ἀστραγαλίζουσιν ἀριθμὸς ὃς ἐδήλου τὰ ὀκτῶ. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἰμέρᾳ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τάφον ἐξ ὀκτῶ πάντων συντεθέντα πεποικηκέναι τὴν πάντ' ὀκτῶ φασὶ παροιμίαν.

The reference to Pallantion is anything but clear. Is there any confusion with what Pausanias says (viii. 3. 2) that Stēsichoros mentioned that town in the Gêryonêis ?

Eustathios also (Il. xxiii. 88, p. 1289. 60, cf. Od. i. 107, p. 1397. 39) has another proverb connected with an octagonal tomb of Stēsichoros at Himera ;

ἐλέγετο δὲ τις ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ Στησίχορος, ὃ τὴν ὀκτάδα δηλαδὴ σημαίνων, ἐπεὶ ὃ ἐν Ἰμέρᾳ τῇ Σικελικῇ τάφος τοῦδε τοῦ μελοποιοῦ ἐξ ὀκτῶ γωνιῶν συνέκειτο.

There may have been two tombs; but if there was only one, Katanê is the most likely. No one would be likely to invent or dream a tomb at Katanê for the man of Himera. But all that we get from Stêsichoros about Himera comes from the very doubtful passage of Himerios (Or. xxix. 3), where, among other poets who praised certain cities, we read *καὶ λόγοις κοσμεῖ Στησίχορος*. Bergk (iii. 226) dutifully supplies Himera.

There seems to have been an odd tendency to connect Stêsichoros with proverbs about numbers. Besides eight, he has to do in a very dark way with three. This comes in the strange proverb quoted by Souidas and by Diogenianus (Cent. vii. 14, Parœm. Græci, i. 288) and Apostolius (xiii. 18, Parœm. Græci, ii. 578), *οὐδὲ τὰ τρία Στησιχόρου γινώσκεις*? It is said *ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν καὶ ἀμούσων*. Souidas adds, *ἐπειδὴ εὐδόκιμος ἦν*, which hardly makes matters clearer.

The change made by Stêsichoros in the Greek conception of Héraklès comes from Athênaios, xii. 6; *τούτον* [Ἡρακλέα] *οἱ νέοι ποιηταὶ κατασκευάζουσιν ἐν ληστοῦ σχήματι μόνον περιπορευόμενον, ξύλον ἔχοντα καὶ λεοντὴν καὶ τόξα καὶ ταῦτα πλάσαι πρῶτον Στησίχορον τὸν Ἱμεραῖον, καὶ Ξάνθος δ' ὁ μελοποιὸς, πρεσβύτερος ὢν Στησιχόρου, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Στησίχορος μαρτυρεῖ, ὡς φησιν ὁ Μεγακλείδης, οὐ ταύτην αὐτῷ περιτίθῃσι τὴν στολὴν ἀλλὰ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν*. Stêsichoros is also said (Schol. ad Hesiod. Theog. 287) to have described Gêryonês with six hands, six feet, and wings (cf. Æsch. Agam. 870). All this seems to point to barbaric influence; but it shows that there was an earlier, a more purely Greek, Héraklès. Very little is recorded of this Xanthos. See Bergk, iii. 204.

The poem on Skylla (Bergk, iii. 210) is referred to by the scholiast on Apollônios, iv. 828, where the poet speaks of Σκύλλα Ἀύσονίη. Just before, at v. 825, the scholiast has some Sicilian matter, and he tries to localize things at Tauromenion. It is Ælian (V. H. x. 18) who refers to Stêsichoros as telling the story of Daphnis (see vol. i. p. 293), and it has been thought that the story of the five dogs of Daphnis in the History of Animals (xi. 13) came from Stêsichoros' poem on him.

The story of the Palinodia is doubtless best known from the reference in Plato, Phædrus, p. 243, where the verses are quoted;

*οὐκ ἔστ' ἔντυμος λόγος οὗτος·
οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν ναυσὶν ἐϋσέλμοις,
οὐδ' ἴκεο πέρασμα Τροίας.*

And the story is told by Isokratês (Helen, 73). But the fullest

version is that which comes in the story of Leônymos as told by Pausanias, iii. 20. 11. (See p. 152.) Pindar, who in the ode to Thêrôn places the Island of the Blessed, and Achilleus in it, in the Ocean, refers to the Euxine story in Nem. iv. 49 (or 80);

ἐν δ' Εὐξείνῳ πελάγει φαεινὰν Ἀχιλεὺς
ναῦσον.

But it is hard to see how the marriage of Achilleus and Helen can be reconciled with the teaching of the *Odyssey*, iv. 563 et seqq. Justin (xx. 3) speaks of the Dioskouroi as fighting on the Lokrian side at the Sagras, and says that the news was known at Olympia the same day, much as in the legends of Regillus and Pydna.

The passing of the soul of Homer into Stêsichoros (like that of the Dictator Cæsar into William Rufus) is asserted by Antipatros in the *Anthology*, vii. 76;

Στασίχορον, ζαπληθὲς ἀμετρήτου στόμα Μούσης,
ἐκτέρισεν Κατάνας αἰθαλόεν δάπεδον,
οἶ, κατὰ Πυθαγόρου φυσικὰν φάτιν, ἂ πρὶν Ὀμήρου
ψυχὰ ἐνὶ στέρνοις δεύτερον φέκισατο.

Simônidês, in the fragment quoted by Athênaios, iv. 172 (see Bergk, iii. 206), is satisfied with bracketing the two poets;

οὕτω γὰρ Ὀμηρος ἤδ' Στασίχορος ἔειπε λαοῖς.

And it is something to think that the loveliest fragment of all came in a tale in which Sicily must have played no small part (see Bergk, iii. 209);

Ἀέλιος δ' Ὑπεριονίδας δέπας ἱσκατέβαινεν,
χρύσειον, ὅφρα δι' Ὠκεανοῖο περάσας
ἀφίκοιθ' ἱερᾶς ποτὶ βένθεα νυκτὸς ἑρεμνᾶς
ποτὶ μάτερα κουριδίαν τ' ἄλοχον παῖδας τε φίλους·
ὁ δ' ἐς ἄλσος ἔβα
δάφναισι κατὰσκιον ποσσὶ πάϊς Διός.

From Tartêssos and Erytheia the son of Zeus came in the end to Eryx, to the baths and the hills that were to be those of Himera. But I wonder as much as I did many years back, how Mure (*Hist. Greek Lit.* iii. 251) could have brought himself, "for the sake of his own verse," to "substitute *car* for *cup*." But the way of translators is hard.

NOTE XVII. p. 166.

THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN PERSIA AND CARTHAGE.

It is curious how things turn about. When Grote wrote, it was needful to insist, with a little hesitation, that there was some connexion between the Persian invasion of Old Greece and the Carthaginian invasion of Greek Sicily. In answer to Mitford and Dahlmann, who denied any connexion between the two (see Mitford's note at the end of ch. x. sect. 1), the great master argued (v. 294) that "there seems good reason for believing that the simultaneous attack on the Greeks both in Peloponnesos and in Sicily was concerted between the Carthaginians and Xerxes—probably by the Phœnicians on behalf of Xerxes." It is now taken for granted in the last German book, not only that the two invasions were planned in concert, but that Carthage acted as a vassal of Persia. Diodôros is taken to task for not having the wit to see this and for foreshadowing Grote's view. On the other hand, a well-known German book, not very much older, falls back on the views of Mitford against which Grote argued. And a smaller and less known German book, a little earlier again, supports the intermediate doctrine of Grote. In such a case one may perhaps be allowed to exercise a little judgement for oneself.

The fullest discussion of the matter is that in Meltzer's *Geschichte der Karthager*, i. 204-210 and 493-499. But human nature, at least insular nature, gives way before this last wilderness of words and references heaped together on pages raised to the highest measure of physical repulsiveness that the printer's skill can give them. One is tempted to keep to Duncker (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, iv. 527, vii. 217, 381) and Busolt (*Griechische Geschichte*, ii. 259), whose pages one can at any rate read and understand. I have got something out of Meltzer, this time as at other times; but it is hard work. Meltzer, it seems (p. 494), put forth an earlier treatise on the subject, of which he did not think very highly when he came to write his greater work. But it is hard of him to snub a praiseworthy little *Abhandlung* (*Persien und Karthago*; von Moritz Pfalz; Naumburg, 1869), seemingly because its author speaks respectfully of Meltzer's own earlier labours.

Pfalz seems to me to make on the whole a very good defence of Grote's position, though he quite underrates the position of Carthage at the time (p. 23). Duncker rejects the treaty altogether; Busolt accepts the extreme statement the other way, that Carthage acted as the vassal of Persia. Mommsen, into whose department the question hardly came, seems (R. G. i. 294) to doubt as to the treaty. But he puts forth in the strongest words the practical fellow-working of Persia and Carthage.

The only objection that I can see to a belief in the joint working of Persia and Carthage is that there is no mention of it in the earlier writers. Now the one extant earlier writer in whom we could look for any mention of it is Herodotus. But the wonderfully casual way in which Herodotus refers to the war in Sicily at all (see below, p. 518) really makes his mere silence of no force. And it is mere silence; he has not a word that tells the other way. The two writers from whom our account comes are Ephoros and Diodóros. Diodóros is of course said to represent Timaios, though I know not why he may not represent Antiochos. The story of Diodóros implies a treaty between the two barbarian powers on equal terms, while the version of Ephoros has been thought to imply that Carthage acted in the matter as a dependent ally of Persia. This last comes from a fragment (C. Müller, ii. 264) preserved by the scholiast on Pindar, Pyth. i. 126. It is perhaps well to remember that this scholiast is one against whom his very editors cry out as a "portentum," and denounce his "stupor" and his "indoctum ingenium." And well they may when he thinks that Pindar could have read Ephoros. One commentator says "nefas est corrigere hujus scholiastæ stuporem." Another undertakes his defence, and makes him say, what he may certainly have meant to say, that Ephoros had read Pindar. Now Ephoros, as quoted by this unlearned man, is made to say that, at the time when the envoys from Old Greece come to Gelôn (a yet more unlearned man on the same page says *Hîêrôn*), beseeching him to come to the general council of the Greeks (*ἰκετεύοντες εἰς τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων σύλλογον ἐλθεῖν*), Persian and Phœnician envoys came to Carthage, bidding the Carthaginians to get together the greatest fleet they can, to sail to Sicily, and having overcome those who took the Greek side, to sail to Peloponnêsos (*ἐκ δὲ Περσῶν καὶ Φοινίκων πρέσβεις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, προστάσσοντας* [the other form of "stupor" has *κελεύοντας*] *ὡς πλείστον δέοι στόλον εἰς Σικελίαν τε βαδί-*

ζειν καὶ καταστρεφάμενους τοὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φρονοῦντας πλεῖν ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον). The vassalage of Carthage to Persia is held to be implied in the casual use of the words *προστάττοντας* or *κελεύοντας*, as opposed to *ικετεύοντας*. From this point of view Diodōros, copyist of Timaios, is severely rebuked by Busolt for not understanding the state of things, and for imagining a mere treaty (*Vertrag*, *συνθήκαι*) where there was a royal command (*Befehl*). His story (xi. 1) is that Xerxes, wishing to destroy all the Greeks everywhere (*βουλόμενος πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι*), sent an embassy to Carthage and made a treaty (*διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς Καρχηδονίους περὶ κοινοπραγίας καὶ συνέθετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς*). The terms are the same as those in the other story, except that nothing is said about the Carthaginians going on to Peloponnēsos when they had done with Sicily (*ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας στρατεῦν*, *Καρχηδονίους δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις μεγάλας παρασκευάσασθαι δυνάμεις, καὶ καταπολεμῆσαι Ἑλλήνων τοὺς περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντας*).

The question then is this; Do these passages prove joint action on the part of Persians and Carthaginians? If they do, Did that joint action take the shape of an alliance between two independent powers or that of an order issued by the Great King to the vassal commonwealth of Carthage? For the joint action there is the distinct assertion of the source or sources of Diodōros, and also of Ephoros, who is clear on this point. Against it there is no evidence whatever, only the silence of Herodotus and the surmise of modern scholars that it could not be so. But why? The Carthaginians and the Great King had a common interest; what was more obvious than that they should enter into an alliance to promote it? And if it should be said that the diplomacy of the Great King was commonly of another kind, that he was more in the habit of demanding earth and water than of entering into equal alliances, the answer is easy. He found himself in circumstances where that kind of diplomacy would not work, and he had the best possible agents for diplomacy of another kind ready at hand in the men of the Old Phœnicia. Those who fought so well for him against the Greek would be equally ready to work for him in the other way. The agency of the Old-Phœnicians is distinctly asserted by Ephoros — *ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ Φοινίκων πρέσβεις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους*. Their mission is doubtless consistent with the vassalage of Carthage; but it

assuredly does not imply it, and on the whole it looks the other way.

For that vassalage I certainly see no evidence whatever. We know perfectly well that Kambysês designed the conquest of Carthage; but we know equally well that he never carried out his plan, because his vassals of the Old Phœnicia would not serve against their colonists. Herodotus (iii. 19) adds emphatically, *Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν νῦν οὕτω δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων*. Nor can it possibly prove anything to say, what cannot be doubted, that Kyrênê acknowledged the Persian overlordship. That brings us no nearer to any Persian authority over Carthage. It is enough that, when Herodotus wrote, Carthage was independent, and that he knew of no time when it had been otherwise. Surely nothing can be proved by the wild story in Justin referred to above in p. 483. Even if it is at all founded on genuine records, the story is so blundered as to be quite incapable of proving anything. Indeed one cannot get rid of the notion that the alleged orders of Darius—it is Darius and not Xerxês—may come out of some confusion with the well-known story of Gelôn. It really can prove nothing if we like to believe, on the authority of Megasthenês (Josephus c. Ap. i. 20, and Strabo, xv. 1. 6), that Nebuchadnezzar overran Africa and Spain as far as the pillars of Hêraklês and beyond. If he did, the story of Kambysês shows that his authority in those parts did not pass on to his Persian successors. Indeed I do not see that even the account in Ephoros really implies any Persian superiority over Carthage. The reading fluctuates between *κελεύοντας* and *προστάσσοντας*, a kind of difference which shows that we cannot be at all sure that we have the author's genuine words. There is no need to press either word to its fullest sense. The diplomacy of the Great King was likely to be a little overbearing in its formulæ, even when addressed to an equal ally. The words *κελεύειν* and *προστάττειν* might not be bad words to express it, especially when there is a contrast with *ἰκετεύειν* to be enforced. In later times European states have sometimes put up with such pretensions on the part of barbarian potentates, when no practical loss was likely to follow. The Carthaginians were doubtless quite sharp enough to do the like on occasion. What I do not believe is that their commonwealth stood in any terms of acknowledged dependence on Persia. If it were so, it is strange that we never hear of it at any other time.

NOTE XVIII. pp. 160, 192.

THE DATE OF THE WAR OF HIMERA.

HERODOTUS, it is well known (vii. 166), reports without comment the Sicilian tradition according to which the battles of Salamis and Himera were fought on the same day (*πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰδε λέγουσι ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρσην*). There really seems no reason against believing this story, except a feeling that it is too good to be true. It is of course quite possible and quite likely that, if the two battles happened at all nearly at the same time, a story would spring up that they happened on the same day. A statement to that effect would give way to a small amount even of unlikelihood, much more to the slightest proof the other way. But here is no proof and no unlikelihood; the two battles may as well have happened on the same day as not. Herodotus says that they did; the alternative statements go for very little. Diodóros (xi. 24) says that the fight at Himera happened on the same day, not as the fight at Salamis, but as the fight at Thermopylai. This may be suspected of being an improvement on the earlier statement of Herodotus. I should have suspected a tendency to bring together two land battles fought near the sea; only the battle which Diodóros says (xi. 23) was usually compared with Himera was one which he does not bring into any connexion of time, namely the inland fight of Plataia. One odd point of contrast is brought out, namely that Pausanias and Themistoklēs both fell from their place of honour, while Gelōn grew old in his (*ἐγγηράσαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τελευτῆσαι θαυμαζόμενον*). Certainly Gelōn died in honour, but he cannot be said to have grown old in it. Thermopylai supplies its contrast also. The same day saw the most brilliant victory and the most glorious defeat (*τὴν καλλίστην νίκην καὶ τὴν ἐνδοξοτάτην ἦτταν*).

All this seems like later reflexion and surmise, while the synchronism in Herodotus is at least as likely to be true tradition as not. But after all, the exact day does not matter much, except to heighten the picture of Greece striving against both her enemies at once. For the general purposes of history it is enough that no great time can have passed between the two battles, without strictly requiring both to have been fought on

the same day. The date of Aristotle (Poet. 26) *κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους* is enough. But it is important to bring both battles at least within the second half of the year 480 B.C. This Busolt (ii. 263) does without remark. Holm has a view which I cannot accept, namely that the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily happened at least a year before the Persian invasion of Old Greece, and that the war spoken of by Gelôn as waged by him to avenge the death of Dôrieus is no other than the war of Himera. I have already (see above, pp. 478, 482) pointed out the strange way in which, if this view is accepted, Herodotus is made to contradict himself. And I hope that I have given some reasons to show that there was an earlier war with Carthage to which Gelôn is made to refer. I turn again to Holm's note, i. 416, and I really find nothing to argue against. His one point is that Gelôn speaks of an earlier warfare. The simple answer is that it is Herodotus who makes him speak of his earlier warfare, and that it is Herodotus who directly after goes on to speak of the warfare of Himera as later.

I cannot see that the poem of Simonidês quoted in p. 259, which has been thought to refer to Salamis and Himera, has anything to do with the matter. It clearly refers to the battles at the Eurymedôn.

NOTE XIX. p. 174.

THE LACEDÆMONIAN AND ATHENIAN EMBASSY
TO GELÔN.

THE embassy sent by the Greeks at the Isthmus to Gelôn, as told by Herodotus, is so lively and dramatic, and every word so well illustrates some point in the case, that, familiar as it is, I thought it right to tell it once more at length, and to point out the force of particular expressions. But I cannot believe it to be historical. It reads to me like a piece of Syracusan satire which Herodotus heard on the spot. It is really not unlikely that it may come from a play of Epicharmos (see p. 418). We have our parallels in more modern times. The dialogue seems framed to make game of the kind of personage who, some time back, used to be spoken of as "Mr. Mother-country." A Spartan ambassador was not unlikely to say something foolish and insolent, but hardly anything quite so foolish and insolent as the

story makes him. The Athenian might have pleaded that the naval force of Athens was as great as that of Syracuse, nor was he unlikely to enlarge more fully than was needed on the mythical glories of his own city. But he was not likely to plead the merits of the Homeric king of Athens as of itself reason enough to shut out Gelôn from the command. And in a true report of an assembly sent to Syracuse by the Greeks at the Isthmus, Corinth could hardly have failed to take the first place. Here we have not a word about Corinth. The reason is plain. Syracusan taste might enjoy banter against Athens or Sparta; filial piety forbade any mockery of the metropolis.

Polybios (xii. 26 b) had somewhere found an account of the dialogue between Gelôn and the envoys, which reads like the serious version of which the story in Herodotus is the grotesque shape. Gelôn offers twenty thousand footmen and two hundred ships of war (*ναῦς καταφράκτους*), if the Greeks at the Isthmus will give him the command either by land or by sea. An answer, which Polybios thinks much to the purpose, is made, not to Gelôn by envoys at Syracuse, but by the congress at Corinth to the envoys of Gelôn (*φασὶ τοὺς προκαθημένους ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πραγματικώτατον ἀπόκριμα δοῦναι τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Γέλωνος πρεσβευταῖς*). They asked him to give help; they could say nothing about the command; that must fall to him who showed himself most worthy of it (*τὴν δ' ἡγεμονίαν ἀνάγκη τὰ πράγματα περιθῆσιν τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν*). This version must have come from Ephoros, as it fits in with the fragment from him preserved by the scholiasts on Pindar, Pyth. i. 146 (see above, p. 511). There, while the Persians and Carthaginians are making their alliance, the Greeks at the Isthmus send to Gelôn, praying him to come to their synod (*ἵστορεῖ γὰρ Ἐφωρος τοιοῦτον, ὅτι παρασκευαζομένου Ξέρξου τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι στόλον πρέσβεις παραγενέσθαι πρὸς Γέλωνα τὸν τύραννον ἰκετεύοντας εἰς τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων σύλλογον εἰσεῖν*). The Carthaginians accept the invitation of the Persians, and Gelôn—or rather Hierôn (*Ἱέρωνος συμμαχεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι προσθυμουμένου*)—accepts that of the Greeks. Gelôn makes ready 200 ships, 10,000 foot, and 2000 horse; but he seems to be hindered by the coming of the Carthaginians, as in the story in Herodotus, vii. 165 (see p. 205). This account falls in with that of Polybios; Ephoros must have made Gelôn send envoys to the Isthmus, and make his proposals and receive his answer there. This is really the more likely story. But Polybios found another

version in Timaios which must have come much nearer to that in Herodotus, one which contained long speeches and tended greatly to the glory of Sicily (*τοσούτους ἐκτείνει λόγους καὶ τοιαύτην ποιείται σπουδὴν περὶ τοῦ τὴν μὲν Σικελίαν μεγαλομερεστέραν ποιῆσαι τῆς συμπάσης Ἑλλάδος, κ.τ.λ.*).

It is singular that Polybios does not here refer to Herodotus, nor does he elsewhere. And of Thucydides he simply speaks (viii. 13) as leaving off where Theopompos began. The historians nearer to his own time were much more in his thoughts. See Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 530.

Athênaios (ix. 64) refers to the story in Herodotus, and comments on the name Syagros.

We may be sure that some communications passed between Gelôn and the Greeks at the Isthmus, and Ephoros seems to have preserved its most probable shape. A general Hellenic alliance seems as natural as the general barbarian alliance which it had to withstand. But though as natural, it was not as necessary. The two sets of invaders had to form a plan of joint invasion; the invaded in both lands had nothing to do but to resist them. Still the two sets of Greeks would surely keep one another informed of what was going on. It is quite possible that Gelôn, whose success or failure against the Carthaginians was likely to be, and was, settled much sooner than the result of the war in old Greece, promised that, if he were victorious in Sicily, he would sail to Peloponnêsos. And out of this might have grown the story in Diodôros (see p. 205) of his preparing to set out after Himera, but being stopped by the news of Salamis. But such an engagement, though possible, is not much more. It is unpleasant to say it, but the story in Herodotus (see p. 182) about Gelôn sending Kadmos to Delphoi sounds a great deal more likely. At any rate the actual dialogue in Herodotus cannot in any case be historical as it stands. Neither can the statement that follows it, that Gelôn, even after the dialogue, still thought of sending help. We cannot too often remind ourselves that neither Herodotus nor any one else is of the same authority when he is reporting speeches or current surmises about plans which were never carried out as when he is recording plain facts. The statement of Herodotus (even his implied statement) that Gelôn did this or that is worth a great deal; his statement that Gelôn meant to do this or that is worth very little.

NOTE XX. p. 193.

THE BATTLE OF HIMERA.

It seems quite hopeless to try to reconcile the accounts of the battle of Himera in Herodotus and in Diodóros. Yet they have one main incident in common, namely the sacrifice of Hamilkar. But every detail is different. In the version of Diodóros, Hamilkar, ready to sacrifice to Poseidón, is waiting in the early morning for the coming of the Selinuntine contingent. He is killed by the horsemen of Gelón, who, being mistaken for Selinuntines, have been received into the Punic sea-camp (*πρὸς τὴν ναυτικὴν στρατοπεδείαν*, c. 21). After this follow the other details of the battle, the exploits of Gelón himself, waged, as it seems to me, at the land-camp (*στρατοπεδεία, παρεμβολή*, c. 22). In Herodotus (vii. 166, 167) we have no details of the battle. It went on all day (*ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἡοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δειλῆς ὀψίας*); towards evening the Carthaginians were defeated. Then (*ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ*), Hamilkar, who had been sacrificing all day, presumably to the gods of Carthage, when he knew of the defeat of his army (*ἰδὼν τροπὴν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ γινομένην*), threw himself into the flames. The search for him, alive or dead, made by Gelón's orders, implies that the Greeks knew nothing of his fate. It was from a Carthaginian source, and one which he trusted (*ἔστι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος, οἰκίῳ χρεωμένων*), that Herodotus heard it. In the version of Diodóros there is no mystery about the matter. In that version Hamilkar is killed by Greek hands at the very beginning of the battle; in Herodotus he dies by his own act as its last stage.

There is something very strange in the casual way in which Herodotus brings in his account of this famous battle. He records (c. 153-162) the embassy to Gelón, bringing in the earlier history of Gelón by way of explanation. Then (c. 163) comes the sending of Kadmos to Delphoi (see p. 182) and his earlier history (see p. 110). But after all, Gelón would, it was said in Sicily, have sent to the help of Greece (c. 165), if he had not been hindered by the Carthaginian invasion. When Herodotus comes to the battle itself, he first mentions (c. 166) that the body of Hamilkar could not be found, and then goes on, as if by way of explanation, with his short account of the battle. Presently (c. 167) he adds; *ἀφανισθέντι δὲ*

Ἀμιλκα, τρόπον εἴτε τοιούτῳ, ὡς Φοίνικες λέγουσι, εἴτε ἐτέρῳ. The next words, ὡς Συρηκούσιοι or ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρηκούσιοι, seem to be doubtful, and, in the latter shape at least, they must be corrupt. But in any case Herodotus implies that there was another version, seemingly a Syracusan version, different from that which his Carthaginian informants told him.

This other version is presumably that which we find in Diodōros. Busolt takes for granted that it comes from Timaios. So it may likely enough, as it may likely enough have come from one of the earlier writers; and Timaios in any case must have found it somewhere. Taken by itself, I see nothing to object to in it. It is not very clearly told; but it becomes intelligible on the ground, and I have tried in the text to reproduce it as I understand it. I cannot so utterly cast it aside as Grote (v. 298) seems to do; and Diodōros' peculiar synchronism, placing the battle of Himera on the same day, not as Salamis, but as Thermopylai (see above, p. 514), has nothing to do with the details of the battle. The only thing is that this story, the Syracusan story, cannot be reconciled with the Carthaginian story in Herodotus, and that Herodotus himself implies as much.

Polyainos has preserved two stories of the battle, of very different degrees of value. The first (i. 27) is rightly called by Busolt (i. 265) "eine ganz tolle Fabel." But it is surely a confused version of the attack on the sea-camp in Diodōros, and it keeps on the tradition of the sacrifice, though in a strange shape. Gelôn—Σικελῶν τύραννος—is afraid (οὐκ ἐθάρρει) of Himilkôn (Ἱμilkων βασιλεῖ Καρχηδονίων; the name seems to come from a later war). He therefore sends Pediarchos, captain of his bowmen, who was very like himself, dressed in tyrant's dress (ἀμφιάσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τυραννικὴν ἐσθῆτα), whatever that was, who is to sacrifice at an altar before the camp. The archers are about him, dressed in white, but with hidden bows (ἐν ἐσθῇτι λευκῇ κατέχοντας μυρίνας, τόξα ὑπὸ ταῖς μυρίναις κρύπτοντας). Himilkôn, suspecting nothing, comes to sacrifice too, and they shoot him.

The other story (i. 28) I have tried to work into the text (see p. 199), as it is the only account of any action of Thêrôn's in the battle. The followers of Gelôn (οἱ Σικελιωταί) have entered the camp, and are withstood by the Iberians. Then,

Θήρων πολὺν τὸν ὄλεθρον ἰδὼν ἔπεμψε τοὺς κυκλωσομένους παραγγείλας ἔπισθεν τὰς σκηνὰς καταπρήσσαι· φλογὸς δὲ πολλῆς αἰρομένης οὐκ ἔχοντες οἱ

πολέμιοι σκηρὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Σικελιώται διώκοντες παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ τοὺς πλείστους διέφθειραν.

Busolt (ii. 265, 266) knows that this comes from Philistos, and I hope it does, though Antiochos would be better still. But he takes it as an account of the entrance into the sea-camp, differing from that of Diodōros. I read it as an attack on the land-camp at a later stage. The only thing the least suspicious about the story is φλόξ πολλή αἰρομένη, which looks a little as if it had made its way from the ships to the tents. But this really does not prove anything; the story will do very well.

One hardly knows what to make of the fragment of Ephoros (C. Müller, 111) preserved in a very corrupt form by the scholiast on Pindar (Pyth. i. 146; see above, p. 516). This seems to speak of a sea-fight between Gelôn and Hamilkar (Γέλωνα διακοσίας ναῦς εὐτρεπίσαντα καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς μυρίους κατακοῦσαι στόλον Καρχηδονίων πλέοντα ἐπὶ Σικελίαν καὶ διαμαχησάμενον οὐ μόνον τοὺς Σικελιώτας ἐλευθερῶσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα σύμπασαν). One is tempted to say once more, "Nefas est corrigere hunc scholiastæ stuporem." Meltzer (i. 500) and Busolt (ii. 266) suggest that the notion of the sea-fight came from a misunderstanding of the word στόλος. Only who made the misunderstanding, the man of "stupor" for himself, or Ephoros whom he professes to quote? In either case whence come the two hundred ships? It is possible that the story of the sea-fight may have grown out of certain Himeraian coins (Coins of Sicily, p. 81) in which Nika is represented as holding the *aplustre* of a ship. From this Salinas (Archivio Storico Siciliano, N. S. i. 196) was inclined to accept the sea-fight. But Busolt truly remarks that the burning of the ships was an incident quite striking enough to suggest the device on the coins, which do not seem to be contemporary.

The real question is, Shall we accept the Carthaginian version given by Herodotus, or the Syracusan version which Diodōros found, perhaps in Timaios, perhaps elsewhere? The two accounts of the death of Hamilkar cannot be reconciled. But it would be perfectly possible, though somewhat arbitrary, to take Diodōros' account of the fighting by the land-camp as the details of the long battle which Herodotus records in a general way, and to accept the statement of Herodotus as to the death of Hamilkar in the evening. If so, we must give up the story of Gelôn's horse-

men personating the Selinuntines, a kind of tale which is a little suspicious; and it is further worth noticing that there is no mention of the coming of the real Selinuntines at all. We must also move the burning of the ships from the morning to the evening. These are rather violent changes. The story in Herodotus is so striking in itself, so thoroughly Semitic, and so effectively told, that it needs a hard struggle to give it up. But the same characteristics would be likely to be found in a false story devised at Carthage to lessen the shame of defeat. On the other hand, we must not forget the statement of Herodotus (see p. 194) that Gelôn sought everywhere in vain for Hamilkar living or dead. This certainly looks at first sight like a Greek tradition, distinct from the account in Diodôros. It looks like a fact of which the Carthaginian story supplied the explanation. But, though the Carthaginians were not likely to know anything of a real search made by Gelôn, they might have put in an imaginary one to heighten their picture. In any case it would seem that Herodotus must have misunderstood his Phœnician informants as to the worship of Hamilkar as a hero. This is a Greek, not a Phœnician, idea. There must have been (see Movers, i. 612; Meltzer, i. 215; Busolt, ii. 266) some confusion between the god Melkart and his worshipper *Obed-melkart* (see above, p. 184).

Meltzer (i. 215 et seqq.) gives the fullest examination of the two versions. According to him, the account in Diodôros represents, as is perfectly possible, the local traditions, strung together and adorned by Timaios. Holm (i. 207, 415), who knows the ground, tells the general story according to Diodôros, but notices the different statement in Herodotus without seeming to decide between them. He places, as I do, the camp of Gelôn to the east of Himera, but on the low ground rather than on the hill. But I certainly take the *ὑπερκείμενοι λόφοι* of Diodôros (xi. 21) for the highest ground of all, behind the city to the southward. (See above, p. 196). But the topography is a good deal harder than in some other cases.

Salinas, in the paper already quoted, raises the question whether the temple at Himera (see above, p. 195, and vol. i. p. 415) is older than the battle or built to commemorate it. I do not in any case see how it can be one of the temples which the Carthaginians were to build under the treaty of peace (Diod. xi. 26; see

p. 210). Those, if they ever were built (see Diod. xiv. 77), were surely at Carthage.

One source of knowledge about the matter we have lost by the disappearance of the play of Æschylus in which he brought in the fight of Himera as the fellow of his own fight of Salamis. The tetralogy of which the Persians formed a part was, according to the old text of the *Ὑπόθεσις*, *Φινεύς*, *Πέρσαι*, *Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς*, *Προμηθεύς*—of course not the *Προμηθεύς* which we all know. But the word *Ποτνιεύς* is now, on better manuscript authority, struck out of the text, and Lorenz (Epicharmos, 83) reads *Πόντιος*. The historian perhaps need not settle such questions. The passage about Hêraklês at Himera, which we have had to refer to already (see vol. i. p. 414), comes (Schol. Pind. Pyth. i. 152) from a *Γλαῦκος* not defined either way. There is certainly every likelihood that this play in some way brought in the historic fame of Himera (see Lorenz, u. s.). It has been well suggested by O. Müller (Hist. Greek Lit. c. xxiii. § 4, 5, Eng. Tr.) that the plays Phineus, Persians, and Glaukos hung together as all bearing on the Eternal Question. Phineus would bring in that early Argonautic stage of it on which Herodotus is emphatic.

Pausanias (ix. 22. 7, x. 4. 7) refers to two passages from a *Γλαῦκος* which seem connected with the passage quoted by Strabo (x. 1) from *Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς*, which speak of *τύμβον ἀθλίου Λίχα*, suggesting matters concerning Hêraklês. And from the scholiasts on Euripidês (Phœn. 1194) and Aristophanês (Frogs 1403) we get two lines of *Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς*, which are warlike enough for any battle;

*ἐφ' ἄρματος γὰρ ἄρμα καὶ νεκρῷ νεκρὸς,
ἵπποι δ' ἐφ' ἵπποις ἦσαν ἐμπεφυρμένοι.*

Only would this do for Himera, if we may trust our one narrative (see pp. 185, 186) according to which the Punic chariots were all drowned on the way? The poet however may not have attended to such niceties.

All perhaps that concerns us is that there once was a contemporary picture of the battle of Himera from the hand of Æschylus. Being an eyewitness and actor at Salamis, he could not have been an eye-witness at Himera. But he must have known the exact date of both.

NOTE XXI. p. 208.

GELÔN'S TREATY WITH CARTHAGE.

THE authority for the statement that Gelôn bound the Carthaginians by treaty to give up the practice of human sacrifice is certainly not strong. And it is the kind of statement for which the strongest evidence would be needed. For, as Grote says (v. 299), "such an interference with foreign religious rites would be unexampled in that age, and we know moreover that the practice was not permanently discontinued at Carthage." The scholiast on Pindar (Pyth. ii. 3) quotes it from Theophrastos. He first speaks of the submission of Carthage to Gelôn (*ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τὴν Καρχηδόνα γενέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ ὑπακούειν*), a subject on which it was very easy to exaggerate, and then adds, *τὸ γοῦν ἀνθρωποθυτεῖν φησὶν ὁ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ περὶ Τυρσηνῶν παύσασθαι αὐτοὺς Γέλωνος προστάξαντος*. Plutarch has two references to the story. One comes in a remarkable passage in the treatise *De Sera Numinis Vindicta* (6), where he mentions Gelôn (see p. 218) among the tyrants who gained power by bad means but used it well; *Γέλων δὲ καὶ προπολεμήσας ἄριστα καὶ κρατήσας μάχῃ μεγάλῃ Καρχηδονίων, οὐ πρότερον εἰρήνην ἐποίησато πρὸς αὐτοὺς δεομένους, ἥ καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς συνθήκαις περιλαβεῖν, ὅτι παύονται τὰ τέκνα τῇ Κρόνῳ καταθύοντες*. He mentions it again among the anecdotes of Gelôn in the *Apophthegmata* (Γέλωνος 1) in nearly the same words, but speaking of Himera by name. Diodôros either found nothing about it in his authorities or else passed it by.

If there was any such general obligation imposed, the treaty most certainly, as our own Chronicles say, "stood no while." Human sacrifice was again in full force when we have next to speak of Carthage. In short, the story, as it stands, is altogether unworthy of belief. Yet I cannot get rid of a lurking notion that it may have arisen out of some provision against the sacrificing of Greeks. It would be a strange tale for anybody to invent whole.

One is somehow reminded of the wild story (see Norman Conquest, iv. 518) of William the Conqueror requiring the Scots to give up their ancient practice of eating human flesh.

NOTE XXII. p. 213.

THE TEMPLES OF DÉMÊTÊR AND PERSEPHONÊ
AT SYRACUSE.

THE building of the temples of the two goddesses by Gelôn is recorded by Diodôros (xi. 26); ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων κατεσκεύασε ναοὺς ἀξιολόγους Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. The position is fixed by a later passage (xiv. 63), where Himilkôn κατελάβετο τὸ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς προάστειον, καὶ τοὺς νεὸς τῆς τε Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἐσύλησεν. That is, the temples stood near the present burying-ground under the *Portella del Fusco*. Late diggings there have brought to light a wall of great width, or rather two walls meeting at an angle. They do not rise above the level of the ground, and they are finished with a smooth surface. They are clearly not works of fortification of Dionysios or anybody else; but the matter is complicated by their crossing an earlier wall which might be military. It is tempting to believe that we have the περίβολος of the twin temples, or, as it has been suggested, a sacred path round them. Only, if this wall is the work of Gelôn, whose is the wall that it crosses?

There were clearly twin temples of Mother and Daughter. The lax phrase of Diodôros (xiv. 70), τοῦ τε τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἱεροῦ, whether we amuse ourselves by improving the text or not, proves nothing against it. The two had a joint τέμενος, τὸ τῶν Θεσμοφόρων τέμενος, as Plutarch calls it (Dion, 56), which is the same as τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερόν in Diodôros, xix. 5. See Schubring, Bewässerung, 624; Holm, Topografia, 184; Lupus, 102.

The μέγας ὄρκος by the two goddesses is described by Plutarch, Dion, 56; ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος. καταβὰς εἰς τὸ τῶν Θεσμοφόρων τέμενος ὁ διδοὺς τὴν πίστιν ἱερῶν τιῶν γενομένων περιβάλλεται τὴν πορφυρίδα τῆς θεοῦ, καὶ λαβὼν δᾶδα κειομένην ἀπόμνυσι. This is in the case of Kallippos. That of Agathoklês comes in Diod. xix. 5. On the oath by the Palici see vol. i. pp. 167, 523.

The foundation of the temple at Ætna is also recorded by Diodôros (xi. 26). The question is what site he means by Ætna. There was no town of Ætna in Gelôn's day. The name was afterwards borne, first by Katanê and then by Inêssa. Diodôros may have simply meant that the temple was somewhere near the mountain, without reference to any town, or he may have carried back

either of the later uses of the name to Gelôn's day. If so, it would more likely be the later and more abiding use of the two, that by which Inêssa was called Ætna. In either case it implies that Gelôn held a dominion somewhere not very far from Katanê, though the name of that city is not mentioned in his time.

The words of Diodôros are ;

ἐπεβάλετο δὲ ὕστερον καὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἴττην κατασκευάζειν νεὼν Δήμητρος· ἐννηὼς δὲ οὗσης τοῦτον μὲν οὐ συνετέλεσε μεσολαβηθεὶς τὸν βίον ὑπὸ τῆς πεπρωμένης.

Whatever exact site we here understand by Ætna, there is no possible reason to change Ætna to Henna, which was perhaps suggested by the notion of Henna being a colony of Syracuse. See Holm, i. 418.

NOTE XXIII. pp. 214, 236.

HIERÔN, POLYZÊLOS, AND THÊRÔN.

DIODÔROS (xi. 38) speaks without any qualification of Hierôn as succeeding Gelôn in what he calls his kingdom. His words are; τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν παρέδωκεν Ἰέρωνι τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Directly after he speaks of Hierôn as ὁ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν. Neither here nor in xi. 48 does he seem to know anything of the division of power which most modern writers assume between Hierôn and Polyzêlos. It seems to come from Timaios as quoted by the scholiast on Pindar, Ol. ii. 29, who says that Πολύζηλος ἀδελφὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ τὴν γαμετὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαδέχεται κατὰ τὰς Γέλωνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ προστάξεις, words which have perhaps been made a little too much of. If this writer copies Timaios quite literally, Gelôn gave his brother not only the generalship but the wife too while he was still alive; τοῦ Γέλωνος τελευτῶν τὸν βίον μέλλοντος.

Neither does Diodôros show any knowledge of Gelôn's son. But his existence seems to be quite well established by a passage in Aristotle's Politics (v. 10. 31) to which we shall come again, and by the passage of Timaios quoted by the scholiast on Pindar (Nem. ix. 95) where he appears under the guardianship of Chromios and Aristonous. See above, p. 493.

When we come to the somewhat later story in which Hierôn, Polyzêlos, and Thêrôn all play a part, we find it told by Diodôros

(xi. 48) clearly and straightforwardly enough, so far as he tells it at all, but with some odd gaps. Hierôn envies Polyzêlos on account of his popularity in Syracuse, and wishes to get rid of him (Ἱέρων ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Συρακοσίων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Γέλωνος τελευτήν, τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Πολυζήλον ὁρῶν εὐδοκιμοῦντα παρὰ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις καὶ νομίζων αὐτὸν ἔφεδρον ὑπάρχειν τῆς βασιλείας, ἔσπευδεν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι). Diodôros then mentions Hierôn's gathering of mercenaries, seemingly to account for what follows. Hierôn takes advantage of the war between Krotôn and Sybaris—or the remnant of Sybaris—(Συβαριτῶν πολιορκουμένων ὑπὸ Κροτωνιατῶν καὶ δεομένων βοηθήσαι), to send a large force—seemingly a mercenary force—under the command of Polyzêlos to the help of Sybaris (στρατιώτας πολλοὺς κατέγραψεν εἰς τὴν στρατείαν, ἣν παρείδου Πολυζήλῳ). This is with the object of getting rid of Polyzêlos (νομίζων αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν ἀναρεθίσσασθαι). It seems implied, though it is not distinctly said, that Hierôn sent a force of mercenaries, because they would be more ready than native Syracusans to betray Polyzêlos.

Of course this surmise as to Hierôn's purpose is like all other such surmises, even in contemporary writers. It proves very little as to actual fact; it proves a great deal as to general belief. Polyzêlos is conceived as at least suspecting his brother; it is for that reason that he declines the command. Hierôn on this treats his brother as an open enemy (τοῦ δὲ Πολυζήλου πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντος διὰ τὴν ῥηθείσαν ὑποψίαν, δι' ὁργῆς εἶχε τὸν ἀδελφόν). Polyzêlos then flees to Thêrôn, and Hierôn declares war against Thêrôn, evidently on the ground of his sheltering his rebel, and makes preparations for war (φυγόντα πρὸς Θήρωνα τὸν Ἀκραγαντίνων τύραννον καταπολεμήσαι τοῦτον παρεσκευάζετο). Here there would seem to be a gap; at least Diodôros mentions only preparations for war, while, in other versions, as we shall see, though there is no actual fighting, there is at least a march and a mediation. Hierôn is presently described as wishing to settle matters peacefully with Thêrôn (ὁ δὲ Ἱέρων κρίνας εἰρηνικῶς διαλύσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Θήρωνα), and as using the affair of Himera as a means thereto. The oppression of Thrasydaïos at Himera is described (Θρασυδαίου . . . ἐπιστατοῦντος τῆς τῶν Ἱμεραίων πόλεως βαρύτερον τοῦ καθήκοντος, συνέβη τοὺς Ἱμεραίους ἀπαλλοτριωθῆναι παντελῶς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ). The people of Himera, instead of applying to Thêrôn (πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸν πατέρα πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἀπεδοκίμαζον, νομίζοντες οὐχ ἔξιν ἴσον ἀκουστήν),

offer to make a *deditio* to Hierôn (ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τήν τε πόλιν ἐκείνῳ παραδῶσιν καὶ συνεπιθήσεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Θήρωνα). Hierôn betrays them to Thêrôn (προῖδωκε τοὺς Ἱμεραίους καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα λαθραίως ἐμήνυσε). Thêrôn, finding the story told him by Hierôn to be true, makes peace with Hierôn, the restoration of Polyzêlos being seemingly the condition (πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἱέρωνα διελύσατο καὶ τὸν Πολύζηλον εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν εὖνοιαν ἀποκατέστησε). He then does his massacre at Himera (τῶν δὲ Ἱμεραίων τοὺς ἐναντίους πολλοὺς ὄντας συλλαβὼν ἀποσφάζει).

This is our one narrative strictly so called. The scholiasts on Pindar have preserved a great number of other versions. Among them is one which professes to be an extract from Timaios, which, as Diodôros no doubt had Timaios before him, it is well to compare with his account, though we cannot feel at all certain that we have Timaios' real words. The extract is brought in very oddly and at secondhand. The passage in the text is Ol. ii. 29 (15);

. . . τῶν δὲ πεπραγμένων
 ἐν δίκῃ τε καὶ παρὰ δίκαν ἀποίητον οὐδ' ἂν
 χρόνος ὁ πάντων πατὴρ δύναιτο θέμεν ἔργων τέλος,
 λάθα δὲ πύτμῃ σὺν εὐδαίμονι γένοιτ' ἂν.

Then the question is raised, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν εὐξάμενος τῷ Θήρῳ τὰ κάλλιστα κατάπανσιν τῶν πραχθέντων δεινῶν αἰτεῖται τὸν Δία. Aristarchos, it seems, referred it to the original migration of Thêrôn's forefathers from Rhodes (see p. 144); ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος [the elder Alexandrian grammarian of the name] τὸ ἀκριβέστερον τῆς ἱστορίας ἐκτίθεται μάρτυρα Τίμαιον τὸν συντάξαντα τὰ περὶ τῆς Συκελίας προσφερόμενος. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία οὕτως ἔχει. If the scholiast has rightly copied Didymos, and if Didymos has rightly copied Timaios (Fr. 90, Müller, i. 214), Diodôros must have departed a good deal from his account, perhaps in the direction of Philistos or any other. Hierôn makes use of the Sybarite war to get his brother out of the way, but seemingly not to kill him (λαμπρῷ αὐτῷ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ τυγχάνοντι κατὰ τὴν Συκελίαν Ἱέρων φθονήσας ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ πρόφασιν σκεψάμενος τὸν πρὸς Συβαρίτας πόλεμον, ἀπελαύνει τῆς πατρίδος). But, unlike the account in Diodôros, Polyzêlos, instead of declining the command, wins great distinction in it (ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον κατώρθωσε τὸν πόλεμον ὁ Πολύζηλος). On this Hierôn hates him the more, and openly charges him with plotting a revolution (ὁ δὲ μὴ φέρων, γυμνότερον αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν ἐπεύρατο νεωτερισμοῦ). Thêrôn then declares war

against Hierôn; the armies meet by the river Gelas, which implies an invasion on the part of Thêrôn. But Simônidês reconciles the two tyrants before they come to blows;

Καὶ οὕτω τὸν Θήρωνα, ὑπεραγανακτήσαντα θυγατρὸς ἅμα καὶ γαμβροῦ, συρρῆξαι πρὸς Ἰέρωνα πόλεμον παρὰ Γέλλα τῷ Σικελιωτικῷ ποταμῷ, οὗ Καλλίμαχος μέμνηται;

οἱ δὲ Γέλα ποταμῷ κεφαλῇ ἐπικείμενον ἄστν

μή γε μὴν εἰς βλάβην, μηδὲ εἰς τέλος προχωρῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον. φασὶ γὰρ τότε Σιμωνίδην τὸν λυρικὸν περιτυχόντα διαλύσαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τὴν ἔχθραν. Nothing is said about Himera.

It is quite inconceivable that we have here the words of Timaios, though we may have his facts; and anyhow those facts are different from those in Diodôros. One would specially like to know whether Timaios spoke of Thêrôn as *king*, a name not given to him by Diodôros or Pindar. Besides βασιλεῦσι just above, he is called Θήρων ὁ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων βασιλεὺς.

In another version, also preserved by the scholiasts (Ol. ii. 29), Polyzêlos is sent, not against Greeks in Italy, but against Sikels at home (πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰέρωνος πολεμῆσαι τοῖς περιοίκοις Σικελιώταις—he must mean Σικελοῖς—βαρβάρους). He offends Hierôn by making peace without his consent (ἔπαυσε τὸν πόλεμον χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ Ἰέρωνος γνώμης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ὑφοράσει ἦν). Then comes a very strange tale, in which we seem to see some lurking traces of the story about Himera as told by Diodôros. Thrasydaïos persuades Polyzêlos to attack Hierôn. Then Hierôn designs a general vengeance (ἔκρινεν αἰρήσειν τὴν Ἀκράγαντα καὶ Θήρωνα καὶ Θρασυδαῖον). Simônidês reconciles them in a not very intelligible way, and with a clearly corrupt text (μελλόντων δὲ τῶν φίλων ἔπεμπε Σιμωνίδης ὁ λυρικὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν συμβουλευόντων, ἐκταράξει μᾶλλον βουλόμενος τῷ μηνύειν τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτῷ προδοσίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς προδιδόντας). Here is surely some confusion with the betrayal (προὔδωκε) of the Himeraians in Diodôros. But what follows is yet stranger. Thêrôn seemingly gives up his tyranny and takes it back as something like a fief from Hierôn (ὁ δὲ εὐλαβηθεὶς ἐξεχώρησε τῶν πραγμάτων τῷ Ἰέρωνι, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέλαβεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τυραννίδα). Then follows the marriage of Hierôn with Thêrôn's sister, that is, with his niece.

Another scholiast has a version almost too foolish to examine in detail. Polyzêlos succeeds Gelôn in the kingdom (βασιλεία).

Hierôn envies him, and somehow, king as he is, sends him to the Sybarite war. In that he succeeds and gains glory. Hierôn conspires against him (οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι καὶ γένοιτο, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπειράτο νεωτερίζειν). Thêrôn makes war on Hierôn; Simônidês reconciles them, and Hierôn marries Thêrôn's sister.

There is another question whether all these stories stand in any relation to another set of stories which are found in the scholiasts on Pindar in another place, namely Ol. ii. 173 (95). There the poet, having praised the bounty of Thêrôn, goes on to imply that he had enemies;

ἀλλ' αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος
οὐ δίκᾳ συναντόμενος, ἀλλὰ μάργων ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν,
τὸ λαλαγῆσαι θέλων κρύφον τε θέμεν ἐσθλῶν καλοῖς
ἔργοις.

So they set to work to explain the allusion. Thêrôn, it seems (see pp. 147, 238), had enemies in his own house, Kapys and Hippokratês. In one version they seem to have something to do with the quarrel between Thêrôn and Hierôn. The date of the ode is said to be τοῦ Θήρωνος πολεμουίντος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἱέρωνα κηδείαν. This, however oddly put, must mean the war which we have just been discussing. We then hear of certain friends of Thêrôn who betrayed him to Hierôn (τὸ δὲ χαριστικὸν, φησὶ, τοῦ Θήρωνος ἐπέβησε πολλοὺς εἰς ὕβριν δηλονότι αὐτοὺς προηγάγετο, ἐπεὶ οἱ προδιδόντες αὐτὸν Ἱέρωνι φίλοι ἦσαν). It is not quite clear whether Kapys is meant to be reckoned among them, but it is said directly after that he made war on Thêrôn because he could not endure his glory (δύναται δὲ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Κάπυν τείνειν, οἱ ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτῷ μὴ ὑπομένοντες αὐτὸν ὀρᾶν οὕτω λαμπρὸν ὄντα). It is not easy to make much out of this; and there is another scholion in the same page which refers the κόρος simply to the quarrel between Thêrôn and Hierôn. Another scholion contains what is at least an intelligible story, which is something. Kapys and Hippokratês levy war against Thêrôn, and he defeats them in a battle near Himera (Κάπυς καὶ Ἱπποκράτης Θήρωνος ἦσαν ἀνεψιοί. οὗτοι πολλὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εὐεργετηθέντες, ὡς ἑώρων ἡῤῥημένην αὐτοῦ τὴν τυραννίδα, φθονοῦντες πόλεμον ἤραντο πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς παρὰ Ἱμέραν ἐνίκησε). This suggests all manner of things. Did the malecontents join the Carthaginians? Did they mix themselves up with the movement against Thrasydaïos at Himera? Bunbury (Dict. Geog., Theron) understands the story of a separate revolt of

Kapys and Hippokratês earlier in the reign of Thêrôn, and a defeat by the river Himeras. One guess is quite as easy as another, and not more unlikely.

I must confess to putting exceedingly little faith in these scholiasts, except when they quote the exact words of some earlier writer. They remind one of a certain old-fashioned class of commentators on the Old Testament, who used to think they had explained a difficulty, if they put forward any guess of their own, ushered in with the formula "It is supposed." It is not likely that they absolutely invented their stories, but they so mangled and confused them that it is impossible to make anything out of them. I do not profess to know exactly what happened between Thêrôn and Hierôn; but it would not be very violent to put the march of Thêrôn and the mediation of Simonidês into the narrative of Diodôros, and to suppose that the betrayal of Himera by Hierôn to Thêrôn was part of the terms of peace. There is no reason to doubt the marriage of Hierôn with Thêrôn's niece, and it might be worth while thinking whether there may not be some truth in the alleged homage of Thêrôn to Hierôn.

After all these stories it is wonderful to read Ælian's picture of Hierôn, V. H. ix. 1; *ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνδρείοτατος, ἀβασανίστως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συνεβίωσε τρισὶν οὔσι πάνν σφόδρα ἀγαπήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν φιληθεὶς ἐν μέρει.*

NOTE XXIV. p. 265.

BACCHYLIDÊS AND THE ENEMIES OF PINDAR.

It is not at all my business to go minutely into Pindaric questions, except when they directly concern Sicilian history. And it would be endless to discuss all the guesses, either of ancient scholiasts or of modern scholars. And, unless a saying has very clearly to do with some of the persons of my story, I am not bound to add to the number of guesses.

In the second Pythian ode, addressed to Hierôn, we read (77 or 131);

*μαθὼν καλὸς τοι πίθων παρὰ παισὶν αἰεὶ
καλός.*

In the second Olympic ode, addressed to Thêrôn, we read (86 or 155);

σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φνῆ· μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι
παγγλωσίῃ, κόρακες ὥς, ἀκραντα γαρεύετον
Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον.

Again in the third Nemean, an ode altogether Aiginetan and containing no reference to Sicily, after a reference to the αἰετὸς ὠκύς ἐν ποτανοῖς, come (82 or 143) the words κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται.

In all these passages the scholiasts tell us to see Bacchylidês. If so, Bacchylidês must have persecuted Pindar all over the world. He troubles him, not only (as is likely enough) at the court of Thêrôn as well as that of Hierôn, but also somewhere where it concerned a man of Aigina. I had long thought that the two crows in the Olympic ode (γαρεύετον in the dual) were Kapys and Hippokratês (see the last note); and I see that Mezger (Siegeslieder, 165-167), without distinctly saying this, will hear nothing of Bacchylidês, and makes a great deal in the ode refer to those two. I can hardly believe that the two crows in an Akragantine ode can be the Syracusans *Korax* and *Tisias* (see pp. 286, 329, and Appendix XXXI). And it is almost too subtle to see in the word *κραγέτας*—certainly not a common, perhaps an unique, word—in the Aiginetan ode a dark reference to the name *Ἀκράγας*. If so, the eagle just above must be the eagle on the Akragantine coins. I had thought that the ὄρνις θεῖος of the Akragantine ode might be Thêrôn himself with this distinctly Akragantine allusion. But it would rather seem that the eagle and the crows or daws are a standing parable which may be used anywhere. It was not only at Akragas or Aigina or any other one place that

“Once the jays sent a message
Unto the eagle’s nest.”

NOTE XXV. p. 268.

LOCAL SIKELIOT GAMES.

WE see that, while Hierôn himself (see p. 270) did not scorn to be magnified in song for prizes won in the lesser games of Old Greece, candidates from Old Greece came to local Sicilian games.

In the long list of places where the Corinthian Xenophôn had won prizes, Pindar (Ol. xiii. 111 or 156) mentions

ταί θ' ἐπ' Αἴτνας ἱφιλόφου καλλιπλοῦτοι
πόλεις.

Here one scholiast says ; πόλεις δὲ λέγει τὰς Συρακούσας . . . Ἰσθμία γὰρ καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς τελεῖται, ἃ καὶ ἐνίκησε Ξενοφῶν. Another adds ; ἐπ' Αἴτνας τῆς Σικελίας πόλιν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἄγεται ἄγων Νέμεα καλούμενος. They use the present tense, as if the games still went on in their own day ; but that may be only a figure of speech. It is plain that Pindar's words, though they doubtless take in Syracuse and the Isthmia, cannot possibly mean them exclusively or specially. The reference is most specially to Ætna, Hierôn's Ætna, and her Nemea. Why Hierôn should have founded Nemea is not so clear as why there should be Isthmia at Syracuse ; but no one else could be their founder. Now the ode is fixed by Bergk to the year 464 B.C. Hierôn was then dead, and his dynasty at Syracuse was overthrown. Our chronology just then is so confused that we can hardly say whether in that year the Hieronian Ætna was still at Katanê or whether it had been already moved to Inëssa (see p. 322). But it is likely that all Hieronian rites would go on in the new Ætna, though one would doubt their being of importance enough to tempt candidates from Corinth. The reference is more likely to be to a victory won at Ætna in Hierôn's own day. There it would suit Hierôn's purpose to get together all the company that he could from all parts of Greece, and from Corinth above all.

Quite another side of this Xenophôn, and of Pindar too, will be found in the skolion preserved by Athênaios, xiii. 33 (Bergk, i. 419). One is driven to confess that Ashtoreth had set up her throne on Akrokorinthos as well as on Eryx.

NOTE XXVI. p. 269.

XENOKRATÊS SON OF AINÊSIDAMOS.

XENOKRATÊS, there can be no reasonable doubt, was the son of Ainêsidamos and brother of Thêrôn. The way in which the scholiasts speak of him shows how much there is of confusion and guesswork both in themselves and in the writers whom they quote. Thus the scholiasts on the second Isthmian (Abel, p. 379) ode tell us ;

τὸν δὲ Ξενοκράτην τοῦτον οἱ μὲν προὔπομνηματισάμενοι Θήρωνος ἀδελφὸν εἶναι φασιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρτέμων σφόδρα τοὺς περὶ τοὺς Σικελιώτας πεπολυπραγμονηκὼς αὐτὸν μόνον συγγενὴ φησὶν εἶναι Θήρωνος.

That he was an Emmenid appears from Pyth. vi. 5 ;

. . . ὀλβίοισιν Ἑμμενίδαῖς
ποταμίᾳ τ' Ἀκράγαντι καὶ μὲν Ξενοκράτει.

That he was son of Ainêsidamos and brother of Thêrôn appears from Isth. ii. 28 or 41 ;

. . . ἦν' ἀθανάτοισι Αἰνησιδάμου
παῖδες ἐν τιμαῖς ἐμυχθεν.

and again from Ol. ii. 49 or 89 where Thêrôn is congratulated on his Olympic victory, and there immediately follows,

. . . Πυθῶνι δ' ὁμόκλαρον ἐς ἀδελφεόν
Ἴσθμοί τε κοινὰ Χάριτες ἀνθεα τεθρίππων δυωδεκαδρόμων
ἄγαγον.

Here there is a clear reference to the subjects of the two odes to Xenokratês, Pythian and Isthmian.

The scholiasts are yet more puzzled as to the kindred between Xenokratês and Thrasyboulos, who is clearly his son ;

ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος ἀδελφὸν ὑπέιληφε τοῦ Ξενοκράτους εἶναι τὸν Θρασύβουλον, ἔνιοι δὲ υἱὸν Ξενοκράτους . . . βέλτιον δὲ ἀδελφὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ξενοκράτους ἢ υἱὸν τὸν Θρασύβουλον, οὐχ ὥς τινες πατέρα.

Yet it is plain from Pyth. vi. 28-36 that Thrasyboulos had done something for Xenokratês which could be likened to Antilochos defending Nestôr ; and that is pretty much the same as saying that he was his son.

One scholiast further describes this Thrasyboulos (distinguishing him from the son of Deinomenês) as ὁ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Ἰέρωνος ἀδελφὸς, οὗ νῦν μνημονεύει Πίνδαρος. That is, the kinswoman of Thêrôn who was given to Hierôn after their reconciliation (see pp. 236, 239) was not Thêrôn's own sister, but a daughter of Xenokratês and sister of Thrasyboulos.

There is a good deal that is remarkable, something that is puzzling, in both the odes which bear the name of Xenokratês. Both are directly addressed, not to him, but to his son Thrasyboulos. There is very little of local colouring, very little that is Akragantine, even in the Pythian ode, and still less in the Isthmian. Less is made of the Emmenid house than we might have looked for,

and there is only the faintest reference to Thêrôn personally as a kinsman. There is nothing wonderful in any of these things as regards the Isthmian ode, written when Xenokratês and Thêrôn were both dead. And when the Pythian ode was written, Thêrôn had not yet risen to power. Both odes are short, and, especially the Isthmian, remarkably affectionate in tone. These two things may have something to do with one another. A short poem written really in earnest may have been more prized by some minds than a long story about mythical forefathers. The real question is why Thrasyboulos, and not Xenokratês himself, is addressed in the Pythian ode.

That ode is assigned to the year B.C. 494. That was the year of Xenokratês' Pythian victory in the chariot-race. The victory was also celebrated in an ode by Simônîdês. So witnesses the scholiast on the ode; οὗτος ὁ Ξενοκράτης οὐ μόνον Ἴσθμια νενίκηκεν ἴπποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πύθια τὴν εἰκοστὴν τεταρτὴν Πυθιάδα, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἀναγράφει· καὶ Σιμωνίδης δὲ ἐπαινῶν ἀμφοτέρας αὐτοῦ τὰς νίκας κατατάσσει. And the victories of Xenokratês, Isthmian and Pythian, are further referred to in the passage already quoted (Ol. ii. 49 or 89 and the scholia). This is of course an earlier Isthmian victory, not that commemorated in the second Isthmian. According to Bergk (iii. 90), this ode of Simônîdês was not strictly an *epinikion*, but a poem written to Xenokratês long after, when the poet was in Sicily. Mr. Lloyd, on the other hand (257), sees a reference to the ode of Simônîdês in the opening lines of Pindar, and holds that that ode was strictly the *epinikion*, and that Pindar wrote his some time after, when Thêrôn was already tyrant, and so addressed it to Thrasyboulos. I see no evidence for this. The Emmenids were a great family before Thêrôn was tyrant—Xenokratês' victory is of itself enough to prove it—and the reference to Thêrôn personally is very slight (44);

. . . Θρασύβουλος
πατρίαν μάλιστα πρὸς στάθμαν ἔβα,
πάτρῳ τ' ἐπερχόμενος ἀγλαΐαν ἔδειξεν.

Nor can I see in the mention of Memnôn, either here or in the second Olympic ode, any reference to the battle of Himera, or thereby any sign that the poem was written after B. C. 480.

What it was that Thrasyboulos did for his father I do not profess to know (see Lloyd, 260; Mezger, 176). Perhaps he drove the chariot. We cannot infer that, because Nikomachos was the charioteer of

Xenokratês in B. C. 476 (Isth. ii. 22 or 35), he therefore held that place in 494. But one would think from the reference to Nestôr and Antilochos that Thrasyboulos had saved his father from some more special danger.

The second Isthmian records a victory of Xenokratês with the chariot in B.C. 476. Between the Pythian ode and this must have come the earlier Isthmian victory, and one at Athens (v. 19 or 28);

καὶ τόθι κλειναῖς τ' Ἐρεχθεῖδαν χαρίτεσσιν ἀραρῶς
ταῖς λιπαραῖς ἐν Ἀθάναις οὐκ ἐμέμφθη.

Now comes the mention of Nikomachos, whom the scholiast infers to have been an Athenian.

The scholiast at the beginning of the ode quotes from Kallistratos an absurd story that Pindar addressed the ode, not to Xenokratês but to his son Thrasyboulos, because Xenokratês did not pay him highly enough. But he mentions also the more reasonable belief of Asklepiadês that it was because Xenokratês was dead.

ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιάδης κατεικοβολεῖ λέγων ἐπὶ τετελευτηκότῃ τῷ Ξενοκράτει τοὺς λόγους εἶναι, ἐκ τοῦ πολλὰ ἐν τῇ ᾠδῇ ἐπὶ παρωχημένου χρόνου λέγεσθαι, λεχθισόμενα ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, εἴπερ περιῖν ἔτι. Καλλίστρατος δέ φησι τὸν Πίνδαρον μὴ τυχόντα τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν μισθοῦ διὰ τινὰ μικρολογίαν τοῦ Ξενοκράτους, προσδιαλέγεσθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ νύμφῃ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ εἰς Ξενοκράτην, φησὶ, γέγραφε τὴν ᾠδὴν, ἀλλ' εἰς Θρασύβουλον· καὶ γὰρ ἡ εἰσβολὴ περὶ ἀργυρίου μέμφεώς ἐστιν ὡς θέλοντος αὐτοῦ τὸν κατ' ἀξίαν μισθὸν κομίσασθαι.

Nothing can be plainer than that Xenokratês was dead when the ode was written. His merits are all spoken of in the past tense (see p. 269). As far as this goes, Xenokratês might have died very soon after his victory in B.C. 476, before Pindar had had time to write an *epinikion*. But I certainly think (see Lloyd, 355; Mezger, 185) that the whole tone of the ode shows that it was written a few years later, after the overthrow of the Emmenid power, that is, not earlier than B.C. 472. It is not so much any particular words that suggest this thought as the general tone, and the absence of any such references as would be looked for in a poem addressed to one whose family was still in power. The lines near the end become much more intelligible on this view;

μή νύν, ὅτι φθονεραὶ θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμονται ἐλπίδες,
μήτ' ἀρετὰν ποτε σιγάτω πατρώων
μηδὲ τοῦσδ' ὕμνους.

And the opening lines, so oddly misunderstood by Kallistratos, seem to mean that, as the Muse was once not mercenary, so now she shall cease to be mercenary. Pindar will sing the praises of a fallen house as willingly as those of a ruling one.

Still we do not understand why Pindar should have so long delayed writing the ode. And the words at the end,

. . . ἐπεὶ τοι
οὐκ ἐλινύσοντας αὐτοὺς [ὑμνοὺς] ἐίργασάμαν,

do not make it clearer. The tone towards Thrasyboulos, *ξείνον ἐμὸν ἡθαῖον*, is singularly affectionate. Then the words near the beginning,

ὅστις ἐὼν καλὸς εἶχεν Ἀφροδίτας
εὐθρόνου μνάστειραν ἀδίσταν ὄψωραν,

would most naturally apply to the youthful beauty of Thrasyboulos. But here we are in the year 472, and, twenty-two years before, Thrasyboulos, though young, was not a mere child. It may be therefore that the saying is general, without any personal reference, both here and in the opening words of the second Pythian.

Lastly, one would like to know whither Nikasippos, at the end of the second Isthmian, was to take the ode to Thrasyboulos. As Mr. Lloyd says, Thrasyboulos need not have been at Akragas. After the fall of his house, he most likely was somewhere else. The only local allusion in the ode is when (17 or 25) Xenokrates is called *εὐάρματος ἀνὴρ γεραίρων Ἀκραγαντίνων φάος*.

There is also a skolion of Pindar (Bergk, i. 422) addressed to Thrasyboulos, but it contains nothing local, unless we make something out of the *ᾄχημα* (see p. 276). It suggests that Thrasyboulos had no dislike to good cheer.

NOTE XXVII. p. 270.

THE PINDARIC ODES ADDRESSED TO HIERÔN.

THE dates of the Hieronian odes, or at any rate the order in which they were written, seem now to be fairly settled. The earliest is that which goes by the name of the second Pythian, though the one thing certain about it is that it is not Pythian. The

scholiast at the beginning quotes a great number of opinions, showing that nothing was really known. Modern scholars incline to the belief that the ode, undoubtedly, as the first few verses show, sent from Thebes (*τῶν λιπαρῶν ἀπὸ Θηβῶν*), commemorated a victory won in Theban games. To the belief of Boeckh and others (see Mezger, 49), that the games were those of Hēraklēs and Iolaos, Mr. Lloyd (278) objects that the ode contains nothing about those heroes. Much might have been said of them at Agyrium, but a man of Agyrium would as yet have found no welcome in any Hellenic festival. In v. 69 or 127 the ode itself which is to cross the sea from Thebes to Syracuse is called *Καστόρειον*. On this the commentators have a good deal to say, but nothing that points to any games bearing that name.

The date, it seems universally allowed, must be B.C. 477 or 476. This is shown by one very important historical allusion, namely to the deliverance of Lokroi by Hierôn. It is in this ode that we get the picture of the Lokrian maiden singing his praises (see p. 234). Less obvious references have been found to the affair of Thêrôn and Polyzêlos. Polyzêlos is even said (Lloyd, 281, 282) to be the Ixiôn of the ode, and his marriage with Damareta at the bidding of Gelôn is supposed to be hinted at in the reference (v. 27 or 50) to passages with regard to Hêra of which Zeus certainly did not equally approve. If there is anything in my guess as to a possible connexion with the story of Themistoklēs, we cannot place it before 476 as an Olympic year.

As to its contents, I have already spoken a word or two on some points, the reference to the ape among them. Far more interesting is the reference to the three forms of government (v. 86 or 159);

ἐν πάντα δὲ νόμον εὐθύγλωσσος ἀνὴρ προσφέρει
παρὰ τυραννίδι, χῶπύταν ὁ λάβρος στρατὸς,
χῶταν πόλιν οἱ σοφοὶ τηρέωντι.

The Boiotian's sympathies are clearly on the side of oligarchy.

Of the local allusions I have already said something. The same scholiast who (see above, p. 505) calls Ortygia *Chersonêsos* explains that ἐν τῇ Ὀρτυγίᾳ ἦν τὰ ἵπποτροφέα Ἰέρωνος. The colts, it must be remembered, were broken in by the help of our Artemis of the Island (v. 7 or 10);

ποταμίας ἔδος Ἀρτέμιδος, ἃς οὐκ ἄτερ
κείνας ἀγαναῖσιν ἐν χερσὶ ποιικιλανίους ἐδάμασσε πῶλους.

Next comes the so-called third Pythian ode. This is really Pythian, so far as it refers to a Pythian victory; but that victory was won (Mezger, 68) long before the date of the poem, when Hierôn was not yet tyrant. The date is fixed to some time later than B.C. 476 by the words *Αἰτναῖος ξένος* in v. 69 (121), and it is more definitely fixed by Mr. Bury, Appendix C., to July or August 474. But the victory was one of old standing (*στεφάνους τοὺς ἀριστεύων Φερένικος ἔλεν Κίρρυ ποτέ*, v. 74 or 131), fixed to B.C. 486 or 481. The former, when Hierôn was still of Gela, seems unlikely.

The so-called first Pythian, the great ode to Hierôn of Ætna, now follows with the date of 474. The earthquake and the foundation of Ætna fix the time. Here we get the kingship of Deinomenês, the reference to the fights of Himera and Kymê, and the earliest witness (see above, p. 451) to the brazen bull of Phalaris. The supposed foundation of the new city and the victory in the Pythian race are strongly brought together in the lines (29 or 56) which follow the description of Typhôs and Ætna;

εἴη, Ζεῦ, τὴν εἴη ἀνδάνειν,
 ὃς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, εὐκάρποιο γαίης μέτωπον τοῦ μὲν ἐπονυμῖαν
 κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ ἐκύδανε πόλιν
 γέιτονα, Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳ κάρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγγέλλων Ἰέρανος ὑπὲρ
 καλλινίκου
 ἄρμασι.

Hierôn enjoys (v. 48 or 94)

. . . τιμὰν
 οἶαν οὔτις Ἑλλάναν δρέπει
 πλούτου στεφάνωμ' ἀγέρωχον.

And the poet prays for his success in all things (v. 56 or 109);

οὕτω δ' Ἰέρανι θεὸς ὀρθωτὴρ πέλοι
 τὸν προσέρποντα χρόνον, ᾧν ἔραται καιρὸν διδούς.

Pindar seems to have come to Sicily between the writing of the first Pythian and that of the first Olympic. Holm (i. 420) is inclined to fix his coming to some time before the eruption of 475, because he thinks that his language is that of one who saw it. But Mr. Bury argues that the words quoted above from the third Pythian (*καὶ κεν ἐν ναυσίν*), implying that he was not there when that ode was written, show that he did not come till 474 at the earliest. But he was there to celebrate, in the so-called first Olympic ode, the victory of the horse Pherenikos at Olympia in 472. As Mr.

Bury says, personal presence is implied in the words near the beginning ;

ἐς ἀφνεὶν ἱκομένους
μάκαιραν Ἰέρανος ἐστίαν·

and again soon after ;

οἶα παίζομεν φίλαν
ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν.

The length of Pindar's stay in Sicily seems uncertain. (See Mr. Bury's Appendix.) He can hardly have been there when he wrote the ninth Nemean to Thrasyboulos (see above, p. 535) ; but we know not how soon the ode followed on the fall of the Emmenids.

More interesting than the exact dates is the question which naturally arises when we compare the praises heaped on Hierôn by Pindar with the known character of his government. It is strange to turn from the picture of the cruel and suspicious tyrant which had been handed down to Xenophôn and to Diodôros, to the opposite picture of the king, not only gracious and bountiful to strangers, but mild to his citizens and who envied not the good. So he appears in Pyth. iii. 70 (124) ;

ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεὺς
πραῖς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ξείνοισι δὲ θανμαστὸς πατήρ.

This last he doubtless was ; it was his calling and interest to be so. The question is as to the poet's frame of mind when he wrote the other part of the character, or again when he wrote (Ol. i. 12 or 19) of Hierôn as one

θεμστεῖον δὲ ἀμφέπει σκᾶπτον ἐν πολυμάλῳ
Σικελίᾳ, δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν ἀπὸ πασάν·

or again the lines in the ode to Agêsias, quoted in p. 501, which were found stamped on a brick at Syracuse, perhaps by Hierôn's own order. (See Bergk's note.)

Now was all this simple flattery paid for by the tyrant's money ? Did Pindar not care how Hierôn dealt with the people of Syracuse as long as he was a " wonderful father " to the poets who sang his praises ? Or are we to suppose that the poet put on indeed the guise of a flatterer, that he uttered words which he knew to be literally false, but that he did it in order to put in an occasional word of warning ? Some passages certainly have this kind of sound. If one were as clever as some of the commentators, one might even see in the

phrase *δρέπων κορυφὰς ἀρετῶν ἀπὸ πασῶν* a hidden reference to that form of the craft of the tyrant which consisted in striking off the tallest poppies or ears of corn. But without going so deep as this, there surely are passages in which one seems to hear the note of warning. Towards the end of the same ode Hierôn and his kingship are lifted to the highest place on earth (Ol. i. 113 or 181);

ἐπ' ἄλλοις δ' ἄλλοι μεγάλοι, τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται
 βασιλεῦσι· μηκέτι πάπταινε πόρσιον.

Surely the tyrant is here gently warned against some ambitious scheme. And the same note may seem to be heard in the third Pythian (21 or 36);

ἔστι δὲ φύλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ματαιότατον,
 ὅστις αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια, παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω,
 μεταμάνια θηρεύων ἀκράντοις ἐλπίσιν.

The whole latter part of the first Pythian ode is a sermon of advice to a ruler, which might have been professedly meant rather for the young Deinomenês than his father, but in which one cannot but feel throughout that the father is glanced at. Elementary precepts of truth and justice, warnings not to listen to deceivers, all winding up with the famous exhortation to make Crœsus and not Phalaris the model, certainly suggest that Pindar knew that there was something not as it should have been in Hierôn's rule. To carry on the examination further belongs rather to special students of Pindar. The historian of Sicily can describe only the Hierôn of history. But he will be well pleased to let off a great poet as easily as he can. "Can it be necessary," asks Mr. Lloyd in commenting on the first Olympic, "to refute categorically the notion that the German critics propound that Pindar glances here at Hiero's misdeeds of political violence?" I do not undertake to "refute" the other notion "categorically," but I certainly have, in this matter, a fellow-feeling with "the German critics."

A point specially to be noticed is the way in which the kingly style of Hierôn seems gradually to grow upon the poet. In the earliest ode, the second Pythian, Hierôn is not directly called king, though he is by implication classed among kings (v. 13 or 24);

ἄλλοις δὲ τις ἐτέλεσσεν ἄλλος ἀνὴρ
 εὐαχέα βασιλεῦσιν ὕμνον, ἅποιν' ἀρετᾶς.

The title by which he is directly addressed is purely colourless (v. 58 or 106). His wealth is the thing specially enlarged on;

. . . τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ σὺν τύχῃ πότμου σοφίας ἄριστον.
 τὸ δὲ σάφα νιν ἔχεις, ἐλευθέρα φρενὶ πεπαρεῖν
 πρύτανι κύριε πολλῶν μὲν εὐστεφάνων ἀγνιῶν καὶ στρατοῦ. εἰ δὲ τις
 ἤδη κτεάτεσσι τε καὶ περὶ τιμῇ λέγει
 ἕτερόν τιν' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα τῶν πάροιθε γενέσθαι ὑπέρτερον,
 χαύνῃ παρπίδι παλαιμονεῖ κενεά.

I have already remarked that, in the piece about the three forms of government, *τυραννίς* is used in a quite colourless way, as the equivalent of Aristotle's *βασιλεία*.

In the third Pythian there is an advance. The title of *βασιλεύς* is here distinctly given to Hierôn in that passage of special flattery to the sick tyrant of which we have already spoken more than once. The poet, who has not yet visited Sicily in person, makes his wish;

καί κεν ἐν ναυσὶν μόλον Ἰονίαν τέμνων θάλασσαν
 Ἀρέθουσαν ἐπὶ κρᾶναν παρ' Αἰτναῖον ξένον,
 ὅς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεὺς
 πρᾶυς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ξείνοις τε θαυμαστὸς πατήρ.

Not long after comes the line which shows that he did not shrink from the other name (84 or 150);

τὴν δὲ μοῖρ' εὐδαιμονίας ἔπεται.
 λαγέταν γάρ τοι τύραννον δέρεται,
 εἴ τιν' ἀνθρώπων σ' ὁ μέγας πότμος.

In the first Pythian, the Ætnæan ode, the kingship of Hierôn seems to pale before that of his son. It is distinctly *Deinomenês* and not Hierôn who is called (58 or 111) king of Ætna (see above, p. 245);

Μοῖσα, καὶ παρ Δεινομένει κελαδῆσαι
 πίθεό μοι ποινὰν τεθρίππων· χάρμα δ' οὐκ ἀλλότρινον νικαφορία πατέρος·
 ἀγ' ἔπειτ' Αἷτνας βασιλεῖ φίλιον ἐξεύρωμεν ὕμνον.

Then comes the wish for the constitutional ruler;

τῷ πόλιν κείναν θεοδμάτῳ σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ
 Ἑλλίδος στάθμας Ἱέρων ἐν νόμοις ἐκτίσσε· θέλοντι δὲ Παμφύλου
 καὶ μὲν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἔκγονοι
 ὄχθαις ὑπὸ Ταῦγέτου ναίοντες αἰεὶ μένειν τεθμοῖσιν ἐν Αἰγιμοῦ
 Δωριεῖς.

Hierôn himself, Hierôn of Ætna, is simply (v. 73 or 141) *Συρακοσίῳ ἀρχός*.

In the last of all, the first Olympic, where Hierôn, Hierôn of Syracuse, is the one subject, his kingship comes up again. He

is (23 or 35) the Συρακόσιος ἵπποχάρμας βασιλεύς, and near the end come the words already quoted, where kingship is placed above all things, τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφούται βασιλεύσιν.

The real oppressiveness of Hierôn's government led to a strange legendary exaggeration to which I have referred in p. 236. According to the author of the Προλεγόμενα τῆς Ἑρμογένους Ῥητορικῆς, c. 6 (Walz. Rhet. Græc. iv. 11), Hierôn went wonderful lengths in oppression, and with remarkable results; λέγεται ὅτι τοσοῦτον ὠμότητι ἐχρήσατο κατ' αὐτῶν ὥστε προστάξαι τοῖς Συρακουσίοις μηδὲ φθέγγεσθαι τὸ παράπαν· ἀλλὰ διὰ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀμμάτων σημαίνειν τὰ πρόσφορα· καὶ ὧν ἂν τις ἐν χρειᾷ γένοιτο, ἔνθεν καὶ τὴν ὀρχηστικὴν λαβεῖν τὰς ἀρχάς· τῷ γὰρ ἀποκεκλείσθαι λόγου τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐμχανῶντο σχήματι δεικνύειν τὰ πράγματα. (The art is not wholly forgotten, though it flourishes still more at Naples.) This writer gives Hippokratēs two under-tyrants (παράδυναστεύοντες), Gelôn and Enaisimos—some confusion with Ainēsidamos, father of Thêrôn of Akragas. Enaisimos is a Rhodian (see p. 145, and vol. i. p. 431), and on Gelôn's death goes to Rhodes and is tyrant there; Gelôn stays and is king at Gela; ἔμεινε βασιλεύων ἐν τῇ Γέλᾳ τῇ πόλει. Then ἔρχεται ἐν τῇ Συρακούσῃ [mark the late singular form], ἔστι δὲ ἡ Συράκουσσα μητρόπολις τῆς Σικελίας, κακεῖ διέτριβε τυραννῶν. Hierôn was either his brother or his son.

This wild notion of forbidding to speak was plainly suggested by what Aristotle says about the way in which he spied out what men did speak. An intermediate form of the legend might be that some one cried out; "If things are to be like this, we had better not speak at all."

NOTE XXVIII. p. 283.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF EPICARMOS.

EPICARMOS and his writings form an endless subject, many sides of which have little to do with the history of Sicily. Some points however in his life cannot be passed by, and we are concerned to know whether he was a native of our island or not. Lorenz (Leben und Schriften des Koers Epicharmos) goes deeply into many matters, and Holm (G. S. i. 432) has brought together

a vast store of references. To two of Lorenz's fragments (260) I was somehow led fifty years back. One is in Marcus Cicero's Letters to Atticus, i. 19; "Ita tamen iis novis amicitiiis implicati sumus, ut crebro mihi vafer ille Siculus insusurret Epicharmus cantilenam illam suam,

νῆφε καὶ μέμνας' ἀπιστεῖν ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν."

The other was from his brother Quintus, De Petitione Consulatus, 10; "Quamobrem Ἐπίχαρμίον illud teneto; nervos atque artus esse sapientiæ non temere credere." After one's general experience of translators, one wishes to know what were the words of Quintus' original.

In the article in Hēsychios of Milētos, copied also by Souidas, which bears the name of Epicharmos he figures as the joint inventor of comedy with Phormos; εὔρε τὴν κωμωδίαν ἅμα Φόρμω. This is an expansion of Aristotle, Poet. 5; τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμος ἤρξαν· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε.

As to the birth-place of Epicharmos, the only thing to be said for Krastos (see vol. i. p. 120) is that it might come under the rule "Credo quia impossibile." Stephen of Byzantium says;

ἐκ ταύτης ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ κωμικὸς καὶ Λαῖς ἡ ἑταῖρα, ὡς Νεάνθης ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν ἔχει δὲ ἡ πόλις εὐπρεπεστάτας γυναικάς, ὡς Φιλήμων.

What should have put Krastos into the head of Neanthēs or of anybody else? Hēsychios also gives as an alternative birth-place, ἐκ Κραστοῦ πόλεως τῶν Σικανῶν. Both Stephen and Hēsychios are clear on this last head (how one longs to be able to verify the reference Φίλιστος Σικελικῶν τρισκαίδεκάτῳ); yet Lorenz (45), who will have none of Krastos, and whom all its beauties do not move, in the teeth of this evidence calls it "sikelisch." Yet, as Laïs, still however keeping in Sikan places, belongs to Hykkara rather than to Krastos, so, though there is a fair case for Krastos, it might be dangerous to withstand the strong evidence in favour of the version which brings the babe Epicharmos from Kōs to the Sicilian Megara. Diogenēs Laertios (viii. 3) says; *τριμηναῖος ὑπάρχων ἀπηνέχθη τῆς Σικελίας εἰς Μέγαρα, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς Συρακούσας.* So Aristotle (Poet. 3), after noticing the elder Megara (*Μεγαρεῖς οἱ ἐνταῦθα*) and its connexion with comedy, adds; *καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σικελίας, ἐκείθεν γὰρ ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ ποιητής.*

That a physician from Kōs should be an Asklepiad follows as a

matter of course. But Ptolemy Hêphaistion (Phôtios, 147) traced the pedigree of Epicharmos up to Achilles, who also on occasion showed some medical skill. And besides Elothalês there are other fathers to choose from.

Granting that Epicharmos or his father came from Kôs, the story in Hêsychios which makes them come with the ex-tyrant Kadmos (see p. 110) was doubtless a mere guess. Lorenz, after many pages, says wisely (62) "so fällt denn die ganz unglückliche Combination." Another of Hêsychios' stories gives a better approach to a date; *ἦν πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν ἔτη εἴξ διδάσκων ἐν Συρακούσαις*. That would be about B.C. 484.

The acrostic arrangement of Epicharmos' prose writings is witnessed by Diogenês Laertios, viii. 3; *καὶ παραστιχίδια ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ὑπομνημάτων πεποίηκεν οἷς διασαφεῖ ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἔασι τὰ συγγράμματα*. On the identity of the poet and the philosopher see Lorenz, 63.

We hardly recognize our comedian, philosopher, and physician, when the good Fazello (ii. 48) refers to him for a historical fact; "Scribit Epicharmus quod cum Anaxilas Rheginorum et Messanensium tyrannus Locros Epizephyrios funditus perdere tentaret, Hieron illum sola interminatione compescuit." Yet from the scholiast on Pind. Pyth. i. 98, it looks as if Epicharmos was our one authority for the mission of Chromios.

NOTE XXIX. p. 302.

THE RETIREMENT OF MIKYTHOS.

THE more detailed story of Mikythos comes from Diodôros, xi. 66. It is told more briefly by Herodotus, vii. 170. Herodotus brings it in quite casually. He tells the story of the death of Minôs and the Cretan siege of Kamikos (see vol. i. pp. 112, 495). Then the Cretans become Iapygians (see vol. i. pp. 116, 500); then he comes to the Iapygian victory over Taras and Rhêgion, and how the Rhegines were constrained to their share in the war by Mikythos (see above, p. 253). He then adds;

ὁ δὲ Μικυθος οἰκέτης ἔων Ἀναξίλειω, ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου καταλέλειπτο

οὗτος ὅσπερ ἔκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας, ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας.

He then says that what he has said about Taras and Rhégion τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε, and goes on to tell how the wrath of Minôs fell on the Cretans.

Of the statues offered by Mikythos we have had casually to speak (see above, p. 487, and p. 301) when speaking of the change of name from Zanklê to Messana. Pausanias (v. 26. 2 et seqq.) has a great deal to say about them. They were offerings on the recovery of a son from sickness (τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθηκεν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εὐχὴν τινα ἐκτελῶν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παιδὸς νοσήσαντος νόσον φθινάδα). He refers to the story of Herodotus and adds that the inscriptions on the offerings mentioned Rhêgion and Messana, but not Tegea; οἰκεῖν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Τεγέᾳ οὐ φησιν αὐτόν. He calls him δοῦλος καὶ ταμίης τῶν Ἀναξίλα χρημάτων.

One might raise the question whether the word ἔκπεσὼν in Herodotus is consistent with the voluntary retirement recorded by Diodôros. Pausanias had no such difficulty, as his own words are ἀπίων οἴχοιτο ἐς Τεγέαν τελευτήσαντος Ἀναξίλα. What exercised his mind was that Herodotus seemed to imply that Mikythos made the offerings after he had withdrawn to Tegea, while he himself could not find anything about Tegea in the inscriptions. But surely it is not needful to press the words of Herodotus quite so strictly as that. The offering is much more like the act of a ruler than that of a private man; and the inscriptions read by Pausanias show that it was while the two cities were in his charge that he dedicated the statues.

Diodôros says nothing about the statues. He first (xi. 66) mentions the cunning practice of Hierôn;

Ἰέρων ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἀναξίλα παῖδας τοῦ γενομένου τυράννου Ζάγκλης εἰς Συρακούσας μεταπεμφάμενος μεγάλας δωρεαῖς ἀνέμνησκε τῆς Γέλωνος γενομένης πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας, καὶ συμβούλευεν αὐτοῖς ἤδη τὴν ἡλικίαν ἡνδρωμένοις ἀπαιτηῖσαι λόγον παρὰ Μικύθου τοῦ ἐπιτροπεύοντος καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτοὺς παραλαβεῖν.

Mikythos is with Diodôros simply ἐπίτροπος. With Herodotus he is οἰκέτης and ἐπίτροπος, names which Pausanias lets down to δοῦλος καὶ ταμίης τῶν χρημάτων. He was clearly more than this last; but does the word οἰκέτης in Herodotus imply that he was or had been actually a slave? Pausanias certainly so understood it; but that does not make it quite certain. The plural (see Herod.

viii. 4, 106, 142) certainly does not always imply slavery. Blakesley refers aptly to the story of Maiandrios at Samos in Herod. iii. 142, who also εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτους λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν. The excessive predominance of freedmen is Roman rather than Greek; but then we have here got among tyrants, who in many things forestall emperors. Both Mikythos and Maiandros have fathers, though the name of the father of Mikythos forestalls Gaius Verres, and though Maiandros was spoken of by his enemies as γεγονός τε κακὸς καὶ ἐὼν ὄλεθρος.

Diodôros goes on to say how the young tyrants make their demand (τὸν ἐπίτροπον λόγον ἀπαιτούντων τῶν διωκημένων); and then tells the main story;

ὁ Μίκυθος, ἀνὴρ ὢν ἀγαθὸς, συνήγαγε τοὺς πατρικοὺς φίλους τῶν παίδων, καὶ τὸν λόγον οὕτω καθαρῶς ἀπέδωκεν, ὥστε ἅπαντας τοὺς παρόντας θαυμάζειν τὴν τε δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν πίστιν.

The sons of Anaxilas repent, and ask him to keep on the administration;

τοὺς δὲ παῖδας μεταμεληθέντας ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθείσιν, ἀξιοῦν τὸν Μίκυθον πάλιν τὴν ἀρχήν παραλαβεῖν, καὶ πατὴρ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα καὶ τάξιν, διοικεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὴν δυναστείαν.

But Mikythos will not stay;

οὐ μὴν ὁ Μίκυθός γε συνεχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα παραδοὺς ἀκριβῶς, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν ἐνθήμενος εἰς πλοῖον, ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥηγίου προπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὀχλῶν εὐνοίας.

He goes to Tegea and lives and dies there in honour.

I cannot believe that all this belongs to a mere slave or freedman. Surely Mikythos held the same kind of office as Chromios at Ætna, who is called ἐπίτροπος. See above, p. 493. I should fancy that Mikythos also belonged originally to Tegea, that he was one of the Arkadians who came to seek their fortunes in Sicily, only he sought his from Anaxilas and not from Gelôn.

NOTE XXX. pp. 306, 312.

ΤΥΧΑ.

I HOPE I am not a wrong-doer in accepting a topographical theory which depends largely on conjectural emendation in a text. But Ἰτύκην in Diodôros, xi. 68, is such manifest nonsense that we

cannot hesitate, with Casaubon, Cluver, and others, to read *Τύχην* or *Τύκην*; the difference of *κ* and *χ* does not greatly matter. This passage, compared with xi. 73, seems to give a consistent story. The Syracusan patriots, twice driven out of Ortygia and Achradina by the mercenaries, each time occupy a part of the hill, from which they besiege their enemies in the older part of the city. In the former passage (67) we read how, in B.C. 466, Thrasyboulos *τῆς πόλεως κατειληφὼς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἀχραδινὴν καὶ Νῆσον, ὁχυρὰν οὖσαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὁρμώμενος, διεπολέμει πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας*. Then follows;

οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μέρος τῆς πόλεως κατελάβοντο τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἰτύκην [Τύχην]. ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὁρμώμενοι, κ.τ.λ.

Then in xi. 73 we read how again in B.C. 463 the mercenaries held Achradina and the island; *τὴν τε Ἀχραδινὴν καὶ τὴν Νῆσον, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν τόπων τούτων ἐχόντων ἴδιον τεῖχος καλῶς κατεσκευασμένον*. Then again;

οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πάλιν ἐμπεσόντες εἰς ταραχὴν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως κατείχον, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς [see vol. i. p. 578] τετραμμένον αὐτῆς ἐπετείχισαν καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἑαυτοῖς κατεσκεύασαν.

By this I understand that the first time they occupied, that the second time they not only occupied but fortified, a certain part of the hill westward of Achradina, and that that part, then or afterwards, bore the name of Tycha. Considering that Diodôros most likely copied the two passages from two different writers, there is nothing strange in his change of expression. When he speaks of Tycha as already part of the city (*μέρος τῆς πόλεως, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως*), he may be carrying back the language of later times to the times of which he speaks. Or he may be speaking laxly of the state of things in the earlier time. Tycha and Temenitês were not yet strictly parts of the *πόλις*; but they were so far part of it that they were inhabited spaces continuous with the fortified town.

Thucydides does not speak of Tycha any more than of Achradina. His story did not call on him to record the fortification of either of them, as it did to record that of Temenitês (vi. 75). But the explanation just given of the passages in Diodôros exactly falls in with the way in which Tycha is spoken of by Livy and Plutarch. Plutarch (Marcellus, 18) says; *ἔμεινε δὲ τὸ καρτερώτερον καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον (Ἀχραδινὴ καλεῖται) διὰ τὸ τετειχίσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἔξω πόλιν, ἧς τὸ μὲν Νέαν, τὸ δὲ Τύχην ὀνομάζουσιν*. Achradina, once ἡ ἔξω πόλις,

has now become *ἐνός*, and *ἡ ἔξω* consists of Neapolis and Tycha. The name, according to the well-known passage of Cicero (Verr. iv. 119), came from a temple of Fortune—Tycha—in it. It comes into one's head whether this may not be a mere coincidence. The spelling may possibly be *Τύκα* rather than *Τύχα*. Anyhow there is no reason to think that it has anything to do with the *Συκῆ* of Thucydides, vi. 98.

Livy, in describing the siege by Marcellus, twice (xxiv. 21, xxv. 25) speaks of Tycha, in both cases as something outside Achradina; in the second it is, as by Plutarch, coupled with Neapolis. All this seems to agree very well with the account in Diodôros. We cannot exactly fix the extent of the new quarter to either the west or the south. It must have reached westward as far as the Hexapylon (Diod. xiv. 18), wherever we place that, while the position of the camp of Marcellus (Livy, xxv. 25) shows that it could not have gone so far south as to join Temenitês. To these points we shall come again. Tycha is also referred to by Stephen of Byzantium in his blundering way; *Τύχη, πόλις Σικελίας πλησίον Συρακουσῶν. Ἐφόρος ἐν δυοκαίδεκάτῳ νῆσον Τυχίαν φησύν*. We must remember that Stephen calls Achradina an island; so we are prepared for any misreport of the text of Ephoros. His eighteenth book dealt with the times of Dionysios.

See more on Tycha in the Topografia, p. 190; Lupus, pp. 108, 109. So Göller, *De Situ et Origine Syracusarum*, 66. Only one cannot read *Τυκῆν* for *Συκῆν* in Thucydides, vi. 98. I do not see Bunbury's difficulty (art. Syracuse, p. 1065) as to the silence of Thucydides compared with the description in Diodôros. He places it on the same site, but holds it to have grown up later. Holm and Lupus, arguing from Cicero's uses of the past tense—"Fortunæ fanum antiquum fuit"—incline to think that the temple no longer existed, perhaps never existed at all, and that it may have been only a piece of *Volksetymologie* to explain the name *Τύχη*.

NOTE XXXI. p. 329.

KORAX.

I CANNOT come back to the question whether the orator Korax croaked at Pindar or Thérôn or any one else. But his position in Sicily at this time is well marked enough by Cicero (Brutus, 12) on the authority of Aristotle; "Itaque ait Aristoteles, cum sublatis in Sicilia tyrannis res privatæ longo intervallo judiciis repeterentur, tum primum, cum esset acuta illa gens, et controversa natura, artem et præcepta Sículos Coracem et Tisiam conscripsisse. Nam antea neminem solitum via nec arte, sed accurate tamen et de scripto plerosque dicere." Dionysios of Halikarnassos also (Jud. de Isoc. 34) mentions Gorgias and Tisias, but not Korax.

An absurd account of Korax is given by the author of the *Προλεγόμενα τῆς Ἑρμογένους Ῥητορικῆς*, c. 5, 6 (Walz. *Rhet. Græci*, iv. 12), whose odd account of Hierôn we have already come across; see above, p. 342. Korax had great influence with Hierôn; he was almost a sharer in his power (*παρεδυνάτευσε τούτῳ Κόραξ τις οὗτος ὁ Κόραξ ὅπερ ἂν ἐβούλετο παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ μεγάλως ἡκούετο*). When the democracy was restored, Korax wished to keep his influence (*ἤθελε πείθειν καὶ τὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἀκούεσθαι καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος ἡκούετο*). Considering what the *δῆμος* was, *ἀστάθμητον καὶ ἄτακτον πρᾶγμα*, he hoped to come over them by the power of speech. He first flattered them, and so gradually tamed them (*τὸ θορυβῶδες καταπραῦναι τοῦ δήμου*), and then gave them advice. To this end he devised rules and figures; in short he invented rhetoric (*ἐφεύρεν ὁ Κόραξ τὴν ῥητορικήν*). He taught his art for money. Tisias learned of him, and Gorgias of Tisias. Absurd as much of this is, it marks the position of Korax as an important one.

To Tisias we shall come again later.

NOTE XXXII. p. 338.

THE WARS IN WESTERN SICILY, c. B. C. 454.

I HAVE given in the text some account of the different statements which we find in different quarters as to certain local wars which

were going on in Western Sicily about the year B.C. 454, the archonship of Aristôn at Athens. We may say for certain that there was some war. Selinous beyond all doubt won a victory over some enemy, and made peace. We may say for certain that Segesta sent an embassy to Athens, and that in the decree which was passed in consequence of that embassy mention was made of Halikyai. We may say with all but certainty that Halikyai was mentioned as the enemy of Segesta. These things are proved by inscriptions, that is by contemporary documents, which are still in being. And we may say with all but certainty that Akragas carried on a victorious war against Motya. For Pausanias gives that as the substance of a contemporary inscription which he had clearly read, and of which he could hardly have mistaken the meaning. These three documentary statements in no way contradict one another; it is not absolutely necessary to hold that they stand in any relation to one another. But it is far more likely that they have something to do with one another, and we can, if we please, amuse ourselves by putting them together as we may think best. On the other hand, we may say with certainty that there was not, as the text of Diodôros asserts, a war between Segesta and Lilybaion. For such a war is impossible before the foundation of Lilybaion. But it is a very easy supposition that by Lilybaion Diodôros meant Motya; and a war between Segesta and Motya, though very unlikely, is not impossible. With this correction, we may, if we please, believe the statement in the text of Diodôros as recording a separate event, having nothing to do with any of the documentary statements. But we cannot bring it into agreement with any of the documentary statements except by taking to arbitrary conjectures.

Such is the case. Let us now look at the evidence, beginning with what we find in our two printed books, Diodôros and Pausanias. Diodôros of course copies, he clearly abridges, he most likely confuses, the statements of some earlier writer. The higher criticism, as usual, tells us that that earlier writer was Timaios. Pausanias reports what he himself saw at Olympia.

First of all then, Diodôros (xi. 86), under the archonship of Aristôn, that is the year B.C. 454, tells us;

κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Ἐγεσταίοις καὶ Λιλυθαίοις ἐνέστη πόλεμος περὶ χώρας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Μαζάρῳ ποταμῷ· γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρὰς συνέβη πολλοὺς παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας μὴ λῆξαι τὰς πόλεις.

He then goes on to mention the disputes about the *πολιτογραφία* in various cities (see p. 330) as if they had something to do with the matter.

In this passage two things strike us without going beyond the text of Diodôros. In that text there seems to be no various reading, beyond the different spellings of *Αἴγεστα* and *Ἐγεστα*. First, there were no such people as *Λιλυβαῖοι* at this time. The town of Lilybaion was not founded till B. C. 397 (Diod. xiii. 54, xvii. 10). Movers alone (ii. 334), as far as I know, accepts the passage as it stands, supposing the existence of a Lilybaian people, Phœnician or Libyphœnician, of whom there is no further account. The most obvious explanation is that Diodôros by *Λιλυβαῖοι* meant the people of Motya. Both he and other writers have made much worse mistakes than that.

But, secondly, a war between Segesta and any Carthaginian dependency is not at all what we should look for; and it is hard to understand how a war between two barbarian cities can have had anything to do with the *πολιτογραφία* or any other matter of dispute in Syracuse or any other Greek city. Also, what is here said of Segesta and the *Λιλυβαῖοι* is wonderfully like what seems to have been the normal state of Segesta and Selinous a little later. This is a state of constant disputes about border-lands, lands on some river, presumably, but not quite necessarily, the river Mazaros. See Thuc. vi. 6; Diod. xii. 82, xiii. 43. Grote therefore (vi. 197), seemingly without going beyond these texts, suggests that the war B. C. 454 "may probably have been a war between Egesta and Selinus." If so, *Λιλυβαῖοις* cannot be, as it would be if Motya were meant, a mere inaccuracy of expression. Either Diodôros wrote *Λιλυβαῖοις* when he meant to write *Σελιουντίοις*, or his transcribers made the mistake afterwards. Neither of these is a likely blunder, like that of saying Lilybaion instead of Motya. Schubring, on the other hand (*Topographie der Stadt Selinus*, 424), understands Motya by *Λιλυβαῖοις*, but wishes to read *Σελιουντίοις* instead of *Ἐγεσταίοις*. The war, he holds, is between Selinous and Motya. This suggestion is approved by Holm, *G. S.* i. 257, 431.

Thus, as far as Diodôros and his improvers go, we have to choose between a war between Segesta and Motya, a war between Selinous and Segesta, and a war between Selinous and Motya. We get into a region of clearer, though not perfect, light, when we turn to the passage of Pausanias. That goes far to show that, whether Motya

warred with Selinous or not, it certainly had Greek enemies to war with. The place is v. 25. 2, to which I have had already to refer on other grounds at vol. i. p. 272. The words stand thus;

ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τὴν τετραμμένην ἐπὶ Διβύης καὶ Νότον, καλουμένην δὲ Πάχυνον, Μοτύη πόλις· οἰκοῦσι δὲ Λίβυες ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Φοίνικες. τούτοις τοῖς ἐν Μοτύῃ βαρβάροις Ἀκραγαντῖνοι καταστάντες ἐς πόλεμον καὶ λείαν τε καὶ λάφυρα ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἀνέθεσαν τοὺς παῖδας ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τοὺς χαλκοῦς, προτείνοντάς τε τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ εἰκασμένους εὐχομένοις τῷ θεῷ, κείνται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὗτοι τῆς Ἀλτews· Καλάμιδος δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς ἔργα ἐγὼ τε εἴκαζον, καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶχεν ὁ λόγος.

(Immediately on this follows the list of the nations of Sicily, to which I have often referred, as vol. i. p. 477.)

Here, it will be at once seen, is an astounding geographical confusion. Pausanias must have somehow mixed up Motya and Motyca. Motya, I need not say, is far away from Pachynos. Motyca too is not very near to Pachynos, and it was not inhabited by Libyans and Phœnicians. Still it is much nearer to Pachynos than Motya is. But we may be sure that the blunder of Pausanias is simply in his geography. As one Sicilian tyrant is always as good as another, the same rule may apply to those Sicilian promontories which are so much less real than the tyrants. We may be sure that Pausanias is talking of Motya, and that we may trust him as having read an inscription which spoke of Motya. That is to say, the offerings of which he speaks were made by Akragas after a victory over Motya. And, if the war was waged in company with any Greek ally, that ally can hardly fail to have been Selinous. This would fall in with the view of Schubring and Holm. Holm remarks (p. 431), "Sonst wollte man statt Δελ. vielmehr Σελινουντίους lesen; aber das Mazaragebiet war eher zwischen Selinus und Motye als zwischen Selinus und Segesta streitig." The date of the artist Kalamis (see Dict. Biog., Calamis) agrees with the date in Diodôros. He was at work at least from about B.C. 466 (as the artist employed by Deinomenês, see above, p. 303; Paus. vi. 12. 1) till after 429 (after the plague at Athens, Paus. i. 3. 3). One really need not discuss another view spoken of by Holm, that this war between Akragas and Motya means the great war of Himera.

This victory of Akragas over Motya has been thought to be confirmed by the evidence of coins. Motya (see Head, 138) adopted the coinage of the victorious city. The pieces appear in

Coins of Sicily, 243. There is the Akragantine eagle on one side, the Akragantine crab on the other, and the name Motya in Phœnician letters. Here is undoubted imitation of an Akragantine type on the part of Motya. Only does this prove more than imitation? The vanquished would have no special call to imitate the coinage of the victors, unless victory went the length of making Motya a dependency of Akragas, forced to accept an Akragantine coinage. This is too much to accept without some further evidence. Indeed it would be easy to argue the other way, that the imitation of Akragantine coins by Motya implied friendly relations between the two cities.

Thus far Selinous has been brought into the matter only on the strength of Grote's conjecture. But, since Grote wrote, since Holm wrote, it has been proved by the best of all evidence that about this time Selinous had a war with some people, which war led to a Selinuntine victory and to a peace. Unluckily the name of the people is not preserved. This is the inscription found in 1871 in one of the eastern temples of Selinous, that called the temple of Apollôn. It is printed in facsimile by Benndorf, 27, and in ordinary letters in Hicks' Greek Inscriptions, 30. The part with which we are concerned runs thus :

[ΔΙ]Α ΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΤΟ[Σ] ΔΕ ΝΙΚΟΝΤΙ ΤΟΙ ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝ[ΤΙΟΙ]
 [ΔΙ]Α ΤΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΝΙΚΟΜΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΦΟΒΟΝ
 Δ[ΙΑ] ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ Π[ΟΣ]
 Ε[ΙΔΑ]ΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΔΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ ΑΘ[Α]
 ΝΑΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΜΑΛΟΦΟΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΣΙ[Κ]
 ΡΑ[Τ]ΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ[Α Τ]ΟΣ ΑΛΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ [Δ]ΙΑ Δ[Ε]ΔΙΑ
 ΜΑΛΙΣΤ[Α] ΦΙΛΙ[ΑΣ] ΔΕ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΑΣ κ.τ.λ.

(Of these gods the most interesting locally is *Démêtêr Μαλοφόρος*. See vol. i. p. 127.) The Selinuntines go on to make their offerings to the great sum of sixty talents of gold.

The writing, says Mr. Hicks, is not later than B.C. 450. So the date suits very well. Benndorf argues at some length that the enemy must have been Segesta, and accepts Grote's suggestion of *Σελινουντίους* for *Διλυβαίους*.

This inscription, though not perfect, can be made out without difficulty even by those who are not special experts. The Athenian inscription, printed by Köhler (*Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institutes in Athen*, 1879, p. 30), and again by

Hans Droysen (Athen und der Westen vor der Sicilischer Expedition, Berlin, 1882), is much harder. The letters actually abiding seem to stand thus ;

ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙ

ΙΚΙΝΟΑΠ

ΤΕΙΒΟΛΕΙ

ΜΑΤΕΤΕΑΡ

ΚΤΑΙΟΙΣΕΙ

ΤΑΠΡΟΣΑΘ

ΟΛΕΞΑΝΑΓ

ΠΕΡΙΗ

Köhler reads this thus in ordinary spelling (I keep the uncial character for the words and parts of words actually in being) ;

Τοῖς παρ' ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΩν πρέσβεις

μΙΚΙΝΟΥΑΠ

ἔδοξεν ΤΗΒΟΥΛΗ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ

. . . τις ἐπρυτάνευε . . . ἔγραμΜΑΤΕΤΕΑΡ

ἌΛΙΚΤΑΙΟΙΣΕπὶ

. ΤΑΠΡΟΣΑΘηναίους

τὸν γραμματέα τῆς ΒΟΥΛΗΣΑΝΑΓράψαι

. ΠΕΡΙΗαλικυαίων.

Here one can have no doubt as to the 'Εγεσταῖοι in the first line. The *is* in the fourth line is the end of the name of the tribe. In the fifth, as Köhler says, *κναίους* must be the name of some people not very far off from Segesta, and the 'Αλικυαῖοι (though he oddly calls them "eine Stadt der Sikaner oder Sikuler") are the only people that will fit. And in the last line it looks very much as if ΠΕΡΙ Η . . was the beginning of ΠΕΡΙ ΗΑΔΙΚΥΑΙΟΝ. We have not the name of the archon for certain; but Köhler suspects that ΑΡ at the end of the fourth line is ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ, the archôn of B.C. 454, a date which agrees with the writing. Köhler wishes to substitute for *Αδλυβαίους* in the passage of Diodôros, not *Σελιουντίους* but 'Αλικυαῖοι; and in the uncial letters the change certainly seems less violent. He sees in the story a movement of Sikans at Halikyai against Segesta, which he connects with the movement of Ducetius against the Greeks ("der Erhebung der alteinheimischen Bevölkerung Siciliens gegen die fremden Colonien"). To the obvious answer that the Segestans were not

Greeks, he makes the rejoinder that there was said to be a Phokian or Thessalian element among them. See vol. i. p. 542.

Hans Droysen, on the other hand, objects to the filling up, on purely technical grounds of "epigraphy," the size of the stone and the like, of which it is hard to judge in one's library. The point which is of historical importance is that he rejects the reading ἐπὶ at the end of the fifth line, and wishes to read

ἈΛΕΚΤΑΙΟΙΣΕῖναι συμμαχίαν.

This is startling, as it would turn the whole thing round, and make the men of Halikyai allies of Athens. But Droysen does not (pp. 21, 57) give us any explanation. Are we to suppose an alliance between Athens, Segesta, and Halikyai? Such an alliance is conceivable, if Selinous were the enemy. The Sikan city might have complaints against its Greek neighbour as well as the Elymian. But, so far as we can judge from so fragmentary a document, the position in the decree is rather that in which one would expect to find the enemy of Segesta. In any case it must surely be Segesta which made the application to Athens.

Now what comes of this singularly piecemeal collection of notices? All of them clearly refer to something which happened in western Sicily about the very middle of the fifth century B.C. It is not at all necessary that all should refer to the same thing. Yet it is most likely that, if several different things are referred to, they stood in some kind of relation to one another. Our statements stand as follows.

1. Diodóros, if we accept his text, asserts a war between Segesta and Lilybaion, by which last we must understand Motya.

2. Pausanias asserts a war between Akragas and Motya, and a victory of Akragas over Motya. He quotes no narrative; but he must have read the inscription, and his account reads as if he had compared the inscription with some narrative.

3. The Selinuntine inscription *proves* a victory of Selinous over some enemy, but we are left to guess over what enemy.

4. The Athenian inscription *proves* dealings between Athens and Segesta, which dealings can hardly fail to have been a Segestan embassy. It *proves* that those dealings had some relation to some other city, which can hardly fail to have been Halikyai.

It seems quite impossible, without indulging in the most arbitrary guesses, to make these four statements refer to one

event. The inscriptions prove what they do prove without doubt ; but they prove, especially the very fragmentary Athenian one, less than we could wish. Diodôros was apt to make confusions, and Pausanias made them sometimes ; and it is to my mind more critical to suppose such confusion in either of them than to go altering their texts out of our own heads. Diodôros is very likely to have written one name for another ; he is specially likely to have written Lilybaion for Motya. Pausanias blundered grievously as to the geography of Motya ; but the offerings which he saw at Olympia must surely have had inscriptions in which the words Akragas and Motya occurred. There is therefore strong evidence for a victory of Akragas over Motya. But a victory of Akragas over Motya almost necessarily implies an alliance between Akragas and Selinous, and a victory of Selinous over somebody is proved by the Selinuntine inscription. We are therefore brought very near to a joint victory of Akragas and Selinous over Motya.

In this line of reasoning we have not a word about Segesta. But the Athenian inscription sets before us, we may safely say, the Segestans as asking help at Athens against some people, and it looks very much as if that people were those of Halikyai. A war between Akragas and Motya and a war between Segesta and Halikyai, if they were going on at the same time, could hardly fail to have stood in some relation to one another. They would, so to speak, have crossed each other's path. If the two statements are parts of the same story, the most natural grouping of belligerents would be to put the Sikan town along with the two Greek towns and the Elymians and Phœnicians on the other side. But it is quite possible that two such wars might happen, not at the same moment, but within a few years, without any reference to one another.

We may then, I think, accept, partly as certain, partly as highly probable, a war of Akragas and Selinous against Motya and a war of Halikyai against Segesta. But we need not decide whether the two had anything to do with one another. Then comes the question, whether anything can be made out of the account in Diodôros. Can the fact stated in his text as it stands, a war between Segesta and Lilybaion, understanding Motya by Lilybaion, be made to agree with any of the more trustworthy statements ? Or are we justified in the hazardous task of trying to improve his text ? A war of Motya and Halikyai against Segesta is possible, but it

is not at all likely. A war between Segesta and any Carthaginian dependency is unlikely in itself. And moreover, if Motya and Halikyai were joined against Segesta, Motya rather than Halikyai would have had the most prominent place in the Athenian inscription. On the other hand, Köhler's conjecture of Ἀλικυαίσις for Λαλυβαίσις in the text of Diodôros seems less violent than Grote's suggestion—if Grote meant it as a correction of the text—of Σελινουστίοις for Λαλυβαίσις. An unfamiliar name like that of Halikyai was far more likely to be changed by a copyist than a well-known name like Selinous. The conjecture of Σελινουστίοις is in fact suggested only by the mention of warfare for the lands on the Mazaros, so like the later warfare between Selinous and Segesta. But it is not distinctly said that this later warfare was on the Mazaros, and in the shifting of boundaries the same lands might, as Holm suggests, be at different times disputed between different pairs of claimants. Segesta, Selinous, and Motya might easily have claims near one another on the upper course of the Mazaros. On the whole, I must leave the passage of Diodôros uncertain, with a slight inclination, if we are to take to the dangerous game of guessing in any shape, to the emendation of Köhler.

One small comfort there is in one case. If Halikyai was at war with Segesta, it can hardly have been Elymian. (See vol. i. pp. 120, 121, 522.) But if we are to read, with Droysen, *ἐνυμαχίαν εἶναι* in the Attic document, things are made worse.

As often, we cannot learn everything; but we can learn some things. And we learn something about greater powers, not only than Halikyai, but even than Akragas. We see with certainty that Athens was thought likely to be inclined to action in Sicily twenty years before the Peloponnesian war. And we see the very highest likelihood that a Greek city won a victory over a Carthaginian dependency without Carthage taking any action in the matter. Whatever we make of anything else, these points really add to our knowledge of the state of things in Sicily in the middle of the fifth century before Christ.

NOTE XXXIII. p. 342.

EMPEDOKLÊS AND HIS REFORMS.

OUR chief source for the acts of Empedoklês is his Life by Diogenês Laertios. This is of course put together from all manner of quarters, and contains notices of every degree of value and worthlessness. But it is greatly to the biographer's credit that he has given a real, and fairly intelligent, account of the political side of a man who had become legendary. In this he stands in honourable contrast both to the mass of the ancient collectors and to some modern writers. Aulus Gellius, Julius Pollux, John of Stoboi, and such like, have something to say about Empedoklês, but nothing in his character as political reformer. Neither has Hêsychiος of Milêtos, nor yet Soudas who copies his article, either there or under *Ἀπρονος*, where he also speaks of Empedoklês. So in the article Empedocles in the Dictionary of Biography—one which does not bear the signature E. H. B.—there is not a word about the political side of the sage. Whoever it was that wrote about him in the old French Dictionary of Moreri knew better.

Diogenês and Hêsychiος give us a choice of several fathers for Empedoklês. But the best account makes him the son of Metôn and grandson of an elder Empedoklês. For this Diogenês quotes Hippobotos, Hermippos (of Smyrna), Hêrakleidês, Eratosthenês, Aristotle, Timaios (in his fifteenth book), and the iambic chronicle of Apollodôros; *λαμπρὰς ἦν οἰκίας ἱπποτροφεῖνός τοῦ πάππου*. The Olympic victory won with the single horse (*κέλῃτι*) happened in the seventy-first Olympiad, B.C. 496, that is, before the tyranny of Thêrôn began. Satyros gave him a father Exainetos and a son of the same name, of whom the latter won a victory in wrestling in the same Olympiad in which Empedoklês—here the sage himself—won in the horse-race. This is late confusion. Empedoklês cannot have been winning victories in B.C. 496. He was most likely born about B.C. 484. The time of his death seems well ascertained by a very curious argument. Diogenês (c. 51) quotes the iambics of Apollodôros;

*οἱ δ' ἱστοροῦντες ὥς πεφηνγὸς οἶκον
εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας μετ' ἐκείνων ἐπολέμει
πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους . . . ἀγνοεῖν*

τελεῶς ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν· ἡ γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἦν
ἡ παντελῶς ὑπεργεγηρακὺς, ὅπερ
οὐ φαίνεται.

But, as Holm says, much to the point, the chronological objection applies only to the great Athenian expedition. The action of Empedoklês doubtless happened at some of the earlier times of Athenian intermeddling, those which ended with the Peace of Gela in 424. A life of sixty years only—others gave him seventy-seven and even 110—witnessed by Aristotle and Hêrakleidês (Diog. L. viii. 1, 11), would carry back his birth to a time later than his grandfather's victory. Timaios and others, quoted by Diogenês (viii. 10, 11), distinctly asserted that Empedoklês went to Peloponnêsos and died there. The tomb at Megara seems to come only from Favorinus in Hadrian's day; but it falls in with the notice of Timaios. But there seems a chance that Favorinus copied from some one who knew better, and that he was himself thinking of the Sicilian Megara. For he says;

ὕστερον δὲ διὰ τινα πανήγυριν πορευόμενον ἐπ' ἀμάξης ὡς εἰς Μεσσήνην
πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν κλάσαι· νοσήσαντα δ' ἐκ τούτου τελευτήσῃαι ἐτῶν ἐπτά
καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· εἶναι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τάφον ἐν Μεγάροις.

Timaios did not know where his tomb was. This notice seems unconsciously to supply it. We must not forget that it was at the Nisaian Megara that a tyrant of Akragas had been tried and put to death (see p. 298). Empedoklês would doubtless be welcome there.

One hardly knows what to make of another statement quoted by Apollodôros from Glaukos of Rhêgion, which makes Metôn the father of Empedoklês settle at Thourioi on its foundation in 443;

ἦν μὲν Μέτωνος υἱός, εἰς δὲ Θουρίους
αὐτὸν νεωστὶ παντελῶς ἐκτισμένους
ὁ Γλαῦκος ἐλθεῖν φησίν.

It is not easy to reconcile this with the statement in Diogenês (11) from Neanthês of Kyzikos about the political action of Metôn;

Νεάνθης . . . φησὶ Μέτωνος τελευτήσαντος τυραννίδος ἀρχὴν ἀποφύεσθαι·
εἶτα τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα πείσαι τοὺς Ἀκραγαντίνους παύσασθαι μὲν τῶν στά-
σεων, ἰσότητα δὲ πολιτικὴν ἀσκέειν.

(One might have looked for the word *ισηγορία* rather than *ισότης*.) This cannot mean that Metôn died before the rise of Thêrôn in 488. We have therefore to suppose candidates for the tyranny at

Akragas answering to Tyndariôn and perhaps others at Syracuse (see pp. 330-332). Whether they were a lingering Emmenid faction we cannot tell.

One would like further to know the date of Empedoklès' refusal of kingship or tyranny; but grave authority is cited for it by Diogenês (viii. 2. 9);

φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλεύθερον γεγονέναι καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἀλλότριον, εἴ γε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ διδομένην παρητήσατο, καθάπερ Ξάνθος ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγει.

Timaïos told the same story as witnessing δημοτικὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. One would like to know whether Aristotle's words imply that he refused all ordinary magistracies.

The strange story from Timaïos about the feast and the accusation of the host and the king of the feast must stand or fall as any one thinks good. As for the constitutional changes made by Empedoklès, Diogenês (viii. 2. 9) does not distinctly quote any one for the action of Empedoklès about the Senate. He says, in his own name;

ὕστερον δ' Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ τὸ τῶν χιλίων ἄθροισμα κατέλυσε συνεστῶς ἐπὶ ἑτῇ τρία, ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἦν τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τὰ δημοτικά φρονούντων.

This is the whole account, and the meaning is far from clear. The word ἄθροισμα (though it has also a philosophical meaning) has an ancient sound, and it agrees with some things in the language of the document referred to in the text. This is the inscription 5491 in Boeckh (iii. 593). It belongs to a time when embassies were sent to Rome, but surely to a time earlier than the date suggested by Boeckh, B.C. 210. The formal heading runs, ἐπὶ ἱεροθύτῃ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Φίλωνος, παραπροστα[τούσας] τῆς βουλᾶς, προεδρευούσας τὰς φυλὰς τῶν Ὑλλέων, προαγοροῦντος Διοκλέος τοῦ Διοκλέος, γραμματεύοντος Ἀδρανίωνος Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀλίσμα ἐκτὸς διμήνου, Καρνείου ἐξήκοντος πάντα. The decree itself begins ἔδοξε τῇ ἀλία καθὰ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ. The older name βουλά is used in the most formal part, the preamble, the later σύγκλητος in the body of the decree. But we get ἀλία for the assembly, and ἀλίσμα (like ἄθροισμα) for a meeting of the assembly, and the action of the Senate as proposing the name. Boeckh sends us to the seemingly contemporary inscription (5752, iii. 672) from Melitê, an island whose newly learned Greek is naturally more polite than that of Akragas, for the form ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

An instance of the Senate of a thousand is to be found at Rhégion before the tyranny of Anaxilas; see above, p. 489. But that seems to have been a distinctly oligarchic body. The reforms of Empedoklës seem rather to answer to the changes at Taras from less to more advanced democracy (see p. 255). At least Diodôros, though one does not expect him to be very accurate in such matters, speaks (see p. 298, note 4) of the constitution of Akragas as democratic from the time of the fall of Thrasydaïos.

As for the teachers of Empedoklës (Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 2), Neanthës made him hear Parmenidës; Theophrastos made him hear Xenophanës; Timaios made him a scholar of Pythagoras himself, which is doubtless a careless confusion with his grandfather. It seems to be only in this story that he was said to be *καταγνώσθεις ἐπὶ λογοκλοπία* by the Pythagorean brethren. We are perhaps more concerned with the report of Apollodôros, which made Gorgias the pupil of Empedoklës, than with any of his masters, though the mention of Xenophanës awakens some little interest. It seems to carry the young democrat of Akragas to the court of Hierôn. Parmenidës does not touch us in Sicily, but Soudas has preserved an ugly scandal as to his relations with Empedoklës, just as we read of Empedoklës himself and the Pausanias who figures in the story (Diog. viii. 4; *ἦν δ' ὁ Πανσανίας, ὥς φησιν Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Σάτυρος, ἐράμενος αὐτοῦ*). In the state of morals in which Æschylus could turn the Homeric story into the *Μυρμιδόνες* and the *Ἀχιλλέως Ἑρασταί*, we must expect this kind of misrepresentation or misunderstanding.

If any one cares to go minutely into the miraculous part of Empedoklës' story, he should look to the examination of the whole matter in Bishop Stubbs' Preface to the *Inventio Sanctæ Crucis Walthamensis*. The rules and distinctions which are there laid down apply just as much to a miracle of Empedoklës as to a miracle of Saint Thomas of Canterbury. The story of Empedoklës' wonderful end we may put aside as simple fiction, seeing we happily know how he really died. The original relation of the assumption of Empedoklës appears in two shapes in his Biographer (viii. 2. 11). In both the death of the sage follows on the recovery of Pantheia. In the story of Hermippos she is simply healed by Empedoklës when she was despaired of by other physicians (*Ἑρμιππος δὲ φησι Πάνθειάν τινα Ἀκραγαντίνην ἀπηλπισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν θεραπεῦσαι*

αὐτὸν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν, τοὺς δὲ κληθέντας εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα. He apparently agreed with Hêrakteidês as to the further details which Diogenês quotes from him. But there was this great difference, that Hêrakteidês declared that Pantheia was actually raised from the dead after thirty days (viii. 2. 6; τὴν γοῦν ἄπνουν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης φησὶ τοιοῦτόν τι εἶναι, ὥς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας συντηρεῖν ἄπνουν καὶ ἄσφυκτον τὸ σῶμα, ὅθεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἱατρὸν καὶ μάντιν. Ib. 11; Ἡρακλείδης μὲν γὰρ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἄπνου διηγησάμενος, ὥς ἐδοξάσθη Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀποστείλας τὴν νεκρὰν ζῶσαν). The feast was held on the lands of Peisianax, and Pausanias was there. To this Timaios objected that Peisianax was a Syracusan and had no land at Akragas. This suggests that there was a version in which the last days of the banished man—whose banishment is quite forgotten in these stories—were placed at Syracuse.

The story about his plunging into Ætna, with the further tale of the shoe, was recorded by Hippobotos, and we are told that it was denied by Pausanias. It comes (Diog. viii. 2. 11) as the wind-up of the story of the feast, instead of the real assumption which was recorded by Hermippos and Hêrakteidês ;

Ἱππόβοτος δὲ φησιν ἐξαναστάντα αὐτὸν ὠδενκέναι ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴτην, εἴτα παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας τοῦ πυρὸς ἐναλέσθαι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, βουλόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην βεβαιῶσαι ὥς γεγόνοι θεοῦ, ὕστερον δὲ γνωστῆναι ἀναρριπισθείσης αὐτοῦ μιᾶς τῶν κρηπίδων χαλκᾶς γὰρ εἶθιστο ὑποδεῖσθαι πρὸς τοῦθ' ὁ Πausανίας ἀντέλεγε.

This denial of Pausanias looks as if the story got about early. It is added that Διόδωρος ὁ Ἐφέσιος περὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου γράφων φησὶν ὅτι τοῦτον ἐξηλώκει, τραγικὸν ἀσκῶν τύπον καὶ σεμνὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθῆτα. It does not however appear that Anaximandros threw himself into any volcano.

NOTE XXXIV. p. 356.

THE RISE OF DUCETIUS.

THERE seems to be no kind of question that Ducetius first founded a city on the hill, and then came down to Palica in the plain. And there seems no doubt that the city which he founded on the hill is that which appears in later history as Menænum, and is now called Mineo. It is not quite so clear whether the

city on the hill is the same as his supposed birth-place. And there is a good deal of confusion about the name. The two passages in Diodôros are xi. 78 and 88. The first records the foundation of the city on the hill, the second the removal to the plain. Ducetius had been already mentioned in xi. 76 as having had a share in driving the Hieronian settlers from Katanê. The first passage runs thus, under the year 459 ;

ἄμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Δουκέτιος ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν βασιλεὺς ὢν, ὠνομασμένος τὸ γένος, ἰσχύων δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, Μέναιον μὲν πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ τὴν σύνεγγυς χώραν τοῖς κατοικισθεῖσι διεμέρισε.

There seems no various reading of the name except Μέναιον.

In the other place, xi. 88, we read under the year 453 ;

παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σικελῶν ἀθροίσας δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον, τὰς μὲν Νέας, ἥτις ἦν αὐτοῦ πατρίς, μετόπισεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ τεμένους τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Παλικῶν ἔκτισε πόλιν ἀξιόλογον, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων θεῶν ὠνόμαξε Παλικήν.

For Νέας some seem to read Νόας. Stephen of Byzantium has, under Μεναί (the manuscript reading seems to be Μένδας ; but one is inclined with Holm, G. S. i. 364, to think that that must be a mistake), πόλις Σικελίας ἐγγὺς Παλικῶν. Under Παλική, πόλις Σικελίας, he has the description of the Lake of the Palici referred to in vol. i. p. 536. His only Νέαι is an island near Lëmnos ; but he has a Νόαι πόλις Σικελίας. So Souidas.

Ptolemy (iii. 4. 12) reckons Μένου or Μέναι among the inland towns of Sicily.

There is also Νομαί, the place of Ducetius' defeat. See p. 371. In Silius, xiv. 266, the reading seems really to be "Nemæis," which has been improved into "Nomæis," also into "Menæis." So from Cluver onwards it has been usual to improve the Νέας of Diod. xiv. 88 into Μένας.

The question seems to me to come to this. Are the Μέναιον which Ducetius founded, and the Νέαι, or whatever else we choose to call it, which is called his πατρίς and from which he went down into the plain, one place or two ? Strictly speaking, as Holm says, a man cannot be said to found his own birth-place. But he may so enlarge and strengthen it as to be practically its founder, and to be spoken of as such. Or again, though πατρίς strictly means the place of a man's birth, it would be no very great licence to apply it to a place where he dwelled as citizen or as prince.

I could quite believe that Diodôros, specially if he copied the two accounts from two different sources, might mean the same place in both entries, though in the one he speaks of the town as founded by Ducetius, while in the other he calls it his *πατρίς*. Only he uses two different names, *Μέναιον* and *Νέαι*. The later existence of Menænum is fully proved by coins (Coins of Sicily, 97, 98; Head, 132) and by Cicero's notice of the "Meneni," Verres, iii. 22, 43. And *Μέναιον* is pretty certainly the same as the *Μέναι* of Ptolemy, and the *Μέναι* or *Μένδαι* of Stephen. And we may fairly suppose that the *Νέαι* of Diodôros is the same as the *Νόαι* of Stephen. But the *Νέαι* of Diodôros evidently stood, no less than his *Μέναιον*, on a hill near the Lake of the Palici. It therefore can hardly be the place (whatever be the name) spoken of by Silius. For that appears in company with "Amastra," which must surely be a form of Mytistratus or Amêstratus (see vol. i. p. 144), far away from the scene of Ducetius' earlier exploits. It is perfectly possible that the name *Νέαι* may be wrong, and that Diodôros in xi. 88 meant the same place that he meant in xi. 78. It is equally possible that Ducetius' birth-place may have been called *Νέαι* or *Νόαι*, and that it stood on some other hill, say that of Catalfaro, in the neighbourhood. In this case one would suppose that *Νέαι* was quite forsaken at the foundation of Palica, while Menænum need not have been formally or physically touched in any way. But it yielded the first place to Palica; it ceased to be the seat of Sikel dominion and the centre of Sikel nationality. And we should mark that the Syracusans destroyed Palica (see p. 386); they did not destroy Menænum. It should also be remembered that, though it is a fair and all but certain inference that *Μέναι* is the same as *Μέναιον*, yet we do not get the name *Μέναι* in the history of Ducetius, except as an arbitrary correction of *Νέαι*.

Of the general historians of Greece, Curtius tells us nothing; he only remarks generally on Ducetius' beginning to found towns. Grote (vii. 168) fully takes in the religious importance of the site, and seizes the admirable analogy of Dardaniê and Ilios in Il. xx. 216. Of the actual migration he says only; "He transferred his own little town from the hill-top, called Menæ, down to a convenient spot of the neighbouring plain, near to the sacred precinct of the gods called Paliki." This leaves out the foundation of Menænum. Thirlwall (iii. 203) best grasps the whole

position. He distinguishes the foundation Menænum from the birth-place, which he calls "Menæ." This time at least the great master of our youth is not "superseded," even by Grote, much less by Curtius.

It strikes me that there is no need to bring Νομαί, the place of Ducetius' defeat in Diodôros, xi. 91, into the question of his foundations at all. There is no presumption that Νομαί is the same as Νέαι or as Μέναιον. Anyhow it cannot have anything to do with the place mentioned by Silius. It cannot be anywhere near Mistretta. It must be somewhere in the triangle formed by Akragas, Morgantina, and Syracuse.

The different ways in which Diodôros speaks of Ducetius are worth notice. When he is first mentioned in xi. 76, he is ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἡγεμὼν. This is when he helps Syracuse against the Hieronians. When Diodôros comes (xi. 78) to the beginning of his wider career, he comes in as ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν βασιλεὺς ὢν. In xi. 88 we seem to see a change of language ;

Δουκέτιος ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἀφηγούμενος τὰς πόλεις ἅπασας τὰς ὁμοεθνεῖς πλὴν τῆς Ὑβλας εἰς μίαν καὶ κοινὴν ἤγαγε συντέλειαν· δραστηκός δὲ ὢν, νεωτέρων ὠρέγετο πραγμάτων, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σικελῶν ἀθροίσας δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον, τὰς μὲν Νέας . . . μετόκισε, κ.τ.λ.

In c. 91, when he goes forth against Ætna, he is ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν ἔχων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. In xii. 8, when he comes back, his former position is described as δυνάστης τῶν Σικελῶν. When he dies in xii. 29, he is ὁ γεγονὼς τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων ἡγεμὼν.

Here he is only once called βασιλεὺς, that is, when he founds his own city Menænum. In xi. 88 the language is distinctly federal ; it makes us long to know the exact terms on which the συντέλεια, the κοινὸν τῶν Σικελῶν, was put together. Diodôros must have copied some one—may one whisper Philistos?—who understood such matters. On the whole it looks very much as if Ducetius was βασιλεὺς at Menænum, but only ἡγεμὼν or the like in the federal city of Palica. So a King of the Macedonians came to be President (ἡγεμὼν, Arrian, i. 1) of an Hellenic confederacy ; so a Prince of Orange came to be Stadholder of Holland and other provinces. In this view, ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν βασιλεὺς is too lofty a title for the prince of a single city or tribe ; but it is only from Thucydides (vii. 1) that we can look for such accuracy of phrase as τῶν ταύτῃ Σικελῶν βασιλείων τινων.

The taking of Morgantia or Morgantina comes between the foundation of Menænum and the foundation of Palica (Diod. xi. 78); *στρατευσάμενος δ' ἐπὶ πόλιν ἀξιόλογον Μοργαντῖναν καὶ χειρωσάμενος αὐτὴν δόξαν ἀπηνέγκατο παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοεθνεῖσι*. I suppose it is these last words which made Grote (vii. 167) speak of Morgantia as a "Grecian town," and Mues (19) as "urbs Græca." Ducetius would surely win credit among his own people by bringing in, even by force, a Sikel town which withstood the national movement. Thirlwall again is not "superseded." "He afterwards made himself master of Morgantia, the ancient capital of a kindred tribe, the Morgetes." See vol. i. pp. 154, 491.

Then follows the union of all the Sikel towns except the (Galeatic) Hybla; then comes the foundation of Palica. It is after recording its foundation that Diodôros gives (c. 89) the account of the Palici themselves quoted in vol. i. p. 519. He notices the strength of the fortifications and the prosperity of the city, for however short a time (90);

ὁ γὰρ Δουκέτιος τὴν Παλικὴν κτίσας καὶ περιλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἀξιολόγῳ τείχει, κατεκληρούχησε τὴν ὅμορον χώραν. συνέβη δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκητῶρων ταχέϊαν λαβεῖν αὔξησιν, οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον εὐδαιμονήσασα κατεσκάφη καὶ διέμεινεν ἀοίκητος μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων. περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφομεν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις.

This promise ought to have been fulfilled in xii. 29, where he describes the action of the Syracusans after the death of Ducetius. Unluckily, when he comes to the *οἰκείοι* *χρόνοι*, he tells us nothing about Palica, though he has something to say about Trinakia.

It has now and then struck me, in reading his account of these special events in the history of the Sikel people, that the man of Agyrium did sometimes remember his own nationality.

NOTE XXXV. p. 378.

THE RETURN OF DUCETIUS.

It is curious to find Mitford and Holm agreeing in opposition to Grote, the German writer not quoting the two Englishmen.

Mitford (ch. xiii. § 1. vol. iv. p. 11) tells the story of the return of Ducetius as follows;

"The only competitor with Syracuse for superiority among the Sicilian towns was Agrigentum, and while the competition remained, peace could not easily hold between them. The Syracusan chiefs brought back Ducetius from Corinth, apparently to make him instrumental to their own views for advancing the power of their commonwealth. They permitted, or rather encouraged, him to establish a colony of mixed people, Greeks and Sicels, at *Cale Acte*, on the northern coast of the island. This by the Agrigentines was considered as a measure inimical to them; war followed; the Agrigentines, defeated, were compelled to receive terms of peace from Syracuse, and thus the Syracusan democracy became decidedly the leading power among the Greeks of Sicily."

For this Grote (vii. 171) rebukes Mitford with some solemnity;

"The statement that 'the Syracusans brought back Duketius, or encouraged him to come back or to found the colony of *Kalê Aktê*,' is a complete departure from Diodorus on the part of Mr. Mitford; who transforms a breach of parole on the part of the *Sikel prince* into an ambitious manœuvre on the part of the Syracusan democracy. The words of Diodorus, the only authority in the case, are as follows."

He then quotes the passage from Diodôros at length.

Holm, in his notes (i. 431), cuts Ducetius a little short. In his text (i. 260) he discusses the circumstances of his return at some length, and comes to the same conclusion as Mitford. The oracle must have been a genuine one; Corinth would not have allowed deceit in such a matter. But he ("der Fremde und Gefangene") could not have got any oracle without Greek help ("nicht anders als auf Betrieb von einflussreichen Hellenen"), and he could not have got Greeks to do anything for him ("einen Barbaren"), unless his schemes had fallen in with Greek interests of some kind ("wenn es nicht mit zugleich einem griechischen Interesse gegolten hätte"). Nor could he have left Corinth with an armed company without the leave of the Corinthians. And the Corinthians would not have given that leave, unless the Syracusans had, at least secretly, favoured his enterprise ("dass die Syrakusaner, in deren Interesse er in Korinth gefangen gehalten wurde, sein Unternehmen unter der Hand begünstigten"). Their motive must have been to use him against Akragas.

Now Grote's censure on Mitford is well founded so far as this, that Diodôros, "the only authority in the case," states the bare

facts in a dull way without any explanation, and that Mitford's narrative is not the narrative of Diodôros, but a very probable explanation of it. Grote gives no explanation. A modern German scholar is led by an elaborate argument to the same conclusion on which Mitford, it would seem, stumbled instinctively. And there certainly is no withstanding part of Holm's reasoning. Ducetius could not have done what he did without the consent of Corinth, and we cannot conceive that consent being given, unless it suited the purposes of Syracuse. But it is less easy to see what interest Syracuse had in bringing him back. If it was policy, it was surely a very shortsighted policy.

Even the devoutest follower of the great champion of Greek democracy cannot help being a little amused at his master's turning aside from the real difficulties of the case to mark the seeming wrong of attributing to a democracy a breach of faith really done by a prince. Yet, though Mitford's treatment of this particular passage is—if only his text had been a note—essentially reasonable, one is not surprised at Grote being stirred up by the general ravings against democracy at Syracuse and everywhere else in which Mitford indulges throughout, and in which he had been indulging just before. One wonders why a man undertook to write the history of a people with whom he had so little sympathy. Yet, after all, as I have had more than once to point out in other writings, some honour is due to Mitford, as the first who made the men of Greek story appear as living beings and not as names in a list.

Thirlwall (iii. 433) follows the narrative of Diodôros without entering on the point of difficulty.

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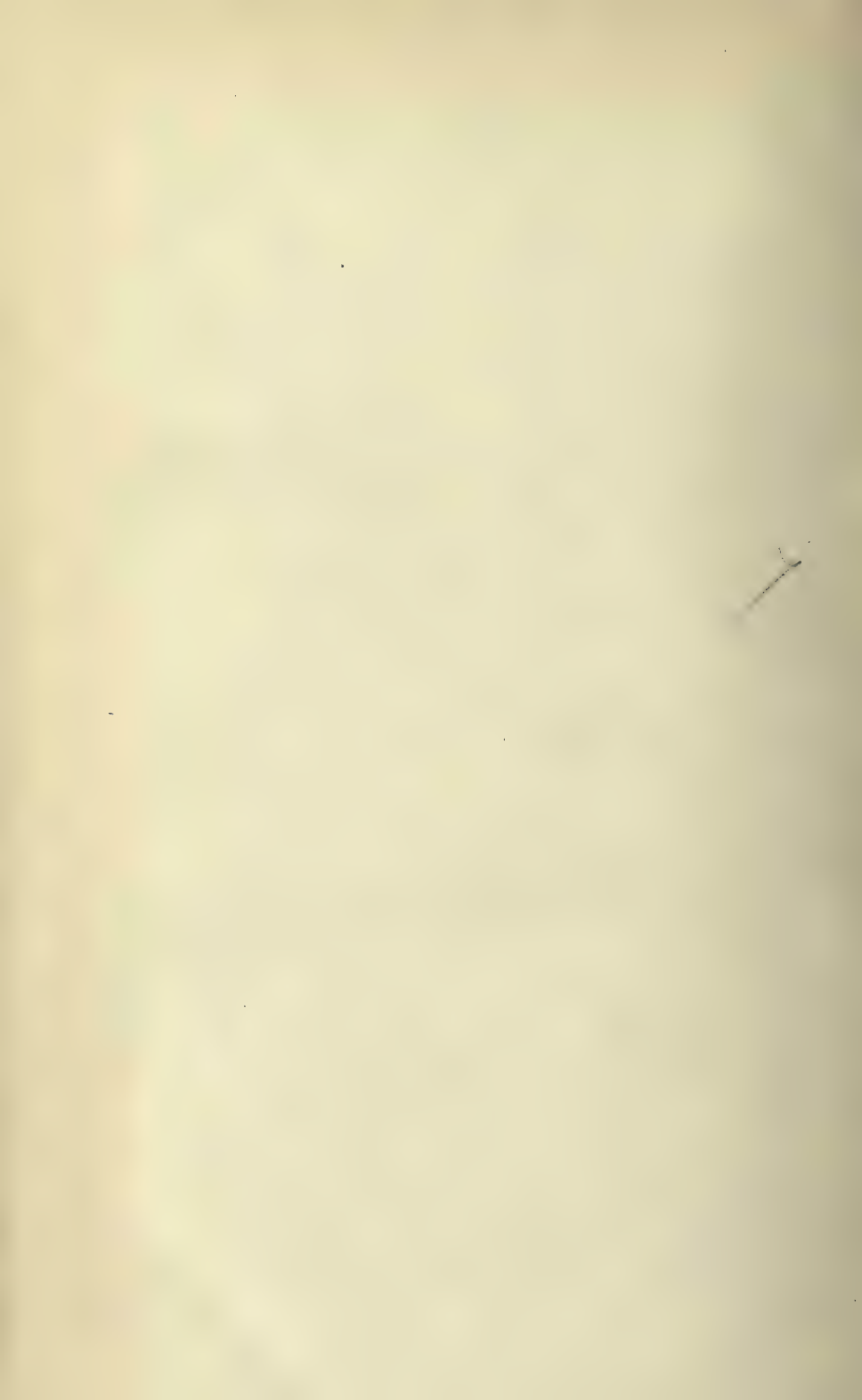
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